

HERMETICA

THE ANCIENT GREEK AND LATIN
WRITINGS WHICH CONTAIN RELIGIOUS
OR PHILOSOPHIC TEACHINGS ASCRIBED TO
HERMES TRISMEGISTUS

EDITED

WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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VOLUME I

Introduction

Texts and Translation

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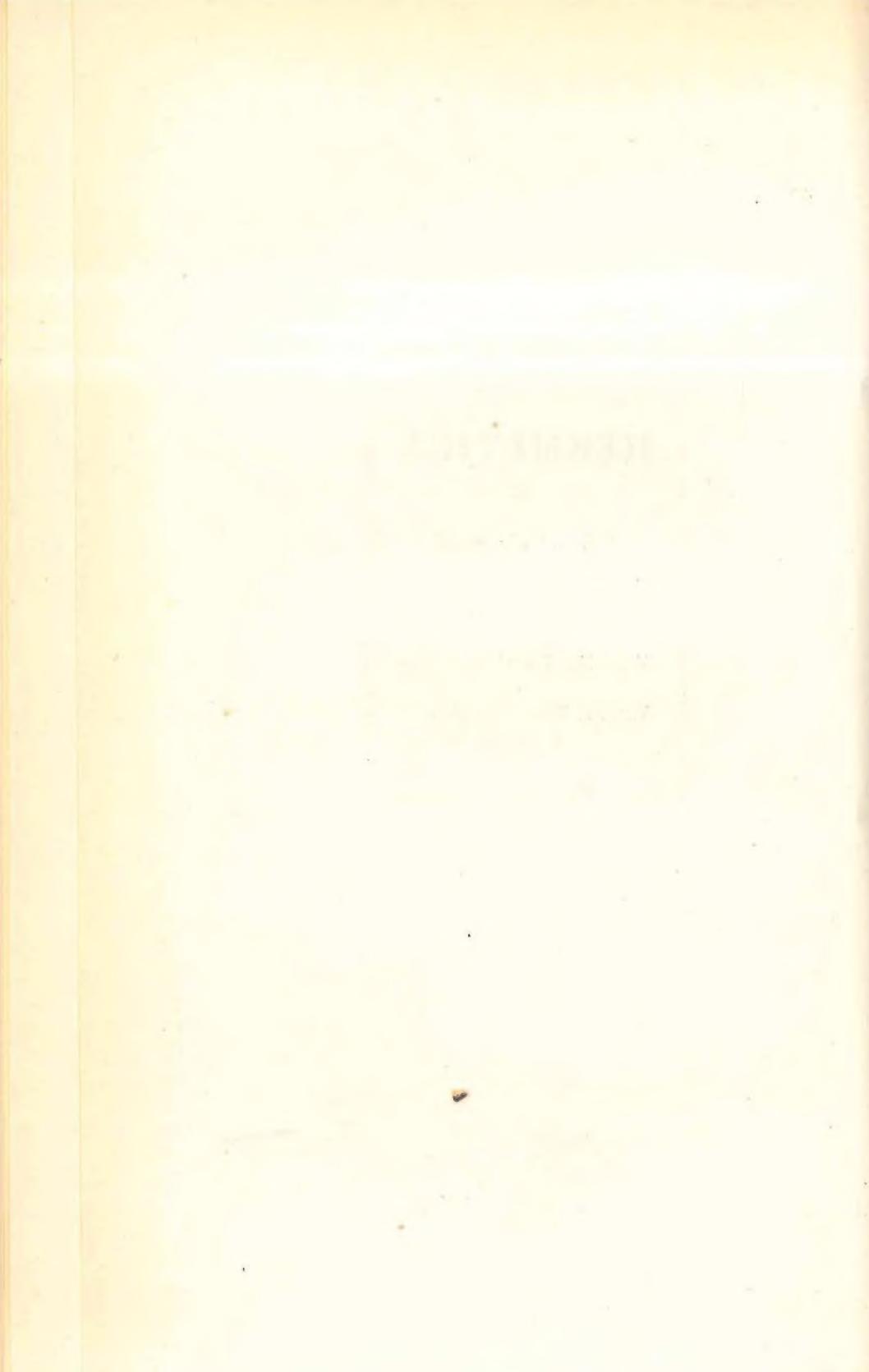


Plan of the Work

VOL. I. Introduction, Texts
and Translation.

VOLS. II & III. Commentary.

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dices and Indices.



INTRODUCTION

THE *Hermetica* dealt with in this book may be described as 'those Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus'. It does not much matter whether we say 'religious' or 'philosophic';¹ the writers in question taught philosophic doctrines, but valued those doctrines only as means or aids to religion.

There is, besides these, another class of documents, the contents of which are also ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus; namely, writings concerning astrology, magic, alchemy, and kindred forms of pseudoscience.² But in the character of their contents these latter differ fundamentally from the former. The two classes of writers agreed in ascribing what they wrote to Hermes, but in nothing else. They had little or nothing to do with one another; they were of very different mental calibre; and it is in most cases easy to decide at a glance whether a given document is to be assigned to the one class or to the other. We are therefore justified in treating the 'religious' or 'philosophic' *Hermetica* as a class apart, and, for our present purpose, ignoring the masses of rubbish which fall under the other head.

By what sort of people, and in what circumstances, were our *Hermetica* written? That question may be answered as follows. There were in Egypt under the Roman Empire men who had received some instruction in Greek philosophy, and especially in the Platonism of the period, but were not content with merely accepting and repeating the cut-and-dried dogmas of the orthodox philosophic schools, and sought to build up, on a basis of Platonic

¹ 'Theological', if taken in the etymological sense of the word, would perhaps be better; for the *Hermetica* are 'talks about God', or 'discussions concerning God'. But the word *theology*, as now commonly used, has associations that would be misleading.

² These things might be grouped together under the vague but convenient term 'occult arts and sciences'.

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doctrine, a philosophic religion that would better satisfy their needs. Ammonius Saccas, the Egyptian teacher of the Egyptian Plotinus, must have been a man of this type; and there were others more or less like him.¹ These men did not openly compete with the established schools of philosophy, or try to establish a new school of their own on similar lines; but here and there one of these 'seekers after God' would quietly gather round him a small group of disciples, and endeavour to communicate to them the truth in which he had found salvation for himself. The teaching in these little groups must have been mainly oral, and not based on written texts; it must have consisted of private and intimate talks of the teacher with a single pupil at a time, or with two or three pupils at most. But now and then the teacher would set down in writing the gist of a talk in which some point of primary importance was explained; or perhaps a pupil, after such a talk with his teacher, would write down as much of it as he could remember; and when once written, the writing would be passed from hand to hand within the group, and from one group to another.

Specimens of such writings have come down to us, and these are our *Hermetica*. The *Hermetica* are short records, most of them not many pages in length, of talks such as I have described, or similar talks imagined by the writer, and doubtless modelled on those which actually took place.

But if that is what the *Hermetica* are, how is it that they have been commonly thought to be something very different? That has

¹ Ammonius Saccas died in or about A.D. 243. He is known to us chiefly by what is said of him in Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, 3: 'Plotinus, in his 28th year (A.D. 233), took to philosophy. He attended the lectures of the teachers who were at that time in high repute in Alexandria; but he came away dejected and sorrowful. A friend, to whom he described his state of mind, understood what his soul desired, and took him to Ammonius, of whose teaching he had not till then made trial. Plotinus went to Ammonius and heard him speak, and thereupon said to his friend, "This is the man I was looking for". And from that day he stuck to Ammonius, and under his instruction became so devoted to philosophy that', &c. (Porphyry says he had heard this told by Plotinus himself.)

There is no external evidence that Ammonius Saccas was in any way connected with the Hermetists; but seeing that (1) Plotinus is known to have been strongly influenced by Ammonius Saccas, and (2) there is much in the teachings recorded in the *Hermetica* that approximates to the philosophic religion of Plotinus, we may fairly put these two facts together, and infer that the Hermetic teachers were men of the same type as Ammonius Saccas. Indeed, it is not impossible that in some few of the extant *Hermetica* we have specimens of the teaching of Ammonius Saccas, set down in writing (and ascribed to Hermes) by one of his pupils. There is no evidence for that; but at any rate we are justified in saying that the teaching of Ammonius Saccas must have closely resembled that which we find in some of the *Hermetica*.

resulted from the fact that in these writings the names given to teacher and pupils are fictitious. The teacher is, in most cases, called Hermes Trismegistus, and the pupil, Tat or Asclepius or Ammon.

What was the reason for that? Why did these writers prefer to call the tractates which they wrote 'Discourses of Hermes Trismegistus', and compose dialogues in which they made Hermes speak as teacher, instead of writing in their own names, and saying in their own persons whatever it was that they wanted to say? The motive must have been similar to that which made a Jew write a Book of Daniel, or a Book of Enoch, instead of a book of his own. In the Hellenistic period, and under the Roman Empire, that vigour of independent thought, which showed itself so conspicuously among the Greeks of earlier centuries, had dwindled away. There was an increasing tendency to lean on the support of authority and tradition; and among those who were interested in philosophy, the man who was '*nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri*' became more and more exceptional. It is true that there was at the same time a strong tendency to syncretism; that is to say, men of different philosophic schools were very ready to borrow thoughts from one another; but that, for the most part, meant little more than that a man acknowledged the authority of two or more masters instead of only one, and made some attempt to blend or reconcile the teachings of those masters. The names of the great thinkers of earlier times—Plato, Pythagoras, and others—were held in almost superstitious veneration; and lists were drawn up in which the succession of pupils of those great teachers was set forth, and it was stated that A had learnt from B, and B from C, and so on. Every one must, it was thought, have learnt from some one else whatever wisdom he possessed; it hardly occurred to people that any one could possibly hit on a truth by thinking for himself. And the great masters themselves came to be dealt with in the same way. Plato was commonly held to have learnt from Pythagoras; and there arose a desire to get direct access to the sources from which Plato had drawn his philosophy. In Plato one got the wisdom of Pythagoras at second hand; it would be still better if one could get it at first hand. It must have been chiefly in response to this demand, that there were produced (mostly between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D.) large numbers of pseudonymous writings ascribed to this or that early Pythagorean—or in some cases even to Pythagoras

himself, in spite of the recorded fact that Pythagoras had left nothing in writing.¹

But then again, Pythagoras in turn must have learnt from some one else. From whom did he get his wisdom?

An answer to this question was found by Greeks resident in Egypt, or men of Egyptian race who had acquired Greek culture. It had long been accepted as a known historical fact that both Pythagoras and Plato studied in Egypt. They must have studied in the schools of the Egyptian priests. And what was taught in those schools? No one, except the priests themselves, knew what was taught in them; the priests were careful to keep that knowledge to themselves. All that the outside public knew about it was that the priests had in their hands a collection of ancient books, which were said to have been written by the god Thoth,² the scribe of the gods and inventor of the art of writing. Some of those books are known to us now—the ‘Book of the Dead’, for instance, and others of like character; and it may seem to us strange that any one should ever have imagined them to contain a profound philosophy. But in those times none but the priests had access to them; and a Greek, even if he had got access to them, could have made nothing of them, since they were written in a script and language unknown to him. That which was known to so few must, it was thought, be something very high and holy. From all this it was inferred that Pythagoras and Plato got their wisdom from the priests of Egypt, and the priests of Egypt got it from their sacred books, which were the books of Thoth.³

Greeks, from the time of Herodotus⁴ or earlier, had been accustomed to translate the Egyptian god-name Thoth by the name Hermes. At a later time they distinguished this Egyptian Hermes from the very different Hermes of Greece by tacking on to the name

¹ A long list of these ‘Neo-Pythagorean’ writings is given by Zeller, *Philos. der Gr.* III. ii (1903), p. 115, n. 3. The author of each of them put forth under a feigned name, and usually in a would-be Doric dialect, his own version of the syncretic Platonism that was current in his time, and sought to make it appear that this was the sort of thing Pythagoras had taught.

² A full account of Thoth, based on ‘a fairly complete examination of the chief references to the god in Egyptian literature and ritual’, is given by P. Eoylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, 1922.

³ We may compare the theory maintained by many Jews and Christians (e. g. by Clement of Alexandria), that the Greek philosophers got their wisdom (or such imperfect wisdom as they had) from Moses.

⁴ Herodotus 2. 67 calls the city of Thoth ‘Ἐρμέω πόλις; and in 2. 138 he mentions a temple of ‘Hermes’ (meaning Thoth) in Bubastis.

a translation of an epithet applied by Egyptians to their god Thoth, and meaning 'very great'; and thenceforward they called this personage (whether regarded by them as a god or as a man) Hermes *τρισμέγιος*,¹ and the Egyptian books ascribed to him 'the writings of Hermes Trismegistus'.

Hence it was that men such as I have spoken of, little known and almost solitary thinkers, came to choose Hermes Trismegistus as the name best suited for their purpose, and in their writings gave out as taught by Hermes what was really their own teaching. These men were teaching what they held to be the supreme and essential truth towards which Greek philosophy pointed; and it was taken as known that Greek philosophy was derived from the Egyptian books of Hermes, in which that essential truth was taught. Their own teachings therefore must necessarily coincide in substance, if not in words, with the unknown contents of those Egyptian books—that is, with what Hermes himself had taught. That being so, that which they wrote might as well be ascribed to Hermes as to the actual authors; and if that were done, their writings would gain the prestige attached to that great name. A piece of writing to which little attention might be paid if it only bore the name of some obscure Ammonius, would carry more weight if it professed to reveal the secret teaching of Hermes Trismegistus.

¹ In Egyptian texts Thoth is frequently called *C3 C3*, 'great-great' (i.e. 'greatest' or 'very great'), and is also frequently called *C3 C3 wr*, which probably means 'very great-great'. (For references to the Eg. texts see P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, pp. 129 and 182). He is called 'five times great' in a text of early Ptolemaic date (see Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, p. 30, note on l. 26). In an Eg. text published by Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 58 (Reitzenstein, *Poim.*, p. 118), he appears to be called 'five times great' (if not more than five times); but in this instance the reading is doubtful. In Greek, 'Thoth great-great' is translated '*Ἐρμῆς δέ μέγας καὶ μέγας*' in the *Rosetta Stone* inscr., 196 B.C. (Similarly, in some Fayum inscriptions, the god Souchos is called *μέγας μέγας*: Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 320. Cf. "*Ὕπον θεὸς μέγας μέγας* on a stele dated 67 B.C.: Perdrizet, *Negotium perambulans in tenebris*, p. 9.) *τρίσμεγας* also occurs (cf. Zosimus Alchem. i. 9 in *Testim.* : *ό τρίσμεγας Πλάτων καὶ δέ μυρόμεγας Ἐρμῆς*); but the usual epithet of the Egyptian Hermes in Greek writings is *τρισμέγιος*.

There can be no doubt that *τρισμέγιος* was meant for a translation of one of the Egyptian epithets of Thoth; but why did the Greeks choose the particular form 'thrice-greatest'? It is most likely that *τρισμέγιος* is (as Mr. Boylan is inclined to think) a translation of *C3 C3 wr*, 'very great-great'; and the word can be best accounted for in this way. The Greek who first invented it rendered *C3 C3*, 'great-great', by *μέγας*, and expressed the meaning of the appended *wr*, 'very', by prefixing *τρι-*. A prefixed *τρι-* is frequently used in Greek to intensify the meaning of an adjective; e.g. *τρίσμακαρ*, *τρισόλβιος*, *τρισάγιος* (Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 36, says, *τὸ πολλάκις εἰώθαμεν καὶ τρις λέγειν, ὃς τὸ τρισμάκαρ*). On the other hand, *δισ-* is not thus used; a Greek would therefore not be disposed to write *δισμέγας* or *δισμέγιος*.

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Some one of the teachers of whom I have spoken must have been the first to hit on this device; others, into whose hands his writings passed, were urged by like motives to follow his example; and before long the Hermetic dialogue or discourse became, in certain circles in Egypt, the established form for writings on these subjects.¹

It is not necessarily to be assumed that the authors of the *Hermetica* intended to *deceive* their readers, any more than Plato did, when he wrote dialogues in which Socrates was made to say things that Socrates had never said. It may be that the writers, or some of them at least, did not mean or expect to deceive any one, and that, within the narrow circle of readers for which each of these writings was originally intended, no one was deceived. But when the document passed beyond the bounds of that circle, and got into the hands of others, those others at any rate were apt to take it at its face value, and think it to be a genuine and trustworthy record of things that had been said by an ancient sage named Hermes Trismegistus, or a translation into Greek of things that he had written in the Egyptian language. And that is what was commonly thought by people who knew of these writings, for about thirteen hundred years, from the time of Lactantius to that of Casaubon. There may, perhaps, be some who think so still.

What sort of person was this Hermes Trismegistus thought to be? Was he a god or a man? If one of the Hermetic writers had been asked that question, he would, I think, have answered in some such way as this: ‘Hermes was a man like you and me—a man who lived in Egypt a very long time ago, in the time of King Ammon. But he was a man who attained to *gnosis* (that is to say, knowledge of God, but a kind of “knowledge” that involves union with God); and he was the first and greatest teacher of *gnosis*. He died, as other men die; and after death he became a god—just as you and I also, if we attain to *gnosis*, will become gods after *our* deaths. But in the dialogues which I and others like me write, and in which we make Hermes speak as teacher, we represent him as talking to his pupils at the time when he was living on earth; and at that time he was a man.’

Comparing the *Hermetica* with other writings of the period on

¹ It should be remembered that all the extant *Hermetica* together are probably only a small fraction of the mass of such writings that was once in existence. There were most likely hundreds of Hermetic *libelli* of like character in circulation about A. D. 300.

the same subjects, we find that there are two things that are ‘conspicuous by their absence’ in these documents. In the first place, the Hermetic writers recognize no inspired and infallible Scripture; and there is, for them, no written text with the words of which all that they say must be made to conform. They are therefore not obliged, as were the Jew Philo, and Christians such as Clement and Origen, to connect their teaching at every step with documents written in other times and for other purposes, and to maintain, as Jews and Christians were driven to do, that when the inspired writer said one thing he meant another. Hence each of the Hermetists was free to start afresh, and think things out for himself—free in a sense in which Jews and Christians were not free, and even the professional teachers of Pagan philosophy, much occupied in expounding and commenting on the writings of Plato or Aristotle or Chrysippus, made comparatively little use of such freedom as they had. Released from this subjection to the past, a Hermetist could go straight to the main point, unhampered by the accumulations of lumber by which others were impeded; and this made it possible for him to pack into the space of a few pages all that he found it needful to write. Hence there is in the *Hermetica* a directness and simplicity of statement such as is not to be found in other theological writings of the time, whether Pagan, Jewish, or Christian. I do not mean to say that there is much that is *original* in the doctrines taught in the *Hermetica*; the writers were ready enough to accept suggestions from others (mostly from the Platonists), and there is little in these documents that had not been thought of by some one else before. But if a Hermetist has adopted his beliefs from others, they are none the less *his own* beliefs; and his writing is not a mere repetition of traditional formulas. He may have accepted the thought from some one else, but he has thought it over afresh, and felt its truth in his own person.¹ Some at least of the Hermetic writers felt themselves to be inspired by God.² They speak of the divine νόος in much the same way that a Jew or Christian might have spoken of the Spirit

¹ The Hermetic *libelli* differ so much among themselves, that few general statements can be made concerning them to which exceptions may not be found; but I am here describing the impression produced by them as a whole, or for the most part.

² A Hermetic teacher might have said, like a Homeric bard (*Od.* 22. 347), αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμι, θεός δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας παντοῖς ἐνέφυσεν. The meaning of θεός had changed, but the notion of inspiration was still nearly the same.

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of God. It is the divine *νοῦς* which has entered into the man that tells him what he needs to know; and with that divine *νοῦς* the man's true or highest self is identical or consubstantial. 'Think things out for yourself', says a Hermetist, 'and you will not go astray.'¹

And a second thing to be noted is the absence of *theurgia*—that is, of ritualism, or sacramentalism. The notion of the efficacy of sacramental rites, which filled so large a place both in the religion of the Christians and in that of the adherents of the Pagan mystery-cults, is (with quite insignificant exceptions) absent throughout these *Hermetica*. The writer of *Corp. XI.* ii, for instance, says, 'Everywhere God will come to meet you'. He does not say that God will come to meet a man in initiation-rites like those of Isis or Mithras, or in the water of baptism, or the bread and wine of the Christian Eucharist; what he does say is, 'God will come to meet you *everywhere*', in all you see, and in all you do.

At what dates were the *Hermetica* written? This question, together with the closely connected question from what sources were derived the doctrines taught in them, is discussed in detail in the notes on the several *libelli*. I here sum up shortly the conclusions at which I have arrived.

The external evidence (collected in the *Testimonia*) proves that in A.D. 207-13 some *Hermetica* of the same character as ours were already in existence and accessible to Christian readers; and that in or about A.D. 310 most, if not all, of the extant *Hermetica* were in existence, as well as many others that have perished.

From internal evidence I have been able to assign a definite date to one document only. If I am not mistaken, the Greek original of *Ascl. Lat. III* was written within a year or two of A.D. 270.

With respect to all the other *Hermetica*, we have nothing to go upon except the character of the doctrines taught in them.² What can be inferred from that?

There was no one system of Hermetic philosophy or theology, no one body of fixed dogmas; each of these numerous writers had his own manner of thinking, and looked at things from his own

¹ *Corp. XI. ii fin.*

² Perhaps some evidence as to dates might also be got by a close investigation of the *words* and *diction*, dealt with as in lexicons and historical grammars. This I have not attempted; possibly some one else may think it worth while to undertake it.

point of view ; and there are wide differences between the teaching of one *libellus* and that of another. But underlying all these differences there is a certain general similarity, such as would naturally result from similar training and a common environment.

In the first place, the influence of Plato—and of the *Timaeus* more than any of Plato's other dialogues—is manifest in almost every page. Most of the Hermetists were probably not much given to reading (that would seem to follow from the fact that they relied on talk much more than on books in their teaching), and it may be that some of them had never read a line of Plato's own writings ; but somehow or other, whether by attendance at the public lectures of professional teachers of philosophy, or by private talk with men who knew about these things, they had imbibed the fundamental doctrines of that kind of Platonism which was current in their time.

But this prevailing Platonism is modified, in various degrees, by the infusion of a Stoic ingredient. Terms and conceptions derived from Stoic physics or cosmology are to be found in most of the *libelli*. Now Platonism modified by Stoic influence—the sort of syncretic Platonism that we find in Philo, for instance—was not and cannot have been anywhere in existence much before the first century B.C. There can have been no such blending of doctrines during the period of scepticism in the Platonic school, when Academics such as Carneades¹ were waging war against the dogmatism of the Stoics. It was not until that feud had died down, that the scepticism of the Academy was replaced by a more positive form of Platonic teaching ; and it was only then that Platonists began to Stoicize, and Stoics to Platonize. This new departure may be dated, roughly speaking, at about 100 B.C. Among the Stoics who Platonized, the most prominent name is that of Posidonius, who wrote between 100 B.C. and 50 B.C. ; and in some of the *Hermetica* the influence of Posidonius can be clearly seen. Any proposal to put the date of the *Hermetica* before 100 B.C. may therefore be disregarded. It is not merely probable, but certain, that the true date is later than that.

But how much later ? If we want an answer to that question, we must not be content with talking about the *Hermetica* in general ; we must examine the *libelli* one by one, and try to find out, with regard to each of them in turn, what date is indicated by the details

¹ Carneades was in Rome in 155 B.C., and died 129 B.C.

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of doctrinal statement that we find in that particular document. That is what I have tried to do. Inferences drawn from *data* of this kind must inevitably be somewhat vague; but the conclusion towards which I have found myself led is this—that the *Hermetica* which have come down to us were most of them, if not all, written in the third century after Christ.¹ Some of them may have been written before the end of the second century;² but probably none³ so early as the first century. And this conclusion, drawn from the doctrinal contents of the documents, agrees with the date A.D. 270, which is indicated by the prophecy in *Ascl. Lat.* III, and does not disagree with the external evidence.

So far, I have spoken only of doctrines derived from Greek philosophy. That includes nearly all that these documents contain; but not quite all. There are, in some of the *libelli*, things that may or must have come from some other source. But these are of quite subordinate importance.

In the first place, it may be asked whether there is anything in the *Hermetica* that is derived from the indigenous religion of Egypt. As far as definite statements of doctrine are concerned, there is very little. With the exception of the mere framework and setting of the dialogues—the names Hermes Trismegistus, Ammon, &c., and mentions of a few supposed facts that are connected with those names—there is hardly anything of which it can be asserted without doubt that it is of native Egyptian origin. Here and there one comes on a form of expression, or a way of putting things, which is not quite that to which we are accustomed in Greek philosophic writings; and in some of these cases it seems *possible* that what the writer says was suggested to him by phrases that were in use in the Egyptian cults. For instance, we find it stated in some of the *Hermetica* that God is self-generated; that God is hidden; that God is nameless, and yet innumerably-named; that God is bisexual; that God is life, and the source or author of all life; and so on. Parallels to these statements can be found in native Egyptian documents; and in each of these cases it is possible that the writer got the notion from an Egyptian source; but then it is also possible that it came to him from some other quarter. And even

¹ The *Isis to Horus* documents, which form a class apart, and differ in some respects from the rest, may possibly be as late as the fourth century.

² That is, in or about the time of Numenius, A.D. 150–200.

³ There may possibly be one or two unimportant exceptions, e.g. *Corp.* III.

if on such points we give Egypt the benefit of the doubt, the Egyptian ingredient in Hermetic doctrine still remains comparatively small in amount ; the main bulk of it is unquestionably derived from Greek philosophy.

Egyptian influence may, however, have worked more strongly in another way ; it may have affected the spirit or temper of the writers. These men were, some of them certainly, and probably almost all, Egyptians by race, though Greek by education ; and there is in some of their writings a fervour and intensity of religious emotion, culminating in a sense of complete union with God, or absorption into God,¹ such as is hardly to be found in Greek philosophic writings, until we come down to Plotinus, who was himself an Egyptian by birth and bringing up. It is true that in Plato himself there was something of ‘mysticism’, if this mood or state of feeling may be so named ; but in him there was so much else beside, that the passages in his writings in which it finds expression are comparatively few and far between. And something of the same sort may be said also of most of the followers of Plato in later times (until we come to Plotinus)—such men as Plutarch, for instance. Numenius (who was a Syrian) may have been more like the Hermetists ; but of him we have only short fragments. There may have been something more nearly analogous to the religious fervour of the Hermetic writers in some of the Greek mystery-cults, and still more in foreign mystery-cults adopted by the Greeks, especially that of Isis (which again was of Egyptian origin). But the votaries of those cults stood, for the most part, on a far lower intellectual level than the Hermetists, and their devotion to the gods they worshipped was inextricably intermixed with sacramental rites and quasi-magical operations from which the Hermetic teachers held aloof. And when we compare the Hermetists with the Greek writers on philosophy from whom they got their doctrines, we find that it is just this greater intensity of religious fervour that marks them off as different. I am inclined to think then that it is this tone of feeling that is the distinctively Egyptian element in the *Hermetica*. What we have in them is the effect that was produced by Greek philosophy when it was adopted by men of Egyptian temperament.

Secondly, is there anything of Jewish origin ? There is, un-

¹ See, for instance, *Corp. V.* 11.

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doubtedly, something of this; but not much. In *Corp. I* (the *Poimandres*), and in the short piece *Corp. III*, knowledge of the beginning of the Book of Genesis is clearly shown. Moreover, *Corp. I* contains a doctrine derived from Jewish speculations about Adam, and shows, in some respects, close resemblances to Philo. The writer of that one document was certainly affected by Jewish influence. But that *libellus* differs widely from the rest of the *Hermetica*; there is no reason to suppose that most of the Hermetists had ever seen or heard of it; and I do not think it was ascribed to Hermes by its author.

In the rest of the *Hermetica* we find hardly more than an isolated term or phrase here and there that seems to be of Jewish origin; hardly more, that is, than any Pagan might have picked up in occasional talks with Jews, or by reading the first chapter of *Genesis*, which was probably known to many Pagans of the time as an interesting specimen of a barbarian cosmogony.

Thirdly and lastly, is there any borrowing from Christians? To this my answer is that I have failed to find anything in the doctrines taught that is of Christian origin—with the possible exception of the doctrine of rebirth in *Corp. XIII*. That is the only extant *libellus* in which the notion of rebirth occurs; and its author (or the author of an earlier *Hermeticum* to which he refers) may have got it from a Christian source; but it cannot be said to be certain that he did.

Setting that aside, I can find nothing in the doctrines taught that is derived from Christianity. The Hermetists have no Christ, and no equivalent for Christ.¹ Hermes is nothing of the sort; he is merely a man and a teacher, and differs from other human teachers only in degree. Some of the Hermetists speak of a 'second God', and apply to him phrases resembling some of those applied by Christian theologians to the second Person of the Christian Trinity. But this 'second God' of the Hermetists is the Kosmos (or, in some few cases, Helios); and when Hermetic writers call the Kosmos 'son of God' and 'image of God', they are following a tradition derived from Plato's *Timaeus*, and not from the New

¹ The contrast between the Hermetic teaching and Christianity might be described in another way by saying that, in the view of the Hermetists, every man is (potentially at least) what the Christians held Christ, but Christ alone, to be; for the Hermetists said that each and every man is a being whose origin and home is in the world above, and who has come down to earth and been incarnated for a time, but (if he lives aright on earth) will return to the home above from which he came. That is not Christianity, but Platonism.

Testament. (There are also a few Hermetic passages in which a hypostatized λόγος of God occurs ; but in those cases the source is Jewish, not Christian.) The 'second God' of the Hermetists differs fundamentally from the Christ of the Christians in this, that he is not a Saviour of mankind. There is in the *Hermetica* no trace of a 'Saviour' in the Christian sense—that is, of a divine or supracosmic Person, who has come down to earth to redeem men, has returned to the world above, and will take up his followers to dwell there with him. Hermetists might speak of salvation ; it was salvation that they sought, and held that they had found ; but they did not speak of a Saviour such as was worshipped by the Christians. According to their doctrine, it is by the operation of the divine νόος in a man¹ that the man is saved ; and the divine νόος was never incarnated upon earth.²

The Hermetic writers must, of course, have known very well that Christianity was there. Some of them may have known little about its inner meaning, and may perhaps have thought of Christians merely as one of the various kinds of people included under the general term ἀστεβῆται or ἀθεοι ; but whether they knew much or little about Christianity, they ignored it in their writings. There is, indeed, one Hermetic document, *Ascl. Lat.* III, the writer of which does speak of Christianity (without naming it) ; but he speaks of it as of a deadly enemy, and foresees its coming victory over the Pagan cults with intense distress and horror. There is also, in *Corp. IX*, a passing remark which probably refers to Christians, and likewise implies that they are enemies. But these two instances are exceptional ; and the Hermetists in general appear to have considered Christianity either a thing too hateful to be spoken of, or a thing too contemptible to be worth mention.

It would almost seem then that, if any borrowing took place,

¹ In this respect the divine νόος of the Hermetists is comparable to Christ (or 'the spirit of Christ') indwelling in the individual Christian (not in the Church, for the Hermetists recognized nothing analogous to the Christian Church) ; but it is in no way comparable to the Christ who lived on earth and died and rose again. For the most part the Hermetic νόος corresponds, not to Christ, but to the Jewish and Christian νέφελα. But the Hermetic conception of νόος was not derived from Jewish or Christian sources ; it is wholly of Platonic origin.

² Except indeed in the sense that it 'enters into' every man that is worthy to receive it. Sometimes a man might imagine that he heard the divine νόος speaking to him, as if with a human voice, and even that he saw it, in a dream or vision (*Corp. I*) ; or Νόος might be represented (merely by a literary artifice !) as a teacher giving instruction to a human pupil (*Corp. XI*) ; but that is a very different thing from what Christians meant when they spoke of the incarnation of Christ.

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it must have been the other way about. Did Christians borrow anything from Hermetists? But 'borrowing' is hardly the right word. It is not to be supposed that the Christian Church took over this or that theological dogma ready made from Hermetists, or from any other Pagans. And yet the Christian Church took over a good deal; for it took over the men themselves. If not the very men by whom our *Hermetica* were written, at any rate most of their sons or grandsons or great-grandsons, and most of their pupils, or the pupils of their pupils, must have turned Christians, as most Pagans did at about that time. Some few of them may have held out, and stuck to Paganism; and the results towards which the teaching of such men tended may be seen in Plotinus and his Neoplatonic successors. But most of them must have turned Christians. And what did that mean? In some respects the change would not be a large one. The Hermetist, when he became a Christian, would not have so very much to unlearn. If one were to try to sum up the Hermetic teaching in one sentence, I can think of none that would serve the purpose better than the sentence 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God'. To that extent at least the Hermetist had nothing new to learn from the Christian catechist. He had been accustomed to aspire towards union with God, and to hold that 'to hate one's body'¹ is the first step on the way to the fulfilment of that aspiration; and when we come upon him, a little later on, transformed into a Christian hermit in the Egyptian desert, we find that he is still of the same opinion.² On the other hand, the convert would have to accept, *in addition to* the doctrines which he already held, some others that were new and strange to him; he would be told that he must henceforth believe in a Saviour who had 'become flesh'; and he would have to admit the efficacy of certain sacramental rites, and the infallibility of certain writings, and so on.

But we have to consider not only what conversion to Christianity meant for the Hermetists themselves, but also what were the effects produced by their conversion in the body of Christians into which they were incorporated. And it is here, if anywhere, that the influence of the Hermetic teaching on Christianity is to be looked for. However much these men may have been 'born again' in

¹ *Corp. IV. 6 b.*

² Cf. *De imitatione Christi*, 1. 3: 'Ista est summa sapientia, per contemptum mundi tendere ad regna caelestia.' That might have been said by a Hermetist.

Christian baptism, they must have retained, under altered forms, much of their ingrained ways of thinking and feeling, and must have impressed something of this on those who were henceforth their fellow-Christians. So far as their influence extended, there would be a tendency to emphasize those sides or aspects of Christian doctrine and of Christian life which were most nearly in accord with the Hermetic teaching. And though the Hermetic teachers and their adherents must have been few in number in comparison with the mass of Egyptian Christians, their influence may have been far more than in proportion to their number; for they were the men who had been most in earnest about religion as Pagans, and they would be much in earnest still. Men of the stamp of these Hermetic teachers must have been prominent among those who set the tone in the Christian monasteries which sprang up in Egypt in the fourth century, and took the lead in debates on questions of Christian theology in Alexandria. And in that sense it might be said that in the *Hermetica* we get a glimpse into one of the many workshops in which Christianity was fashioned.

The extant *Hermetica* are :

- (1) The *libelli* of the *Corpus Hermeticum*.
- (2) The Latin *Asclepius* mistakenly attributed to Apuleius.
- (3) The Hermetic excerpts in the *Anthologium* of Stobaeus.
- (4) Fragments quoted by Lactantius, Cyril, and other writers.¹

List of Hermetic Writings.

Hermes to Tat (*a. γενικοὶ λόγοι; b. διεξοδικοὶ λόγοι*): Corp. IV, V, VIII, X, XII. i, XII. ii, XIII; Stob. *Exc.* I–XI; *Fragm.* 12, 30, 32 (?), 33.

Hermes to Asclepius: Corp. II, VI, IX, XIV (epistle); Ascl. Lat. (*λόγος τέλειος*); *Fragm.* 23, 24, 31.

Hermes to Ammon: Stob. *Exc.* XII–XVII (XVIII and XIX?).

Hermes (no pupil named): Corp. III; Stob. *Exc.* XVIII–XXII: *Fragm.* 1–11, 13–22, 25–8, 32, 34–6.

Noûs to Hermes: Corp. XI. i, XI. ii.

Agathos Daimon to Hermes: reported by Hermes to Tat in Corp. XII. i.

¹ In this edition, the Hermetic fragments are collected under the heading *Fragmenta*; but each of them is also given, together with the context of the writing in which it is quoted, and with notes, under the heading *Testimonia*.

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Agathos Daimon to Osiris: reported by Hermes to Asclepius,
Fragm. 31.

Agathos Daimon to an Egyptian *τεμενίτης*: reported by Hermes,
Fragm. 29.

Agathos Daimon: Fragm. 37.

Asclepius to Ammon (epistle): Corp. XVI.

Tat to King (Ammon?): Corp. XVII.

Isis to Horus: Stob. *Exc.* XXIII (*Kore Kosmu*), XXIV–XXVII.

Poimandres to a prophet: Corp. I.

Sermon (preached by the same prophet?): Corp. VII.

[Oration by a *rhetor*: Corp. XVIII.]

[Apophthegm of Hermes: Stob. *Exc.* XXVIII.]

[Verses on the planets: Stob. *Exc.* XXIX.]

CORPUS HERMETICUM

Corpus Hermeticum is the name given by recent commentators to a collection of about seventeen¹ distinct documents, which first makes its appearance (as a collection) in manuscripts of the fourteenth century. In the MSS. the collection as a whole bears no title, but each of the several documents contained in it has a separate heading of its own. The heading of the first document is ‘Ἐρμοῦ τρισμεγίστου Ποιμάνδρης’; and Ficinus, who published a Latin translation of the first fourteen documents in 1471, made the mistake of supposing that heading to be meant for a title of the whole collection.² Turnebus, who printed the *editio princeps* of the Greek text (1554), followed Ficinus in this mistake, and entitled *Corp. I-XIV Mercurii Trismegisti Poemander*. Similarly, Flussas (1574) gives to *Corp. I-XIV*, together with a ‘Caput XV’ made up of Hermetic excerpts from elsewhere, the title *Mercurii Trismegisti Pimandras*, distinguishing the several documents as ‘Caput I’, ‘Caput II’, &c. (He appends ‘Caput XVI’ under the different title *Aesculapii ad Ammonem*.) The blunder was corrected by Patrizzi (1591),³ who uses the name *Poemander* rightly to denote *Libellus I*; but Parthey (1854) reverted to the old mistake, giving the title *Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander* to his edition of *Corp. I-XIV*, and calling the several documents *cap. 1*, *cap. 2*, &c. This is much as if one were to call the New Testament as a whole ‘the Gospel according to St. Matthew’,

¹ By my reckoning, the number of distinct *libelli* in our text of the *Corpus* amounts to nineteen; and if we add a lost *libellus* between I and II, the original number must have been twenty.

² Ficinus, f. 2 b: ‘Est autem huius libri (i. e. of *Corp. I-XIV*) titulus *Pimander*, quoniam ex quatuor personis quae hoc in dialogo disputant (i. e. in *Corp. I-XIV* regarded as a single “dialogue”) primae Pimandro partes attribuuntur. . . . Ordo autem voluminis est, ut in libellos quattuordecim distinguamus, utque primae dialogi partes Pimandro dentur, secundas teneat Trismegistus, tertias Esculapius, quartum locum obtineat Tacius.’

³ Patrizzi says, ‘Nostra sententia Poemander ille a Ficino in 14 capita dissecutus non unus liber est, sed totidem libelli per se, a Poemandro separati, cui solus primus debetur. Reliqui, cum nullam Poemandri mentionem faciant (he should have added, “with the exception of *Libellus XIII*”), nec ab eo pendeant aut ordine dogmatum aut connexione ulla, Poemandri partes dici non possunt.’

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and refer to the Epistle to the Romans, for instance, as 'the sixth chapter of Matthew'. The documents of the *Corpus* differ from one another in the same sort of way as the various writings of the New Testament; it is certain from internal evidence that most of them, if not all, were written by different authors; and there is nothing to show that the majority of the writers had read *Corp.* I., or had ever heard of the name *Poimandres*.

As to the numbering of the documents, there is much discrepancy and confusion. The variations are shown in the appended table.

Present edition	Manuscripts			
	A (I-XIV)	BCDM (I-XVIII)	R (I-XVIII)	Index capitum in S
Libellus I			κε(φάλαιον) α'	α'
— II &c.			— β' &c.	β' &c.
— XI. i	No numbering	{	— α'	α'
— XI. ii		}		
— XII. i	No numbering	{	— β'	β'
— XII. ii		}		
— XIII			{ (XIII. 1-16) γ' (XIII. 17-22) δ'	{ γ' δ'
— XIV	—		— ε'	ε'
— XVI		XVI and XVII as one document	XVI-XVIII as a separate work, in three unnum- bered parts, viz. XVI+XVII, XVIII. 1-10, XVIII. 11-16	
— XVII				
— XVIII		{ XVIII. 1-10 XVIII. 11-16		17'

By separating the two parts of XI and the two parts of XII, I have increased the number of distinct documents in the *Corpus* from seventeen to nineteen; and if I had been starting afresh, I should have numbered them consecutively from I to XIX. But in order to avoid confusion of references, I have thought it best to retain the numbering of Flussas and Parthey in respect of *Libelli* I-XIV, and that of Flussas and Reitzenstein in respect of XVI, and to follow Reitzenstein in calling the last two documents XVII and XVIII. The 'Caput XV' of Flussas is not a part of

Ficinus (I-XIV)	Turnebus (I-XVIII)	Flussas (I-XVI)	Patrizzi	Parthey (I-XIV)	Reitzenstein, <i>Poimandres</i>
		Caput I — II &c. — XI — XII — XIII — XIV		Cap. I — II &c. — XI — XII — XIII — XIV	Kap. I — II (III) &c. — XI (XII) — XII (XIII) — XIII (XIV) — XIV (XV)
No numbering	No numbering	The <i>libelli</i> of the <i>Corpus</i> placed in a different order, with other <i>Hermetica</i> interspersed among them.			
Three ex- cerpts from Stob. are here appended.		— XV, made up of same three excerpts from Stob. and an extract from Suidas.			
XVI- XVIII as in R.		— XVI			— XVI — XVII — XVIII

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the *Corpus*; there is therefore no *Libellus* XV in the present edition.

In dividing the text of each *libellus* into sections, I have, for the most part, followed Reitzenstein in the *libelli* edited by him in his *Poimandres* (viz. I, XIII, XVI, XVII, XVIII), and Parthey in the rest of the *Corpus*; and in cases where further subdivision seemed desirable, I have added letters to the number of the section, dividing § 3, for instance, into § 3a and § 3b. But I have here and there slightly shifted the point of division between two sections, in order to make it correspond better with a division in the sense.

The manuscripts of the *Corpus* have been carefully investigated by Reitzenstein, to whom I owe most of the information given in the following list. But to the fifteen MSS. mentioned and described by him (*Poim.* pp. 323 ff.) must be added three Oxford MSS. (Bodl. 3388, which I call Q; Bodl. 8827, which I call R; and Bodl. 3037, which I call S), of the existence of which he appears to have been unaware.¹ All the manuscripts reproduce, with slight variations, the text of a common archetype,² which was full of corruptions. The first task of an editor is to reconstruct the text of the lost archetype; his second and more difficult task is to infer from this what the author of each document wrote; his third task is to find out what the author meant. And in cases in which it is impossible to recover the precise words which the author wrote, it may still be possible to guess his meaning.

LIST OF MSS. OF THE *CORPUS*.

A : *Laurentianus* 71, 33; 14th cent.; contains *Corp.* I-XIV.

This manuscript was brought from Macedonia to Cosmo de' Medici at Florence, and was by him handed over to Marsiglio Ficino, who made from it the Latin translation which he published in 1471.

From 'a twin-brother of A' (Reitz.) are derived the following three MSS. :

¹ He speaks of Bodl. 16987, but says nothing about the three other Bodleiani.

² In our MSS. two large pieces are missing. The first of them contained the beginning of our *Corp.* II, together with a lost *libellus* which originally preceded our II (see prefatory note on *Corp.* II); the second contained almost the whole of *Corp.* XVII, of which only a short passage at the end has been preserved. It must be inferred from these omissions that in the archetype of our MSS. some leaves were torn out and lost at each of these two points.

Ottobonianus Graec. 153, 15th cent.

Coislinianus 332, 15th cent.

Parisinus 2518, written by Vergicius, 16th cent.

B: *Parisinus Graec.* 1220; middle of the 14th cent.; contains *Corp. I-XVIII.*

There are numerous corrections by one or more later hands (B²); but it appears that these corrections are for the most part conjectural, and not derived from another MS.

C: *Vaticanus Graec.* 237; 14th cent.; contains *Corp. I-XVIII.*

Closely connected with C are:

Parisinus Graec. 2007, 16th cent.

Ottobonianus Graec. 177, 16th cent.

D: *Vindobonensis phil.* 102; 15th cent.; contains *Corp. I-XVIII.*

The printed text of Turnebus is a reproduction of a MS. nearly related to D; so that his edition may be treated as equivalent to a MS. of this family.

Palatinus Graec. 53, 15th or 16th cent., was found by Reitzenstein to be closely connected with D.

M: *Vaticanus Graec.* 951; 14th cent.; contains *Corp. I-XVIII.*

Q: *Bodleianus* 3388 (Arch. Seld. B 58); 15th cent. The text breaks off at the foot of fol. 62 b, at the words *καὶ τὸ μὲν θνητὸν* in *Corp. XIII.* 14; and the following leaves, which presumably contained the rest of the *Corpus* down to the end of XVIII, have been lost. Q is closely connected with D.

Bodleianus 16987 (d'Orville 109, Auct. X. 1. 4. 7); 16th cent.; contains *Corp. I-XVIII.* This MS. is a faithful transcript of Q.¹ There are numerous corrections by a different hand; the corrector must have used another MS.

R: *Bodleianus* 8827 (Misc. 131, Auct. F, infr. 2. 2); 16th cent.: contains *Corp. I-XVIII.*

In *Corp. I-XIV*, R is derived from a MS. hardly distinguishable from A.² (In this part of R, there are numerous corrections by

¹ The derivation of Bodl. 16987 from Q is sufficiently proved by the fact that two passages in *Corp. II* and four passages in *Corp. XII*, which have been accidentally omitted in Q, are also omitted in Bodl. 16987 (first hand).

The connexion of Bodl. 16987 with D was recognized by Reitzenstein, who did not know of the existence of Q, the immediate source of Bodl. 16987.

² R cannot be derived from A itself, because five small lacunae which occur in

a different hand; these corrections must have been taken from another MS.) The writing of *Corp. XVI-XVIII* is smaller, but similar in character to that of I-XIV, and both parts of the MS. may have been written by the same hand. The text of XVI-XVIII appears to be derived from a MS. closely related to D. (See the readings of R given in the foot-notes to *Corp. XVI-XVIII*.)

S: Bodleianus 3037 (Misc. Gr. 36, Auct. E 2. 8): 16th cent. The text of S breaks off at the words *ταῦτά σοι ἀσκληπίε ἐνοῦντι* in *Corp. IX.* 10, and the rest is lost; but the prefixed *Index capitum* gives the headings of all the documents in the *Corpus*, including XVI-XVIII. S is closely connected with C.¹

Reitzenstein mentions three other MSS., viz.: *Parisinus Graec. 1297*; 16th cent.; contains *Corp. I-XIV*; 'much touched up, often agrees with B'. *Vaticanus Graec. 914*; end of 15th cent.; contains *Corp. I. 1-28*. *Parisinus Graec. suppl. 395*; 17th cent.; contains *Corp. I. 1-21*. But these three are of no importance.

It is possible that there may be in existence some MSS. of the *Corpus* which have not yet been discovered;² but it is not likely that any future discovery will make any appreciable addition to the material already at our disposal. The known MSS. are more than sufficient to enable us to reconstruct the lost archetype from which they are all derived; the more serious difficulties begin when we try to correct by conjecture the corrupt text of that archetype. Reitzenstein considers that, when the relations of the MSS. to one another and to the printed texts have once been ascertained, an editor need concern himself only with the readings of A, C, and M, and can safely disregard the rest. I have not done precisely that; but I hope that what I have done in this matter does not fall very

the A-text of *Corp. I. 4, 5*, and are indicated by blank spaces in A, do not occur in R. But in all else, R (I-XIV) very closely agrees with A. E.g. I. 3, *φοῖν* om. AR | I. 9, *ἰωάρχον* om. AR | Ib., *ἐπτά τινας* AR: *τινας ἐπτά* cett. | I. 11 b, *νοντά* AR: *νηντά* cett. | I. 15, *ἀν* om. AR | I. 21, *καὶ πατήρ* AR: *καὶ ὁ πατήρ* cett. | I. 22, *ἔγώ αὐτὸς* AR: *ἔγώ* Q Turn.: *αὐτὸς ἔγώ* cett. | Ib., *ὑμνοῦσι* AR: *ὑμνούντες* cett. | I. 26 a, *συγχάρουσι . . . πατέρα* om. AR (*homoecotelenon*). | I. 27, *κάλλος* AR: *κάλον* cett. | I. 28, *σπάνῃ* AR: *πλάνῃ* cett.

¹ For instance, S agrees with C, and differs from ABDM, in the following readings: I. 4, *τούτω CS: τοῦτο* cett. | I. 5 b, *σωβαίνοντος* CS: *ἀναβαίνοντος* cett. | I. 6, *βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων* CS: *βλέπων καὶ ἀκούον* cett. | I. 7, *ἀντίσηης* CS: *ex ἀντίσηης corr. ἀντίσηης* A: *ἀντίσηης* cett. | I. 9, *περιέχοντε CS: περιέχοντας* cett. | I. 11 a, *ἐτρεψε CS: ἐτρεψε* cett. | I. 14, *ῶσε C: ὡστε* S: *ῶσε* cett.

² Reitzenstein says that he was obliged to leave Italy without carrying out his intention of searching for MSS. of the *Corpus* in the smaller libraries of that country.

far short of that which he thinks requisite. In *Corp.* I and XIII, I have given the readings of the MSS. used by Reitzenstein (viz. ABCDM), and of the printed text of Turnebus, and added those of Q. In *Corp.* II-XI, I have given the readings of A, Q, and Turn.; and in II-IX. 10, I have added those of S, using S as a substitute for C, with which it is closely connected. In *Corp.* XII and XIV, not having a collation of A in my hands, I have used R as a substitute for A (to which R, as tested in *Corp.* I and XIII, closely adheres), and have given the readings of Q, R, and Turn. in XII, and those of R and Turn. in XIV. And in *Corp.* XVI-XVIII, I have given the readings of the MSS. used by Reitzenstein (viz. BCDM), and those of Turn., and have added those of R (which, in this part of the *Corpus*, agrees closely with D). It would have been more entirely satisfactory if I could have added the readings of C and M in II-XI, and those of A, C, and M in XII and XIV; but I see no reason to think that, if I had postponed the completion of my work on the text till I could go to Italy to get those readings, the results would have been of sufficient importance to compensate for the delay. The manuscripts differ but slightly from one another and from the text of Turnebus; and it is unlikely that, if I had had before me a complete *conspectus* of the readings of all existing MSS., I should have arrived at a different conclusion as to the meaning of a single clause in the whole *Corpus*.

For the manuscript readings given in my foot-notes to the text of the *Corpus*, my authorities are as follows:

Dr. F. C. Conybeare, to whom my most hearty thanks are due for his generous help, has collated for me the greater part of A (viz. I-XI and XIII. 1, 2), and some specimens of three other MSS. (viz. I. 1-21, XIII. 1-10, and XVIII. 11-16 in C and M, and I. 1-21 in *Palat. Gr.* 53).¹

Reitzenstein has published the readings of A in *Corp.* I and XIII; those of B, C, D, and M in I, XIII, and XVI-XVIII; and those of A, C, and M in a few short passages in other *libelli*; and I have made use of his published readings.²

¹ His collation is my sole authority for the readings of A which are given in my foot-notes to *Corp.* II-XI.

² In A, *Libelli* I, XIII, XIV were collated for Reitzenstein by G. Vitelli; in C, *Libelli* I, XIII, XVI-XVIII were collated for him by Dr. De Stefani. Reitzenstein has himself collated the rest of A and C, and the whole of B, D, and M. Thus he has had at his disposal complete collations of ABCDM; but he has published the readings of these MSS. in those parts of the *Corpus* only which are mentioned above.

I have myself collated the whole of Q; *Corp.* I and XII–XVIII in R; and the whole of S and Bodl. 16987.¹

Parthey used collations of A and B in his edition of *Corp.* I–XIV. But the collation of A, with which he was supplied, was either inaccurate or carelessly employed by him; and his statements as to the readings of B are vitiated by the fact that he makes no distinction between the first hand and B². I have therefore deliberately ignored Parthey's report of the readings of A and B.

In the case of MSS. which I have not myself collated, I have expressly named this or that MS. (e. g. A) only when I had before me a positive statement as to its reading, and not when that reading was only to be inferred from the collator's silence. I have used the abbreviation *codd.* to signify the *consensus* of all MSS. of which the readings are known to me in any way, whether from my own collation, or from positive statements of others, or by inference from the silence of the collators.

I have, as a rule, taken no notice of the accents, breathings, and punctuation of the MSS., nor of the presence or absence of *subscript* in them.

The notation employed in my text of the *Corpus*, and in that of the other *Hermetica* also, is as follows:

Letters, words, and passages which occur in the MSS., and presumably occurred in the archetype from which our MSS. are derived, but which, in my opinion, were either certainly or probably not present in the text as written by the author, are enclosed by two-angled brackets, thus: [].

Letters, words, and passages which do not occur in any MS., but have been inserted by conjecture, are enclosed by one-angled brackets, thus: < >.

Words and passages transposed by conjecture are (with the exception of a few of the longer passages) printed both at the place where they stand in the MSS., and at the place to which I have transposed them. At the place where they stand in the MSS., they are enclosed by two-angled brackets doubled, thus: [[]]. At the place to which I have transposed them, they are enclosed by one-angled brackets doubled, thus: << >>.³

¹ I had collated Bodl. 16987 throughout before I discovered its dependence on Q, which makes its readings valueless for our purpose, at least in regard to *Corp.* I–XIII. 14, the part of the text which has been preserved in Q.

² In cases in which the alteration indicated by the brackets has been made by

Words and passages which I take to be corrupt, but which I have left standing unaltered, are enclosed between the marks [].

Letters substituted by conjecture for others (not always in exactly equal number) given by the MSS. are printed in distinct type.

My object in adopting this notation is to make it manifest where the traditional text (i. e. that which, on the evidence of the MSS., may be inferred to have been the text of the archetype) is given unaltered in the present edition, and where and how much it is altered. If the reader retains the letters, words, and passages which are enclosed by the marks [] and [], omits those enclosed by the marks < > and << >>, and, in the case of letters printed in distinct type, substitutes the reading given in the foot-note for that in the text, he will have each document before him in the form in which it has been transmitted to us in the MSS. He will find in it many passages which consist of words without meaning, and which, therefore, cannot have been first written in the shape in which they now stand ; and in dealing with every such passage, he will be free to choose whether to treat it as a blank, or to accept the more or less probable guess at what the author wrote that is here offered, or to make another guess (which may very likely be a better one) for himself. The unsightliness of the printed text which results from this procedure may be considered an advantage, because it makes apparent to the eye the extent of the corruptions, and secures the reader against the danger of mistaking the conjectures of a modern editor for readings supported by manuscript authority.

When and by whom was the archetype written? Reitzenstein (*Poim.*, pp. 211, 319, 325 f.) says that a damaged manuscript of the *Corpus* was re-discovered in the eleventh century, and came into the hands of Michael Psellus, the great reviver of Platonic studies in Byzantium¹ (c. A. D. 1050) ; that Psellus wrote or got some one to write² a copy of that manuscript ; and that the copy written by Psellus, or under his direction, was the archetype from which our MSS. are derived. And he thinks it probable that the traditional text contains glosses and interpolations added by Psellus, and that,

some one else before me, that fact is stated in a foot-note. When there is no such statement in the foot-notes, it is to be understood that it is I that propose this alteration of the text.

¹ See Zervos, *Michel Psellos (un philosophe néoplatonicien du XI^e siècle)*, Paris, 1920.

² Reitzenstein speaks of the 'Text der Psellosabschrift'.

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in *Corp. XVIII* especially, Psellus filled gaps in the text by inserting conjectural supplements. But what evidence is there that Psellus took the part assigned to him by Reitzenstein, or any part at all, in the transmission of the *Corpus*?

In support of his statements,¹ Reitzenstein puts forward only the two following facts. (1) In *Corp. I.* 18, there is inserted in the text of *Cod. M* an anonymous *scholion*,² in which it is pointed out that 'this γόνος' (i. e. the author of *Corp. I.*, who is assumed to be Hermes) must have been acquainted with the Mosaic account of the Creation. And in the margin of *Cod. B*, this same *scholion* is written by a later hand (B²), with the superscription τὸν Ψέλλον. (2) In *Cod. M* (which contains several different and unconnected works), the *Corpus Hermeticum* is immediately preceded by two copies of a treatise of Psellus on the *Chaldaean Oracles*, and the second of these two copies is written by the same hand as the *Corpus Hermeticum*.³

The second fact is negligible. It does not follow, because two works which appear side by side in a *Codex* of the fourteenth century were written by the same hand in that *Codex*, that the archetype of the one had been written by the hand of the man (of the eleventh century) who was the author of the other, or had ever been in that man's possession.

It seems then that the only evidence⁴ that Psellus had a hand in the transmission of the *Corpus* is the fact that a *scholion* on *Corp. I.* 18 is ascribed to Psellus by an unknown person who revised

¹ Reitzenstein says that it was Br. Keil who first called his attention to 'the connexion of the Platonic studies of Psellus with the editing of the *Corpus*'; but I have not met with any published statement of Keil on this subject.

² For this *scholion* see Psellus in *Testim.*

³ Similarly, in *Cod. S* (which was not known to Reitzenstein), the *Corpus Hermeticum* is immediately preceded by Psellus *In psychogonium Platonis*, written by the same hand.

⁴ Or at least, the only evidence given by Reitzenstein in his *Poimandres*.

From the passages of Psellus which I give under *Testim.* it appears that Psellus had probably read *Corp. X*, and perhaps *Corp. XI* ii; and if the *scholion* is rightly ascribed to him, he had certainly read *Corp. I.* But that is not enough to prove that the *Corpus* as a collection was known to him. I have not made a thorough search in the writings of Psellus; and it is not unlikely that there are in them other *testimonia* which I have failed to find. Zervos, *Michel Psellos*, p. 191, says that 'plusieurs commentaires théologiques de Psellos ont été tirés des livres orphiques et hermétiques', and on this point refers to an unpublished manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. grec, no. 1182, fol. 26 and fol. 265 vo.

Zervos, *ib.* p. 168, says 'Nous ne savons pas le nombre d'ouvrages que Psellos avait composés sur la littérature hermétique. Il n'en reste qu'une scholie sur le *Poemander*' (i. e. the *scholion* on *Corp. I.* 18). But is there any evidence that Psellus 'composed works on the Hermetic literature', or any one such work?

Cod. B. Assuming the truth of this ascription, how much can be inferred from it? It necessarily follows that Psellus had read and reflected on *Corp. I*; and as this *libellus* is not known to have been anywhere in existence in the middle ages except as a part of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, it is probable (but not certain) that Psellus had in his hands a MS. of the whole *Corpus*; that he wrote in the margin of that MS. his *scholion* on I. 18; and that from that MS. were derived both the M-text of the *Corpus*, and the unknown MS. from which the reviser of *Cod. B* got the *scholion*. But it does not follow that Psellus transcribed the *Corpus* with his own hand, or had it transcribed for him, and that all our MSS. are derived from that transcription. And still less does it follow that he added to the corruption of the text by inserting glosses, supplements, or conjectures of his own.

If we take it as established that Psellus had in his hands a MS. of the *Corpus*, it is a legitimate hypothesis that that MS. was the archetype of all our MSS.; and considering the leading part which he is known to have taken in the revival of Platonic studies, it is perhaps more likely that it was so than that it was not so. But as far as I have been able to ascertain, it is a hypothesis only, and not a proved fact.

What was the history of the text before the time of Psellus? Some help towards answering this question may be got from the fact that excerpts from three of the *libelli* of which the *Corpus* is made up¹ occur in the *Anthologium* of Stobaeus (*c. A. D. 500*). The text of these pieces as given by Stobaeus differs from that of the *Corpus*-archetype in many details;² but there are some corruptions which are common to Stobaeus and the *Corpus*, and must therefore have got into the text of these three *libelli* before A. D. 500.

At what date was the collection of documents which we call the *Corpus* put together? As far as I know, there is no absolutely cogent proof that it was in existence before the fourteenth century, in which our earliest MSS. were written. But as there must have been a lapse of time between the writing of the *Corpus*-archetype and the loss of some of its leaves,³ and a further lapse of time

¹ Viz. *Corp. II. 1-4, 6 b-9, 10-13; IV. 1 b, 10-11 b; X. 7-8 b, 12-13, 16-18, 19, 22 b-25.*

² At the beginning of *Libellus II*, a passage which is missing in our *Corpus* MSS. has been preserved by Stobaens.

³ It is conceivable that the two losses of leaves (that between I and II and that between XVI and XVII) may have taken place independently, and in two different

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between the loss of the leaves and the writing of our MSS., it may be considered almost certain that the collection as a whole existed at least as early as the twelfth century. Moreover, it is probable that the *Corpus* as a whole was known to Psellus, and consequently, that the *libelli* of which it is composed had been brought together by about A.D. 1050. That, however, is the earliest date at which any trace of it can be found.

The *Corpus* was almost certainly known to the author of the *Hermippus*,¹ as he shows knowledge of five at least of the *libelli* contained in it,² and in some of his borrowings from them, reproduces the corruptions of our *Corpus*-text. But the date of the *Hermippus* is unknown; it may have been written as late as the eleventh century,³ or even later.

Fulgentius Mythographus (*c. A.D. 500*) refers to *Libellus I*, and quotes a phrase from it;⁴ but that is no proof that the collection of *libelli* which we call the *Corpus Hermeticum* existed in his time.

Stobaeus prefixes to his excerpts from *Libellus X* the heading 'Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ, and to those from *Libellus II* the heading 'Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν. (Of his two excerpts from *Libellus IV*, the first has no heading, and the second is headed simply 'Ἐρμοῦ'.) It is to be inferred from this that he found *Libellus X* (and presumably *Libellus IV* also) in a book entitled 'The discourses of

MSS.; and in that case neither of those two MSS. need necessarily have included the whole *Corpus*. One of them, for instance, might have contained I–XIV, and the other XVI–XVIII; and our *Corpus* as a whole might have been brought into being at some later time by putting together these two groups of *libelli*. But that, though not impossible, is unlikely.

¹ As to the *Hermippus*, see prefatory note on *Corp. XVI*.

² Viz. *Corp. I, IV, X, XIII, XVI*. He does not, as far as I have observed, show knowledge of any *Hermetica* not included in the *Corpus*.

³ Kroll, *De oraculis Chaldaicis*, p. 76, points out two passages in the *Hermippus* which show knowledge of the *Chaldaean Oracles*. That fact somewhat increases the probability that the author of the *Hermippus* was in touch with Psellus, who made a collection of the *Chaldaean Oracles*, and wrote about them.

⁴ See *Corp. I. I.* Reitzenstein (*Poim.*, p. 210) adds that Fulgentius (Helm, p. 88, 3) quotes, but ascribes to Plato, some words of *Corp. XII*. The passage of Fulg. to which Reitz. refers is this: 'illam . . . Platonis antiquam firmantes sententiam, ubi ait: nus antropinosteos utose anagatosteos eueremonos; id est: sensus hominis deus est; i si bonus sit, deus est propitius.' The Greek was probably νοῦς ἀνθρώπων θεός οὐρος καὶ ἀγαθός (ἢ, δ) θεός [εὖ]! perhaps ἔστιν! εὔμενής. There is very little resemblance between this and the passages in *Corp. XII* with which Helm compares it, viz. οὐρος δὲ δ νοῦς ἐν μὲν ἀνθρώπων θεός ἔστι (XII. 1), and δ γὰρ νοῦς ψυχῶν ἔστιν εὐεργέτης ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεται γὰρ αὐτῆς εἴς τὸ ἀγαθόν (XII. 2); and I see no reason to think that Fulgentius got his 'ancient saying of Plato' from that document. It is more likely that he got it from some *scholion* or commentary on Pl. *Tim.* 90A (τὸ κυριώτατον ψυχῆς εἶδος, i. e. τὸν νοῦν) δαιμονα θεός ἐκάστη δέδωκε.

Hermes to Tat',¹ and *Libellus II* in a book entitled 'The discourses of Hermes to Asclepius'. He shows no knowledge of any collection resembling our *Corpus*, which contains discourses addressed to Tat together with others addressed to Asclepius. Nor is any knowledge of the *Corpus* as a whole shown by Lactantius or Cyril, though both of them quote from or refer to some of the *libelli* included in it.²

The alchemist Zosimus (soon after A. D. 300) had read *Libellus I* and *Libellus IV*;³ but there is no evidence that he had read them in the *Corpus*.

It is possible then that the *Corpus* was first compiled in the time of Psellus; and it is not impossible that Psellus himself was its compiler. On the other hand, it is also possible that this collection of Hermetic documents had been made several centuries before the date of Psellus, and even that, though unknown to Stobaeus, Cyril, and Lactantius, it was already in existence in their time, and had come into being almost immediately after the composition of the latest of the *libelli* contained in it.⁴ In short, the *Corpus* may have been put together at any time between A. D. 300 and 1050. Or again, it may not have been put together at any one time, or by any one person, but may have been formed gradually, by appending to *Corp. I* a series of other *libelli* (or small groups of *libelli*) in succession, and at various dates.

Whence were the individual *libelli* taken? To this question also no definite answer can be given. The several *libelli* may have been taken directly from the collections of *Hermetica* known to Stobaeus (the 'Discourses of Hermes to Tat', &c.); though in that case, it is not clear for what reasons the man or men who put them into the *Corpus* selected some of the *libelli* contained in those collections, and rejected others. But it is possible that some of the Hermetic

¹ He gives under this same heading ('Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτην') a number of other passages which come from Hermetic *libelli* not included in the *Corpus*. His *Anthologium* contains also some excerpts from a third book, called 'The discourses of Hermes to Ammon', and some from a collection of Hermetic documents (including the *Kore Kosmu*) in which the teacher is Isis, and the pupil Horus.

² Lactantius quotes from *Corp. XII. ii* and *Corp. XVI*; it is more or less probable that he also refers to *Corp. V*, *Corp. IX*, and *Corp. X*. Cyril quotes from *Corp. XI. ii* and *Corp. XIV*. See *Testim.*

³ See note on *Corp. I. 2.*

⁴ The probable date of *Corp. XVIII* is within a year or two of A. D. 300, and there is no reason to think that any of the other *libelli* in the *Corpus* are of later date than this.

libelli included in the collections used by Stobaeus were also in circulation singly ; and there may have been others which had never been included in them, but stood alone. If so, a compiler of the *Corpus* may have added each *libellus* in turn to his own collection as he happened to meet with it.

In some of the MSS., the *Corpus* is divided into two distinct parts, the first part (*Corp. I-XIV*) being thought to contain the teachings of Hermes, and the second (*Corp. XVI-XVIII*), the teachings of Asclepius. It is probably a result of this distinction that *Libelli XVI-XVIII* were omitted in A ; the transcriber copied only 'the teachings of Hermes', and did not go on to copy 'the teachings of Asclepius', which he considered to be a different work. But we do not know whether this division existed from the first, or was subsequently introduced by some redactor or copyist. As a matter of fact, *Corp. XVI*, in which the teacher is Asclepius, and the surviving fragment of *Corp. XVII*, in which the teacher is Tat, are similar in general character to the majority of the preceding *libelli*, and must have come from similar sources ; while *Corp. XVIII*, which the transcribers apparently assumed to be a speech (or two speeches) delivered by Asclepius, has in reality no connexion either with Hermes or with his pupils.

At any rate, it seems to have been by deliberate intention that the three *libelli* in which Hermes does not appear either as teacher or as pupil¹ were placed together, and put at the end of the collection. But in *Corp. I-XIV*, there are few traces of designed arrangement. It is true that *Libellus I*, in which a man (assumed by the transcribers to be Hermes) is taught by God, and sets forth to teach to mankind the *gnosis* which God has taught him, is well suited for its place at the beginning ; and the documents which follow may have been regarded as specimens of that teaching of which *Libellus I* describes the origin. But in *II-XIV*, there is no internal connexion between adjacent documents,² and the order in which these *libelli* stand in the *Corpus* appears to be merely accidental.

¹ There are three other *libelli* (I, III, and VII) which, when first written, probably had nothing to do with Hermes ; but these three had doubtless been ascribed to Hermes before they were included in the *Corpus*.

² It is possible that in two or three instances a redactor of the *Corpus* may have slightly altered the opening words of a *libellus*, in order to make them appear to refer back to the document which immediately precedes it in the collection. (See the first sentences of *Corp. V, X, and XIV.*) But in no case is there any real connexion between the contents of two successive *libelli*, except, perhaps, in XI. i and XI. ii, in both of which the teacher is *Noûs*.

PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE *CORPUS*, TRANSLATIONS, AND
COMMENTARIES.¹

Ficinus, 1471.²—*Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Potestate et Sapientia Dei, e Graeco in Latinum traductus a Marsilio Ficino . . . Tarvisii.* This is a Latin translation of the Greek text of Cod. A, and consequently contains only *Corp. I-XIV.*

In an *Argumentum* prefixed to his translation, Ficino gives the following account of Hermes Trismegistus: ‘Eo tempore quo Moyses natus est, floruit Athlas astrologus, Promethei physici frater, ac maternus avus maioris Mercurii; cuius nepos fuit Mercurius Trismegistus. . . . Primus igitur (Merc. Trismegistus) theologiae appellatus est auctor. Eum secutus Orpheus secundas antiquae theologiae partes obtinuit. Orphei sacris iniciatus est Aglaophemus. Aglaophemo successit in theologia Pitthagoras; quem Philolaus sectatus est, Divi Platonis nostri praeceptor. Itaque una priscae theologiae undique sibi consona secta ex theologis sex miro quodam ordine conflata est, exordia sumens a Mercurio, a Divo Platone penitus absoluta.’

Ficino’s theory of the relation between Hermes Trismegistus and the Greek philosophers was based partly on *data* supplied by early Christian writers, especially Lactantius and Augustine, and partly on the internal evidence of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the Latin *Asclepius* of Pseudo-Apuleius. He saw—as indeed no competent scholar who had read Plato and the *Hermetica* could fail to see—that the resemblance between the Hermetic doctrines and those of Plato was such as necessarily to imply some historical connexion; but accepting it as a known fact that the author of the *Hermetica* was a man who lived about the time of Moses, he inverted the true relation, and thought that Plato had derived his theology,

¹ See Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* (revised by Harles), 1790, vol. i, pp. 52–66. A full list of editions and translations of the *Corpus* is given by G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice-Greatest Hermes*, 1906, vol. i, pp. 8–16. I mention here only those publications which I have found some reason to notice.

² Reitzenstein says—on what authority I do not know—that Ficino translated the *Corpus* in 1463. This must mean that he wrote his translation in that year. But the earliest printed edition of it is dated thus: ‘Finitum. M.CCCC.LXXI. Die XVIII Decemb.’ *Tarvisium* is Treviso, near Venice.

Ficino subsequently wrote a *Theologia Platonica* (printed in 1482), and translated Plato (1483–4) and Plotinus (1492). He was one of the most influential promoters of that revival of Platonism in Western Europe which had been started at Florence by Pletho, who resided for a time (from 1438 on) at the court of Cosmo de’ Medici.

through Pythagoras, from Trismegistus. And his view was adopted, at least in its main outlines, by all who dealt with the subject down to the end of the sixteenth century.

The publication of Ficino's translation of the *Corpus* excited keen and widespread interest in Hermes Trismegistus and his teaching.¹

¹ It is an indication of this general interest, that Hermes Trismegistus is depicted in one of the designs with which the pavement of the cathedral of Siena is decorated. (See Frontispiece.) These designs are 'pictures incised in slabs of white marble, and filled in with black or red marble' (Murray's *Handbook*, 1900). The date of the Hermes-group is 1488. 'It is not definitely known who designed' this group, 'but it is generally supposed, with considerable show of reason, to have been Giovanni di Maestro Stefano' (K. H. H. Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, 1901). The Hermes-design is placed in the middle of the floor at the west end of the Duomo, so that it is the first thing that meets the eye as one enters; and on either side of it are ranged five Sibyls. The designers had doubtless read about Hermes Trismegistus and the Sibyls in Lactantius, and considered them suitable subjects for the decoration of a church, on the ground that they were heathen prophets who, in very ancient times, had borne witness to the truths of Christian theology. (As Ficino says, 'Lactantius (Trismegistum) inter sibyllas ac prophetas connumerare non dubitat').

At the foot of the design is the inscription *Hermis Mercurius Trismegistus contemporaneus Moysi*. The group contains three figures. In the middle of the picture stands a man with a long beard, who wears a high pointed hat or mitre. He is handing an open book to a bearded man wearing a turban, who reverentially accepts it from him; and behind the turbaned man stands a beardless man wearing a hood. In the book which the first of the three men is handing to the second, is written *Suscipite o litteras et leges Egyptii*. The word *litteras* is *litteras* misspelt; and the meaning is 'Take up letters and laws, O Egyptians'. This is probably meant for a hexameter (hence the strange position of *O*); though, if so, there are two false quantities, *litteras* and *Egyptii*. The words were doubtless suggested by Cic. *Nat. deor.* 3. 56 (quoted by Lactantius, *Div. inst.* 1. 6. 2): *Mercurius . . . quintus* (whom the Egyptians call Theuth) . . . *dicitur . . . Aegyptiis leges et litteras tradidisse*.

The left hand of the man in the pointed hat rests on the upper edge of a slab, on which is inscribed in Latin a saying of Trismegistus (*Deus omnium creator, &c.*). This is a free translation of the Greek original of a passage in *Ascl. Lat.* I. 8. The designer must have got the saying directly or indirectly from Lactantius, who gives this passage in the original Greek.

Who are the persons represented by these three figures? And which of them is Hermes? Mr. Cust (*op. cit.* p. 20) says, 'The principal figure (i. e. the man in the pointed hat) represents . . . Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus, who, as we read below, was *contemporaneus Moysi*. The two (other) men, one old (or middle-aged?) and turbaned, and the other veiled (or rather hooded), may perhaps typify the learned men of the East and West.'

I was at first inclined to think that the 'principal figure' is Moses, and that it is the turbaned man who respectfully receives instruction from him that is meant for Trismegistus, the turban being intended to mark him as an Egyptian. If so, the hooded man who stands behind Trismegistus might be one of his Egyptian pupils (say Asclepius), and the two together would then be the 'Egyptii' whom Moses is addressing; or the hooded man might perhaps be Plato. This interpretation of the design would agree well with the notions which were current at the time; 'Hermes', it was thought, 'learnt his philosophy from Moses, in whose time he lived; from Hermes the doctrine was transmitted to Plato; and so it came about that Plato, in his *Timaeus*, reproduced the teaching of Moses concerning the creation of the world.' But on the other hand, it is Trismegistus that, in Cic. *Nat. deor.*, 'dicitur Aegyptiis leges et litteras tradidisse'; and if the

Eight editions of Ficino's book appeared before 1500; and Mead enumerates twenty-two editions of it from 1471 to 1641.

Turnebus, 1554.—*Mercurii Trismegisti Poemander, seu de potestate ac sapientia divina. Aesculapii definitiones ad Ammonem regem. . . . Parisiis, M.D.LIII: apud Adr. Turnebum typographum regium.*

This is the *editio princeps* of the Greek text. It contains the whole *Corpus*, I-XIV under the title *Mercurii Trismegisti Poemander*, and XVI-XVIII under the title *Aesculapii definitiones*. One MS. only was used; and the printed text appears to be an exact reproduction of that MS., which must have been closely related to *Cod. D.* At the end are given about fifty variant readings, which may have been got from the margin of the MS.

The text printed by Turnebus is preceded by a preface, in Greek, written by Vergicius. (This preface is reprinted in Parthey's *Poemander*.) Vergicius says that 'Hermes Trismegistus was an Egyptian by race; but who his father and his mother were, no one can say. He flourished before the time of Pharaoh, as many of the *chronographi* think.'¹ Some, among whom is Cicero, suppose that he is the person whom the Egyptians called Thoth. Some reckon him a contemporary of Pharaoh; but I differ from them, for the following reason. . . . He must, therefore, have lived before Pharaoh, and consequently, before Moses also.²

'They say that this Hermes left his own country, and travelled all over the world . . . ; and that he tried to teach men to revere and worship one God alone, the *demiurgus* and *genetor* of all things; . . . and that he lived a very wise and pious life, occupied in intellectual contemplation (*τὰς τοῦ νοῦ θεωρίας*), and giving no heed to the gross things of the material world (*τῶν κατωφερῶν τῆς ὕλης*); and that having returned to his own country, he wrote at that time many books of mystical philosophy and theology. Among these writings, there are two of special importance; the one³ is called *Asclepius*, and the other,⁴ *Poimandres*'.

words written in the book were taken from that passage, it follows that the man who is handing the book over (i. e. the 'principal figure' in the pointed hat) must be Trismegistus, and not Moses, and that the turbaned man who receives it from him must represent the Egyptians whom Trismegistus taught. If it is so, the hooded man may be meant to stand for Plato and the Platonists, including, perhaps, Italian scholars such as Ficino.

¹ See Malala, *Testim.*

² Vergicius then rejected the opinion, which was held by some, that Trismegistus learnt from Moses.

³ Viz. the Latin *Asclepius* of Pseudo-Apuleius.

⁴ Viz. *Corp. I-XIV.*



Vergicius lays stress on the resemblances between the teaching of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and that of Christianity; and he quotes from Suidas what he calls 'the greatest and most marvellous of all the sayings of Hermes', in which that ancient Egyptian 'expressly teaches the doctrine of the Holy Trinity'!¹ He adds that he has found many other sayings or writings of Hermes in Stobaeus.

In Turnebus's edition, three Hermetic excerpts from Stobaeus (viz. *Exc. II A*, *Exc. I*, and the Greek original of *Ascl. Lat. III. 27 e*) are printed as an appendage to *Corp. I-XIV*, and included under the title *Poimandres*.

Flussas (François Foix de Candalle), 1574.—*Mercurii Trismegisti Pimandras utraque lingua restitutus, D. Francisci Flussatis Candallae industria. . . . Burdigalae, . . . 1574.*

Flussas used no manuscript. His text is based on that of Turnebus. He has made a good many alterations (some of his emendations were suggested or approved by 'Josephus Scaliger, iuvenis illustrissimus', and other scholars); but where his printed text differs from that of Turnebus, he has, with few exceptions, given the Turnebus-reading in his margin. Thus, if we substitute the marginal readings for those of the text, we have in this edition an almost exact reproduction of the MS. from which Turnebus printed. The *Pimandras* of Flussas² is to this day, with the exception of the scarce *editio princeps*, the only publication in which is to be found a trustworthy printed text of those parts of the *Corpus* which have not been edited by Reitzenstein—i. e. of *Corp. II-XII* and *XIV*.

Flussas gives to *Corp. I-XIV* the title *Trismegisti Pimandras*, and calls the several *libelli* 'Caput I', 'Caput II', &c. After XIV he appends, and includes under the title *Pimandras*, a 'Caput XV', which is made up of the same three Stobaeus-excerpts which had been inserted by Turnebus, with the addition of the extract from Suidas which Vergicius had quoted in his preface to the *editio princeps*. After this stands 'Caput XVI' (our *Libellus XVI*), under the title *Aesculapii ad Ammonem*. But Flussas tacitly omits the surviving fragment of *Libellus XVII*, doubtless because he saw that it has nothing to do with *Libellus XVI*, to which, in the MSS. and the *editio princeps*, it is joined on as a part of the same document.

¹ See Suidas, *Testim.*

² The latest reprint of the *Pimandras* of Flussas is that which is included in the Cologne edition (1630) of Rossel's commentary. (See below.)

He also omits *Libellus XVIII*, probably because he saw that it could not rightly be ascribed to Asclepius.

In his dedicatory letter, addressed to the Emperor Maximilian II,¹ Flussas says that Hermes attained to a knowledge of divine things surpassing that which was revealed to the Hebrew prophets, and equalling that of the Apostles and Evangelists. ‘Nimirum hic (Trismegistus) unus inter eos, qui divinitus inspirati sunt, de omnipotentis dei essentia solerti admodum colloquio quamplura detegit—mundi facturam, hominis ad Dei imaginem ac similitudinem opificium, eiusdem insuper tantae miseriae lapsum, huius denique lapsus amplioris foelicitatis medelam: undique Deum incorporeum ac extra materiam sciscitandum edocet. At si exigua sint haec, et antiquos Divini nutus nuncios nihilo antecedentia, aderunt quamplura, quae a Mose, prophetis, ac quibusvis Christi patefactionem praecedentibus silentio praetermissa sunt, Mercurio huic termaximo patefacta. Qualia sunt, de Triade summa uno Deo sermo:² Divinum insuper Verbum Patris filium:³ ac a Patre et Verbo Spiritum, ignis et spiritus Deum, prolatum, cunctorum operatorem fuisse:⁴ Verbum autem unum hominem, Divino nutu regenerandorum hominum ἐνέπειαν extitisse:⁵ ab hoc insuper regenerandi solo effectu salutem pendere.⁶ Cratere item Spiritu referto sacrosanctum aperit Baptisma.⁷ Corporibus officio functis ad sua munia redditum pollicetur.⁸ Precautiones demum omnipotenti Deo prolatas, per Verbum offerri iubet.⁹ ‘What more’, asks Flussas, ‘is made known to us by those who were instructed by our Saviour himself? And yet this man was anterior in time, not only to the disciples of our Lord, but also to all the prophets and teachers of our Law, and, as the Ancients say, to Moses himself.’ He must then, Flussas thinks, have been inspired by God, and more fully inspired than any of the Hebrew Prophets.

In his preface (which is reprinted in Parthey's *Poemander*) Flussas

¹ *Invictissimo Caesari Maximiliano huius nominis quarto.* The man is Maximilian II, who was emperor from 1564 to 1576. What does Flussas mean by calling him ‘the fourth of that name’? Miss Helen Cam tells me that there were two Saints named Maximilian, one of whom was martyred in A. D. 295 and the other in A. D. 362 (*Biographie Universelle*), and suggests that these two Saints may have been reckoned as the first and second Maximilians.

² This refers especially to the extract from Suidas.

³ *Corp. I. 6.*

⁴ *Corp. I. 9.*

⁵ *Corp. XIII. 4.*

⁶ *Corp. XIII. passim.*

⁷ *Corp. IV. 4.*

⁸ *Corp. III. 4.*, taken to signify the resurrection of the body.

⁹ *Corp. XIII. 21.* Most of these supposed instances of distinctively Christian doctrine in the *Hermetica*, if not all of them, are due to misunderstandings of the text.

mentions, and apparently adopts,¹ the opinion that Trismegistus first put forth his writings in the Egyptian language, and afterwards himself translated them into Greek.

As to the Latin *Asclepius*, Flussas thinks it probable that Apuleius, who is known to have been a very wicked man, inserted idolatrous and impious passages² into his translation of the Greek text of Hermes, and then suppressed the Greek original, in order that his fraud might escape detection. Since the *Asclepius* has been thus polluted, Flussas decides not to include it in his edition.

He discusses the date of Trismegistus at some length, and gives reasons for thinking that he flourished about the time of Abraham.

Hannibal Rossel, *Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti*, Cracow, 1585–1590. This is a ponderous commentary, in six volumes, on selected passages of *Corp. I–VII* and the Latin *Asclepius*. The passages taken from the *Corpus* are given in Latin only, and not in Greek. I have merely glanced into Rossel's commentary; but I gather from what others say about it that nothing could possibly be gained by reading it. He appears to use the sayings of Hermes merely as pegs on which to hang his own disquisitions on things in general.³

A later edition of Rossel's commentary, with a reprint of Flussas's *Pimandras* prefixed to it, was printed in Cologne in 1630.

Patritius, 1591.—Patrizzi published the *libelli* of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, together with much other matter, in a comprehensive work, which was printed at Ferrara in 1591.⁴

Title-page of the second edition: *Nova de universis philosophia, libris quinquaginta comprehensa: in qua Aristotelico methodo non per motum, sed per lucem et lumina ad primam causam ascenditur. Deinde nova quadam ac peculiari methodo tota in contemplationem venit divinitas. Postremo methodo Platonico rerum universitas a conditore Deo deducitur.*⁵ Auctore Francisco Patritio. . . . Quibus postremo sunt adiecta | Zoroastris oracula CCCXX, ex Platonicis collecta: | Hermetis

¹ His language on this point is far from clear, and I am not sure that I have understood him rightly.

² He doubtless means especially *Ascl. Lat.* III. 23 b–24 a and 37–38 a, the passages in which it is asserted that 'men make gods'.

³ The contents of the several volumes are described in the title-pages as follows: Tom. I, 'de S. S. Trinitate'; Tom. II, 'de Spiritu S. et angelis'; Tom. III, 'de ente, materia, forma, et rebus metaphysicis'; Tom. IV, 'de caelo'; Tom. V, 'de Elementis, et descriptione totius orbis'; Tom. VI, 'de immortalitate Animae'.

⁴ I have seen the second edition of this work (Venice, 1593), but not the first edition (Ferrara, 1591).

⁵ In place of all this (from *Nova de universis* to *Deo deducitur*), the title of the first edition, as given by Fabricius, has only *De aethere ac rebus coelestibus*.

Trismegisti libelli, et fragmenta, quotcumque reperiuntur, ordine scientifico disposita: | Asclepi discipuli tres libelli: | Mystica Aegyptiorum, a Platone dictata, ab Aristotele excepta et perscripta Philosophia: | Platonicorum dialogorum novus penitus a Francisco Patritio inventus ordo scientificus: | Capita demum multa in quibus Plato concors, Aristoteles vero Catholice fidei adversarius ostenditur. | Venetiis, . . . 1593.¹

Patrizzi seems to have been impelled by a genuine enthusiasm to take upon himself the task of bringing about a restoration of true religion; and he regarded the *Hermetica* as one of the most effective instruments that could be used in the execution of this design. In his preface, addressed to Pope Gregory XIV, he says: 'In this volume I present to you five philosophies, viz. (1) nostram recens conditam,² (2) Chaldaicam Zoroastri,³ (3) Hermetis Trismegisti Aegyptiam,⁴ (4) Aegyptiam aliam mysticam,⁵ and (5) aliam Platonis pro-

¹ Certain parts of Patrizzi's work, including his collection of *Hermetica*, were reissued at London in 1611, in a volume thus entitled *Hermetis Trismegisti Opuscula, cum fragmentis quotquot reperiuntur, ordine scientifico disposita . . . | Item Asclepii discipuli tres libelli. | Quibus sunt adiecta | Zoroastri oracula CCCXX . . . : | Mystica Aegyptiorum a Platone dictata . . . Philosophia. | Londini 1611. | Illustrissimo . . . D. Johanni Radcliffe . . . admirandum hunc divinæ sapientiae thesaurum, grati animi obsequium, L.M.D.C.Q.* In this republication Patrizzi's own system of philosophy is omitted; the *Hermetica* are placed at the beginning of the volume, as being first in importance, and two of Patrizzi's other *adiecta* are appended to them. In the parts thus reissued in 1611 the pages agree, letter for letter, with those of the 1593 edition of Patrizzi.

² i.e. a system of philosophy constructed by Patrizzi himself. In Ueberweg's *Hist. of philosophy*, Eng. tr. 1874, ii, pp. 20, 25, 465, Patrizzi's teaching is described as a blend of a theosophy based on Neoplatonism with opinions on natural science which he adopted from his elder contemporary Bernardinus Telesius.

³ i.e. the extant fragments of the so-called *Chaldaean Oracles*, an exposition, in clumsy Greek hexameters, of a Pagan system of *gnosis*. These *Oracles* were known to Porphyry, and were probably composed about A.D. 200. Scattered fragments of them, preserved by quotation in the writings of Proclus and other Neoplatonists, were collected and commented on by Psellus, from whom Patrizzi got them. See Kroll, *De Oraculis Chaldaicis*, 1894.

⁴ i.e. the teaching of Hermes (*Corp. I-XIV*, Stobaeus-excerpts, &c., and the Latin *Asclepius*), and that of his pupil Asclepius (*Corp. XVI-XVIII*). As to the latter, Patr. says, 'De tribus his libellis, primus quidem (i.e. *Corp. XVI*) et tertius (*Corp. XVIII. 11-16*) digni videntur quibus Hermetis auditor (Asclepius) fuerit author. Sed secundus (*Corp. XVIII. 1-10*), quamvis ab eo tertius pendere videatur, suppositus possit existimari.'

⁵ The work reprinted by Patrizzi under the title *Mystica Aegyptiorum . . . philosophia* is a Latin version of a treatise entitled 'The *Theologia* of Aristotle', which had been translated from Greek into Arabic about A.D. 840, and was well known and highly esteemed among the Arabs, who supposed it to be a genuine work of Aristotle. The bulk of it is a paraphrase of portions of Plotinus, *Enneads* IV-VI; but in the introductory chapter Aristotle is made to speak in his own person, and refers to 'my earlier book, the *Metaphysics*'. Ueberweg (*Hist. Phil.*, Eng. tr. 1880, i, p. 425) says that it 'was known in a Latin translation to the Scholastics'. Soon after 1500 Franciscus Roseus found an Arabic MS.

*priam.*¹ . . . In our day, men laugh at philosophers ; and it is commonly said "So-and-so is a philosopher, he does not believe in God". The reason of this is, that the only philosophy studied is that of Aristotle, which, as men know and are told, denies the omnipotence and providence of God. Yet Hermes said *sine philosophia impossibile esse summe esse pium.*² Reflecting on this saying, I thought that it might be possible to discover a truer philosophy, by which we might return to God who made us. I threw myself into the search for it ; . . . and after much toil and resolute effort, I think I have brought it to completion.

'I have appended to my own philosophy the other four (i. e. those numbered (2), (3), (4), and (5) above) ; for all these alike "propositum sibi finem habent, ut doceant Deum rerum esse conditorem, rectorem, curatorem ac provisorem, et ut homines tum illum, tum seipsos cognoscant, et addiscant, quibus modis ad creatorem Deum animae humanae redeant, aeternaque apud eum beatitudine fruantur".

'I hope', says Patrizzi to the Pope, 'that you and your successors will adopt this new and restored religious philosophy, and cause it to

of it at Damascus, and got Moses Rouas to translate the Arabic text into Italian ; the Italian of Rouas was translated into Latin by Petrus Nicolaus ex Castellaniis ; and the Latin version thus produced was printed at Rome in 1519, under the patronage of Pope Leo X, with the title *Sapientissimi Aristotelis Stagiritae Theologia sive mistica Philosophia Secundum Aegyptios noviter Reperita et in Latinum Castigatissime redacta.* A revised edition of it, in more polished Latin, was published by Carpenterius at Paris in 1572 ; but Patrizzi preferred to reproduce the edition of 1519, as more faithfully representing the original. Fr. Dieterici has published the Arabic text (*Die sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles*, 1882), and a German translation of it (1883). Dieterici says that the Latin version of 1519 (i. e. that which Patrizzi reprinted), 'judged from the present standpoint of Arabic philology, is worthless'.

Patrizzi saw that the doctrine of this treatise is what is commonly called Neoplatonic ; yet he contrived to retain his belief that it had been written by Aristotle. His theory about it is as follows. Plato studied for thirteen years under the Egyptian priests at Heliopolis (Strabo 806), and was permitted by them to read the writings of Hermes Trismegistus. After his return to Athens, Plato taught two distinct philosophies—an 'exoteric' philosophy, which is given in his written Dialogues, and an 'esoteric' philosophy, based on the ancient wisdom of Egypt, which he imparted orally to his pupil Aristotle. The latter wrote down day by day the secret teaching which he received from the lips of Plato ; and the *Mystica philosophia* consists of the notes which he thus wrote down. Afterwards, Aristotle quarrelled with Plato and his followers, and started a school of his own in opposition to them ; and the books commonly known as Aristotle's writings are those which he wrote during that period of his life. But in his old age he returned to the true Platonic faith. The book in which this 'mystic philosophy' was written down by Aristotle was lost, Patrizzi thinks, immediately after his death, but was found again in the time of Ammonius Saccas, the teacher of Plotinus ; and the Neoplatonists borrowed from it.

¹ i. e. Plato's 'exoteric' teaching, which is given in his Dialogues.

² Herm. *ap. Stob. Eyc.* II B. 2.

be studied everywhere. Why are those parts alone of Aristotle's philosophy studied which are hostile to God and his Church, while these *piae adiutrices* are disregarded? Assuredly the treatise of Hermes *de pietate ac philosophia*¹ contains more philosophy than all the works of Aristotle taken together. . . . "Poemander (i. e. *Corp.* I) creationem mundi et hominis, cum Mosaica fere eandem, complectitur. Et Trinitatis mysterium longe apertius quam Moses ipse enarrat. Multi apud (Hermetem) et vera pietate et vera philosophia sunt plenissimi libelli, qui pro Aristotelis impiis subrogari et possint et debent."

'Many of Plato's dialogues also may be publicly taught "sine impietatis periculo ullo, pietatis adiumento multo"; especially the Philebus, Timaeus, Sophista, Parmenides, and Phaedo. "Plotini libri omnes sacrum quandam continent verius theologiam quam philosophiam." (He mentions with approval Proclus and Damascius also.)

'Almost all the early Fathers, "quia scirent paucis mutatis Platonicos facile Christianos fieri posse, . . . Platonem eiusque sectatores hosce philosophis reliquis omnibus antetulerunt, Aristotelem non nisi cum infamia nominarunt. Quadrageenis vero abhinc circiter annis² Scholastici Theologi in contrarium sunt annixi, Aristotelicis impietatibus pro fidei fundamentis sunt usi. Excusatos eos habemus, quod cum Graecas litteras nescirent, illos cognoscere non potuerunt. Non vero eos excusamus, quod impietate (-tati?) pietatem adstruere sint conati. . . ."

'I would have you then, Holy Father, and all future Popes, give orders that some of the books which I have named³ shall be continually taught everywhere, as I have taught them for the last fourteen years at Ferrara. You will thus make all able men in Italy, Spain, and France friendly to the Church; and perhaps even the German protestants will follow their example, and return to the Catholic faith. It is much easier to win them back in this way than to compel them by ecclesiastical censures or by secular arms. You should cause this doctrine to be taught in the schools of the Jesuits, who are doing such good work. If you do this, great glory will await you among men of future times. And I beg you to accept me as your helper in this undertaking.'

¹ i. e. Herm. *ap.* Stob. *Exc.* II B, which Patrizzi has placed at the beginning of his collection of *Hermetica*.

² i. e. from about A. D. 1200.

³ Including the *Hermetica*.

In an introduction to that part of his book which contains the *Hermetica*, Patrizzi says, 'Videtur Hermes hic Trismegistus coetaneus quidem fuisse Mosy, sed paulo senior. . . . Apparebit autem ex hisce Hermetis tum libellis tum fragmentis pia quaedam erga Deum philosophia, fidei dogmatibus ut plurimum consona. Apparebit quoque Graecas philosophias omnes, Pythagoream, Platonicam in divinis ac morum dogmatibus,¹ Aristotelicam autem et Stoicam in physicis, et medicinae etiam prima principia, et ex his et ex aliis qui perierunt eius libris fuisse desumpta.'

'Quamobrem (apparebit) longe satius et Christianis hominibus consultius et utilius longe futurum esse, si Hermetis dogmata potius quam Aristotelica, quae ubique magna scatent impietate, in scholis publicis et monachorum Aristoteli nimium addictorum coenobiis aliquando legantur. Quod ut comodius fieri queat, libellos iuxta materiarum, uti diximus, sequellam et seriem in ordinem redegimus.'

He has rearranged the *Hermetica*, and placed them in the following order: Stob. I. 41. 1 (which I have divided into the two distinct excerpts II B and XI) : *Corp.* I, III, X, V, VI, XIII, VII, II, XI, XII, IV : *Kore Kosmu*, followed by eight other Stobaeus-excerpts : *Corp.* IX: six Stobaeus-excerpts : *Corp.* VIII: *Corp.* XIV: fragments from Cyril, Stobaeus, &c.: the Latin *Asclepius*. Then follows, as a separate work by a different author, the ὄποι Ἀσκληπιοῦ πρὸς Ἀμυνα (i. e. *Corp.* XVI-XVIII). In regarding the several documents contained in the *Corpus* as unconnected *libelli*, Patrizzi made a decided advance beyond the position of the earlier editors; but there is not much to be said for the order in which he thought fit to arrange the Hermetic writings.

What were the sources from which Patrizzi got his text of the *libelli* of the *Corpus*? He certainly used the printed editions of Turnebus and Flussas. But Reitzenstein has found reason to think that Patrizzi based his text on a MS. other than that used by Turnebus, and that he merely introduced here and there the readings of the earlier editors. The question is, however, of little importance; for as Patrizzi has made many arbitrary alterations in the text, and does not tell us whether the reading which he adopts is derived from some authority or is of his own invention, his edition furnishes no material that can be used as an aid to textual criticism.²

¹ I.e. in theology and ethics.

² I have noted some signs of a specially close relation between Patrizzi's text of the *Corpus-libelli* and that of Q and Bodl. 16987. But it would be waste of time to investigate the question of Patrizzi's sources more thoroughly.

Casaubon, 1614.—*Isaaci Casauboni . . . Exercitationes XVI. Ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales. . . . Londini . . . MDCXIII.* In *Exercit. I.* 10, pp. 70 ff., Casaubon discusses the date and origin of the *Sibyllina* and *Hermetica*; and in this short tractate we find for the first time a view of the Hermetic writings which is, in the main at least, historically sound. As compared with all who had previously written on the subject, from Lactantius to Patrizzi, Casaubon *οἶος πέννυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιὰ δίστοντιν*. He does not deny that there may have been a man named Hermes Trismegistus who lived before Moses; but he sees that the *Hermetica* cannot have been written by any such person. He says, ‘Librum . . . qui sub nomine Mercurii Trismegisti circumferri ab aliquot seculis cepit (i. e. the Corpus Hermeticum) non veremur pronuntiare, et omni asseveratione confirmare, esse ψευδεπίγραφον’: and he concludes that it was written about the end of the first century after Christ.¹ ‘Nunc probemus certis argumentis . . . librum qui hodieque plenisque doctorum in deliciis et magno pretio est tanquam vere Mercurii Trismegisti, ψευδεπίγραφον esse et merum πλάσμα. . . . Nos igitur . . . affirmamus, in eo libro contineri non Aegyptiacam Mercurii doctrinam, sed partim Graecam e Platonis et Platonicorum libris, et quidem persaepe ipsis eorum verbis, depromptam: partim Christianam² e libris sacris petitam.

‘Quodnam philosophiae genus in usu olim fuerit apud veteres Aegyptios, a libris Eusebii . . . et aliis prisciis scriptoribus potest intelligi. At Pseudomercurii huius diversa est genere toto philosophandi ratio:³ et res enim et verba scholam Platonis sapiunt, iis dumtaxat exceptis, quae miscet e libris divinis. Ne temere videamur tot doctorum opinioni contraire, paucis demonstremus quod dicimus.’ (Here he goes into details, and discusses particular passages in the *Corpus*.)

‘Tum autem, si vere Mercurii esset hic liber, oporteret ut vel ipse Graece eum scripisset, vel ex Aegyptiaco sermone aliquis vertisset. Nos utrumvis horum firmissime negamus esse factum: prius, quia stylus huius libri alienissimus est a sermone illo quo

¹ He puts the date a little too early; most of the *libelli* of the *Corpus* were probably written in the third century, some perhaps in the second century.

² He ought rather to have said *Judaicam*. (See *Corp. I* and *III*.)

³ More is now known about the modes of thought of the ancient Egyptians; but Casaubon’s opinion on this point is confirmed by the results of modern Egyptology. Traces of the influence of indigenous Egyptian thought, if not entirely absent, are rare in the *Hermetica*.

Graeci Hermetis aequales sunt usi. . . . Hic (i. e. in the *Hermetica*) nullum penitus vestigium antiquitatis: . . . contra, multa hic vocabula, quae ne vetustior quidem Hellenismus agnoscat eo qui vigebat circa nativitatem Domini. . . . Quis priorum dixit ὑλότης, οὐσιότης, et id genus alia?

'Nego etiam ex alia lingua versa haec esse: αὐτοφυῆ esse et Graece primitus scripta pertendo. Nulla unquam versio tam feliciter elaborata fuit, quae peregrinitatem non pree se ferret, et certis indiciis demonstraret. Hic nihil eiusmodi. Omnia γνησίως Graeca, et Hellenismo eius quam designavi aetatis, sua ubique constat ratio

'Falsum igitur est, immo falsissimum, quod iste planus in Epistola ad Ammonem (*Corp. XVI*) persuadere vult nobis; a Mercurio prius Aegyptiaco sermone ista fuisse conscripta. Falsissimum etiam est, quod docti indocti videntur hactenus credidisse; aut scripta haec fuisse a Mercurio Trismegisto, vetustissimo Aegypti sapiente, aut ex illius scriptis esse versa. Quorum utrumque probavimus esse longe absurdissimum.'

In one important matter, however, Casaubon's view requires correction. He thinks, as his predecessors thought, that the *Corpus* contains distinctively Christian doctrines; and he thence infers that the *Hermetica* were, like the *Oracula Sibyllina*, forged by a Christian ('or rather', he adds, 'a semi-Christian'), with the object of recommending the doctrines of his religion to his Pagan neighbours by making it appear that they were vouched for by the authority of an ancient and venerated name.¹ This is true of some of the *Sibyllina*; but it is not true of the *Hermetica*. The authors of the *libelli* collected in the *Corpus* were Pagans; and apart from a few interpolated words, the resemblances to Christian doctrine which we find in the Hermetic writings are to be accounted for, not by assuming that the writers borrowed from the New Testament or from other Christian sources, but by recognizing the fact that, at the time when the *Hermetica* were written, there were many matters on which Christians and Pagan Platonists thought and spoke alike. We must, therefore, substitute 'a number of Pagan writers' for the 'Christian or semi-Christian' author of whom Casaubon speaks. With this

¹ Casaubon says, 'Neque vero dubitamus id egisse auctorem, ut multa pietatis Christianae dogmata, quae ceu nova et prius inaudita reieciebantur, probaret ab ultima antiquitate sapientibus fuisse nota, et ab illo ipso Mercurio in literas fuisse relata, quem non solum Aegyptii, sed etiam Graeci propter vetustatem et doctrinac opinionem magnopere suspiciebant.'

correction, his statement of the motive for employing the name of Hermes may be considered to hold good.

Casaubon's opinion as to the period in which the *Hermetica* were written gradually prevailed, and came to be adopted by all competent scholars;¹ and, deprived of the prestige which their supposed antiquity had conferred on them, the Hermetic writings lost their hold on men's interest, and sank into comparative neglect.² Translations of the *Corpus* continued to appear from time to time;³ but from 1630 to 1854, no reprint of the Greek text was issued.

Tiedemann, 1781.—*Hermes Trismegists Poemander oder von der göttlichen Macht und Weisheit, aus dem Griechischen übersetzt . . . von Dieterich Tiedemann. Berlin und Stettin, . . . 1781.* This is a

¹ e.g. T. Gale, in his edition of 'Iamblichus *De mysteriis*', 1678, says, 'Equidem parum tribuo omnibus istis scriptis, quae sub Hermetis nomine extant. Credo nihil esse aliud, quam adumbrationes quorundam locorum ex sacra pagina et antiquioribus philosophis excerptorum.'

² The true significance of the *Hermetica*, as documents of primary importance for the history of religion, not in the second millennium before Christ, but in the third century after Christ (the critical period of the struggle between Paganism and Christianity), has been strangely overlooked in the past, and is even now inadequately recognized.

³ For instance: *The divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus, in XVII books. Translated formerly out of the Arabick [this presumably means 'out of the Egyptian'] into Greek, and thence into Latine, and Dutch, and now out of the Original [...] into English: by that Learned Divine Doctor Everard: London . . . 1650.* This is a translation of Corp. I-XIV and three Stobaeus-excerpts. The text translated is that of Patrizzi, and the *libelli* are placed in the order in which Patrizzi arranged them. The preface (written, after Everard's death, by some one who signs himself 'J. F.') begins thus: 'This Book may justly challenge the first place for antiquity, from all the Books in the World, being written some hundreds of years before Moses his time, as I shall endeavor to make good. . . . In this Book, though so very old, is contained more true knowledg of God and Nature, then in all the Books in the World besides, I except onely Sacred Writ.' Everard's translation has been several times reprinted—most recently by the Theosophical Publishing Society in 1893; and doubtless some readers, down to our own time, have accepted it without question as the oldest book in the world.

Des Mousseaux, *La magie au dix-neuvième siècle*, 1860, p. 343, speaking of the passages about 'making gods' in *Ascl. Lat.* III, says, 'Telle est l'antiquité de Trismégiste (whom he assumes to be the author of the *Asclépius*), que beaucoup d'auteurs le prennent pour un fils de Cham ou pour Cham lui-même! Ses ancêtres, dont il nous parle là, seraient donc les chefs de la magie antédiluvienne! Quelle date! et combien elle est logique!' Des Mousseaux, a devout Roman Catholic, includes under the term 'magic' both the Pagan cults of antiquity and modern mesmerism and spiritualism, and is convinced that both in ancient oracles, &c., and in the phenomena of contemporary hypnotism and the like (of which he has had much personal experience), the agent who operates is the Devil, or a devil. His book is ably written, and contains much interesting matter.

The time of the Deluge is the earliest time to which I have found the Hermetic teaching assigned in Europe. But Arabic writers dated it still earlier; for they identified Hermes with Enoch, and his teacher Agathos Daimon with Seth, son of Adam.

German translation of the *Corpus*, based on the Greek text of Flussas. Reitzenstein says that Tiedemann gives in his notes 'a whole series of excellent conjectures'. The book is scarce, and I have not seen it.

Parthey, 1854.—*Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander. Ad fidem codicium manu scriptorum recognovit Gustavus Parthey. Berolini, MDCCCLIV.*¹ This is an edition of *Corp. I-XIV*. Parthey says in his preface that, if it meets with a good reception, he intends to edit afterwards *reliqua Hermetis scripta, apud Lactantium, Cyrilum, Stobaeum servata*; but this project was never carried out by him. He says nothing about *Corp. XVI-XVIII*.

Parthey made use of the editions of Turnebus, Flussas, and Patrizzi, and Tiedemann's notes; but he professes to base his text mainly on two MSS., A and B.² *Cod. A* had been collated for him by F. de Furia, and *Cod. B* by D. Hamm. But whether through his own carelessness or incompetence, or through that of the collators, his statements as to the readings of A and B are untrustworthy;³ and for any one who has access, either directly or through the medium of the *Pimandras* of Flussas, to the sounder text of the *editio princeps*, which reproduces without alteration that of a MS., Parthey's edition is useless, if not misleading.

Ménard, 1866.—*Hermes Trismégiste. Traduction complète, précédée d'une étude sur l'origine des livres Hermétiques. Par Louis Ménard. . . . Paris, . . . 1866.* The *Traduction* is a free translation of *Corp. I-XIV*, the Latin *Asclepius*, twenty-six Stobaeus-excerpts, some fragments from Cyril, &c., and *Corp. XVI-XVIII*. Ménard does not stick closely to the (often meaningless) words of the traditional text, but expresses in fluent French what he rightly or wrongly takes to have been the author's meaning. His introductory *Étude* (111 pages) is a sensible and well-written treatise on the *Hermetica*. For those who wish to make acquaintance with the Hermetists, but do not read Greek and Latin, Ménard's book is, I think, to be recommended in preference to any other work on the subject that has yet been published.

Zeller (*Philosophie der Griechen, Theil III, Abth. II*, 4th edition,

¹ An exact reprint of Parthey's *Poemander* of 1854 has been published within the last few years. It would have been better if the *editio princeps*, or the *Pimandras* of Flussas, had been reprinted instead.

² 'Codices A et B ita secutus sum, ut nusquam, nisi monito lectore, ab eorum auctoritate recesserim.'

³ 'Auf keine seiner Angaben ist irgenwelcher Verlass', says Reitzenstein.

1903, pp. 242-54) gives an account of the *Hermetica*, and summarizes the doctrines taught in them. He says that these writings 'seem in their present form to belong to the last *decennia* of the third century after Christ'.

Reitzenstein, 1904.—*Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-aegyptischen und früh-christlichen Literatur.* Von R. Reitzenstein. Leipzig, . . . 1904. As an appendix to the book is printed Reitzenstein's critical edition of *Corp. I*, XIII, and XVI-XVIII.

The publication of Reitzenstein's *Poimandres* marks the beginning of a fresh stage in the study of the Hermetic writings. Working as a pioneer in what was, for modern scholarship, almost a new and untouched field, he has made some serious mistakes; but he has put the study of the *Hermetica* on a scientific footing, and all later work on this subject must be based on his investigations.

Reitzenstein has also discussed some passages of the *Corpus* in *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, ihre Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*, 1910.

Among recent publications may be mentioned *Thrice-Greatest Hermes. Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis. Being a Translation of the Extant Sermons and Fragments of the Trismegistic Literature, with Prolegomena, Commentaries, and Notes.* By G. R. S. Mead. London and Benares. The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1906 (three volumes). Mr. Mead's point of view is indicated by these words in his preface: 'Along this ray of the Trismegistic tradition we may allow ourselves to be drawn backwards in time towards the holy of holies of the Wisdom of Ancient Egypt. The sympathetic study of this material may well prove an initiatory process towards an understanding of that Archaic Gnosis.'

A strange and quite untenable theory as to the dates of the *Hermetica* has been put forward by Dr. Flinders Petrie, in a paper printed in the *Transactions of the Third Internat. Congress of the History of Religions*, 1908, pp. 196 and 224. He puts the date of the *Kore Kosmu* (which he calls 'the earliest Hermetic document') at 'about 510 B. C., or certainly before 410 B. C.'; that of *Corp. XVI* at 'about 350 B. C.'; and that of the original of the Latin *Asclepius* at 'about 340 B. C.'. And he says that 'if the longest Hermetic writings thus belong to the Persian age' (i. e. to a time before 332 B. C.), 'it is probable that the whole group are not far removed from that period'. In a book entitled *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity*, 1909 (ch. 3, 'The dateable Hermetic writings'),

he again expresses the same opinion as to the dates of *Kore Kosmu*, *Corp.* XVI, and *Ascl. Lat.*, adding that 'there is nothing incompatible with such a date for Egyptian originals, while the Greek translations may very likely show a later style'. He thinks (*ib.*, pp. 85-91) that *Corp.* II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, and X, were probably written before the time of Alexander, and between 450 and 350 B.C.; that *Corp.* XII 'must' be earlier than 332 B.C.; that *Corp.* IV 'belongs to about 300 B.C.'; that *Corp.* XIII 'seems to be of the same date or rather later'; and that the date of *Corp.* I, which 'seems to be the last of the longer writings of this class', may very well be about 300-200 B.C. 'The Hermetic books as a whole', he says (p. 102), 'seem to hang together, and to belong to one general period, 500-200 B.C.' If these dates were proved to be right, there would necessarily result from them an astounding *bouleversement* of all commonly accepted views as to the history of Greek thought. But the arguments by which he endeavours to support his datings are not such as to be worth serious attention.¹

Josef Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*, Münster i. W., 1914. In this book Kroll's aim is 'to trace in detail the connexion of the Hermetic doctrines with Greek or Hellenistic doctrines in general, and to assign to the several notions (which present themselves in the *Hermetica*) their place in the history of religious and philosophic thought'. For that purpose, he arranges the teachings of the *Hermetica* under a series of subject-headings; and in dealing with each subject, he brings together what is said about it in the several Hermetic *libelli*, and quotes or refers to parallels in other writings. He concludes (pp. 386-9) that in the main the doctrines of the *Hermetica* belong to 'the sphere of Hellenistic thought—the general philosophy of the culture-world of that time', and that among the sources from which the Hermetists drew, special importance is to be assigned to Posidonius; that their thoughts have been little, if at all, affected by Egyptian influence; that their doctrines are in many respects similar to those of Philo, and that here and there are to be found in them distinctively Jewish notions; and that there is in the *Hermetica* 'no trace of any influence of Christianity'.²

¹ It is to be regretted that a man who has earned a high reputation by good work in other departments has in this case strayed into a field of research in which he does not know his bearings.

² These conclusions are in close agreement with those at which I had independently arrived before reading Kroll's book.

As to the dating of the Hermetic writings, Kroll says (p. 389) that, for most of them, any date after the time of Philo is possible, but that there are some pieces, one of which is *Corp. I.*, that cannot have been written before the time of Numenius (A.D. 150–200). He adds, ‘the dating in detail (of the several *libelli*) must be carried out by some one who undertakes the attractive but difficult task of distinguishing the different strata of the doctrines, and considering each of the different tractates in itself, and their relations to one another’.

That is precisely what I have aimed at doing in the present edition. There was no one Hermetic school or sect, and no one body of Hermetic doctrine. What we have before us is a number of *libelli*, written by a number of different men, each of whom had his distinct and separate point of view and mode of thought. There is in their teachings a certain general similarity, but there is also much divergence; and it is, for most purposes, more profitable to take the Hermetic *libelli* one by one, and investigate the doctrine of each of them separately, than to lump them all together.

C. F. G. Heinrici, *Die Hermes-Mystik und das Neue Testament*, edited by E. von Dobschütz, Leipzig, 1918. Heinrici died leaving the book unfinished, and von Dobschütz published Heinrici’s MS. almost unaltered, merely adding some pages of *Nachträge* written by himself.

The purpose of this book is to determine the relation between the teachings of the *Hermetica* and those of primitive Christianity as presented in the New Testament. With that purpose in view, Heinrici, in Part II, examines the Hermetic documents one by one (in that respect his method is preferable to that of J. Kroll), and in each of them looks for similarities in word or thought to things said in the New Testament. In Part III, he arranges the teachings of the *Hermetica* in general under a series of subject-headings, and under each heading compares the teachings of the New Testament on the same subject. His conclusions may be summed up by saying that he finds in the *Hermetica* many passages that are *parallels* to passages in the New Testament, but little that is *borrowed* from the New Testament.¹

He does not undertake to examine the relations between the *Hermetica* and Greek philosophic writings; his book is intended

¹ As to this, I should differ only by reducing his ‘little’ to still less, or to nothing.

to be a complement to that of J. Kroll, in which that subject was dealt with.

Heinrici's book contains some useful suggestions ; but it does not throw much fresh light on the Hermetic writings. I have found in it mistakes on particular points,¹ some of which are of considerable importance. And taking the book as a whole, Heinrici does not seem to understand rightly the main drift of the Hermetic teaching, and the relations in which it stands to other religious and philosophic movements of the time. The term '*Hermes-Mystik*', employed by him in the title and throughout the book, is ambiguous. Of '*mysticism*' in the sense of aspiration towards union with God, there is much in our *Hermetica* ; but of the sacramentalism of the Pagan mystery-cults, and of *theurgia* in general, there is hardly anything ; and Heinrici, though he here and there shows some recognition of this fact, is too much inclined to bring the philosophic *Hermetica* into connexion with mystery-cults and magical practices which he includes under the vague term *Mystik*, but with which they have in reality little or nothing in common.² He begins by contrasting *Mystik* (which he defines as 'revelation-literature') with philosophy, and coupling together the names Orpheus and Hermes as representative of this *Mystik*. It would be truer to say that the name Hermes (as far as the *libelli* of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the other documents of the same class are concerned) stands for philosophy, or for a religion based on philosophy, and that of Orpheus (the reputed founder of the mystery-cults, and supposed author of the *Orphica* revered by the later Neoplatonists) stands for *theurgia* as opposed to philosophy. He refers to Plato now and again ; but he does not adequately recognize the fact that the doctrines of these *Hermetica* are, in the main, derived from Platonism, and that all the other ingredients together are of comparatively small amount.

¹ Some of the mistakes might perhaps have been corrected if the author had lived to revise his work.

² For instance, he includes among the documents with which he deals the pieces printed in Pitra, *Analecta II*, which obviously (with one exception) belong to a different class, and have nothing to do with the philosophic *Hermetica*.

THE LATIN ASCLEPIUS

THE *Asclepius* has come down to us in the form of a Latin dialogue attributed to Apuleius. This Latin dialogue is a translation of a Greek original, which was known to Lactantius and others, but is now lost.

The manuscript tradition of the Latin text has been thoroughly investigated by P. Thomas ; and the results of his researches are incorporated in the text which he has published in his edition of the philosophic writings of Apuleius (*Apulei opera quae supersunt vol. III, De philosophia libri, rec. P. Thomas*, Teubner, Lips, 1908). Thomas's edition supersedes all earlier publications of the text ; and I have used it as my sole authority for the readings of the manuscripts.

Thomas classifies the more important manuscripts in two groups, as follows :

I. Codices melioris notae :

(1) B = Bruxellensis 10054-10056 ; written early in the eleventh century. Collated by Thomas. This MS. is very decidedly superior to all the rest. The hands of several correctors can be distinguished. One of these, B 2, who made his corrections at or near the end of the eleventh century, seems to have been a well-instructed man. In a few instances he alone gives what is certainly or probably the true reading ; but Thomas concludes that his emendations are merely conjectural. The other correctors of B contribute nothing of value.

(2) M = Monacensis 621 ; twelfth century. Collated by Goldbacher for his edition of Apuleius, 1876, and again by Thomas.

(3) V = Vaticanus 3385 ; twelfth century. The text of the *Asclepius* contained in this MS. has not yet been collated. But as V very closely resembles M (being, in Goldbacher's opinion, a more carelessly written copy of the same original from which M was copied), it is not likely that its collation will add largely to the material at our disposal for textual restoration. M and V are closely

related to B ; but Thomas thinks it probable that they were copied, not directly from B, but from a corrected copy of B.

(4) G = Gudianus 168 Bibliothecae Guelserbytanae ; thirteenth century. Collated by Goldbacher.

II. *Codices deteriores :*

Collated by Goldbacher :

(1) P = Parisinus 6634 ; twelfth century.

(2) L = Laurentianus plut. LXXVI cod. 36 ; twelfth or thirteenth century.

(3) F = Florentinus, olim Marcianus 284 ; twelfth century.

Besides these two groups, Thomas mentions a MS. in the British Museum (Add. 11983, twelfth century), which he has found to be of very little value ; and a large number of 'interpolated MSS.', which he has deliberately disregarded.

Thomas has reconstructed the text of the archetype from which our MSS. are derived. But that is only the first stage on the road to the discovery of the Hermetic teacher's meaning. The text of the archetype itself was corrupt ; and even if we could restore the Latin to the exact form in which it came from the hand of its first writer, we should still be far from the completion of our task. We have to do with a Latin translation of a Greek document. The Greek text was probably already damaged when it came into the translator's hands ; the translator was very imperfectly qualified for his work, and it is certain that he has frequently blundered. Our first business is to work back to the Latin text as the translator wrote it ; but having done this, we have still to guess what was the Greek which the translator had before him, and thence to infer the meaning which the writer of the lost original intended to convey. Thomas has brought together the results of the previous work of other scholars in the emendation of the text, and has added much of his own that is of high value ; but he has still left much to be done. Not only have both the Greek original and the Latin translation been damaged by errors of transcription ; but it is evident that either the original or the translation has been mutilated in a quite exceptional way. Some passages have been lost, some have been misplaced, and many words, phrases, and sentences have been transposed from a context in which they made sense to a context in which they make nonsense. If the Latin text had once

existed in an intelligible and clearly written form, it is difficult to imagine any process by which it could have been reduced to its present state. The ordinary causes of corruption do not suffice to explain its condition. The facts might perhaps be accounted for by assuming that the translator never wrote out a fair copy of his work, but left it full of erasures and corrections, with words and phrases, representing his second thoughts, scribbled in wherever he could find room for them ; and that this confused mass of words was afterwards copied out by some one who mechanically wrote down what he saw before him, without regard for the meaning.

The text which results from my attempts to restore the original order of the words is still very faulty, and I hope that it will be further emended by others ; but in spite of the many problems which remain unsolved, I think that it is near enough to the original to enable us to recover the thoughts of the writer (or writers) of the Greek treatise in the main, though not in every detail.

In order that the reader may have before him the continuous text in the traditional arrangement, each word, phrase, or passage which I have transposed (with the exception of a few of the longest of these passages) is printed between doubled rectangular brackets [[]] at the place where it stands in the MSS., and repeated between doubled brackets of a different shape << >> at the place to which I have transferred it.

In the foot-notes to the text, I have adopted the notation employed by Thomas :

ω = omnium codicum consensus.

ζ = codices interpolati.

Ed. Rom. = editio princeps Romana, 1469.

In the English translation which faces the Latin text, I have aimed at expressing what I suppose to have been the meaning of the original Greek, rather than the meaning—or, too frequently, the absence of meaning—of the Latin.

The component parts of the ASCLAEPIUS. It appears from internal evidence that the dialogue has been made up by putting together three distinct and unconnected documents—which I have named respectively ‘*Asclepius I (De homine)*’, ‘*Asclepius II (De origine mali)*’, and ‘*Asclepius III (De cultu deorum)*’—and adding a ‘*prologus*’ and an ‘*epilogus*’.

The contents of ASCLAEPIUS I. That part of the traditional text

which I call *Ascl.* I (viz. chs. 2-14 a) is a well-constructed whole, the parts of which are arranged and linked together with some skill. It is a treatise 'de tota summittate' (ch. 7 c)—concerning *Deus, Mundus, and Homo*, and their inter-relations ;—but the writer deals with this all-embracing subject from a definite point of view, and according to a definite plan. Throughout the discussion, *Man* is the central figure ;¹ and the teacher nowhere loses sight of his practical aim—that of urging men to live the life to which, as men, they are called. To this end he describes man's origin and nature (partly cosmic and partly supracosmic), and his station among and relations to beings of other grades (2-7); the twofold function assigned to him in accordance with his twofold nature (7 fin.—11 a); and the destiny which awaits him according as he fulfils his function or neglects it (11 b-12 init.). The subdivisions in the treatment of the theme are clearly marked, and yet are so connected that we pass on from each to the next without a break. There are two subordinate topics on which the writer has a special message to deliver, viz. the call to renounce possessions (11 a), and the mischief of a certain method of philosophic teaching (12 fin.—14 a). But each of these topics is introduced without breach of continuity. The renunciation of possessions is spoken of as a thing required with a view to the fulfilment of man's function ; and the corruption of philosophy is coupled with the love of possessions, as one of the hindrances to the realization of man's high destiny. Thus the concluding paragraph, on philosophy, is made to arise naturally out of the main subject ; and so the discourse ends appropriately with a description of that teaching which the writer holds to be the true philosophy, and of which the treatise itself is a specimen.

Asclepius I, then, is a well-ordered whole, complete in itself. There can, I think, be little doubt that the Greek original of *Ascl.* I at first existed as a separate document, of the same type as the *Hermes to Asclepius libelli* preserved in the *Corpus*; and it may be presumed that it once formed part of the collection of discourses known to Stobaeus as τὰ Ἐρμοῦ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν.

The sources of Ascl. I. In this treatise, as in most of the *Hermetica*, there is little novelty or originality in the doctrines taught ; and the discourse of Hermes contains few statements to

¹ The subject of this document might be described in the words of Pl. *Theaet.* 174 b: τί δέ ποτ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπος, καὶ τί τῷ τοιαύτῃ φύσει προσήκει διάφορον τῶν δλλων ποιεῖν ή πάσχειν, ὥστε (δ φιλόσοφος).

which parallels cannot be found in earlier Greek writings. Yet the teaching of *Ascl.* I is not a mere repetition of traditional formulas; the writer's words ring true, and are alive with genuine feeling. If he has adopted his beliefs from others, they are none the less his own.

The influence of Plato is manifest throughout. The fundamental articles of the writer's creed—the doctrine of a supracosmic God, who is the maker and ruler of the universe, and that of a supracosmic element in the human soul—have been transmitted to him from Plato; and verbal echoes of phrases used by Plato may be recognized (see for instance the reminiscences of the *Timaeus* in ch. 8). But there is ample evidence of dependence on Greek writers of later date than Plato. The terms *ἴλη* and *qualitas* (*ποιόν* or *ποιότης*), as employed in *Ascl.* I, did not come into use until after Plato's time. The cosmology of chs. 2–6 is largely Stoic. The notion of a lower and mortal soul which is either composed of fire and air, or inseparably connected with those elements, must have been arrived at by a blending of Platonism with Stoic physics. The terms *quod sursum versus fertur* and *quod deorsum fertur* (*τὸ ἀνωφερές*, *τὸ κατωφερές*), ch. 2—*species* (*εἶδος*) in the sense of an individual, or the group of qualities distinctive of an individual, chs. 2 *fin.*–4—*spiritus* (*πνεῦμα*), ch. 6—and the statement that plants are *ἄψυχα*, ch. 4, are of Stoic origin. The phrase (*voūs*) *quae quinta pars soli homini concessa est ex aethere*, ch. 6 *fin.*, seems to have been derived from the Peripatetic Critolaus, perhaps through the syncretic Platonist Antiochus.¹

The writer of *Ascl.* I says that man has been embodied on earth 'in order that he may tend the things of earth' (*ἵνα τὰ ἡπατεύῃ*); and it is in the treatment of this theme, if anywhere, that he shows independence. The earliest Pagan writer in whom I have found this thought expressed is Cicero; and he probably got it from Posidonius. In this part of *Ascl.* I, therefore, the influence of Posidonius may be suspected.

The modification of a fundamentally Platonic system of thought by an intermixture of Stoic physics, such as we find in this document as well as in most of the other *Hermetica*, must have been derived from Antiochus and Posidonius, or from writers subsequent to them and influenced by them.

¹ The passage (*sunt res*) *quaedam quae ante factae sunt*, &c., ch. 5 *init.*, probably comes from Antiochus; but it is doubtful whether this passage existed in the original text of *Ascl.* I.

There seems to be nothing distinctively Egyptian in the doctrine of *Ascl. I.* The religious fervour of the writer is characteristic of his Egyptian nationality ; but there is nothing in his dogmas that cannot be derived from Greek philosophy.

There are several phrases which show some resemblance to passages in the first two chapters of *Genesis*. See notes on ch. 3, *mundus . . . praeparatus est a deo* (i.e. ὥλη has been created by God) ; ch. 7, *pars (hominis, sc. the vōūs), quam vocamus divinae similitudinis formam* ; ch. 8, *καλὸς δὲ (τῷ θεῷ) ἐφάνη ὁν (ὁ κόσμος)* ; *ib.*, *talesque omnes esse praecepit* (which implies the making of a 'first man') ; *ib.*, man has been embodied *ut possit . . . gubernare terrena*. There is, then, a possibility that the writer was to some slight extent affected by Jewish influence ; but as each of these thoughts may very well have been suggested in some other way, it remains a possibility only.

The writer uses the term ὁ κύριος as a name or title of the supreme God (ch. 8). Is this to be regarded as a result of Jewish influence? The word κύριος (with a dependent genitive) was applied to Zeus by Pindar, *Isthm.* 4 (5). 67 : *Ζεὺς τὰ τε καὶ τὰ νέμει, Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος* and according to Liddell and Scott, κύριος occurs 'in inscriptions, as a name of divers gods, Zeus, Hermes, Kronos, &c., *vide C. I. Index III* ; so *Kypia* of Artemis, &c., *ib.*' But it was not commonly used by Greek philosophic writers with reference to the supreme God. There is no instance of this use of it in Diels *Fr. Vorschr.*, in Plato, in Aristotle, or in Diels *Doxogr.*¹ But it was employed by the translators of the LXX as a rendering of the Hebrew name of God ; and where it is similarly used by Pagan writers, it may have been taken over by them from Hellenistic Jews. It occurs frequently in the books of magic ; e.g. the god is addressed as κύριε in Dieterich *Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 8, 10 (thrice), 14 (twice), and Dieterich *Abraxas*, p. 177, &c. Its use in such cases is comparable to that of the Hebrew names (e.g. Σαβαώθ, *Abraxas* p. 176) employed in magic invocations.

I have failed to find the slightest trace of Christian influence in *Ascl. I.*

Date of the Greek original of Ascl. I. The only definite terminus

¹ The nearest approaches to it are the following. Aetius, *Doxogr.*, p. 297 (Stoic) : *τῶν μὲν ἀπάντων τὸ θεῖον κυριάτατος, τῶν δὲ ζῷων ἀνθρώπους κάλλιστον*. Hermias, *ib.*, p. 652, in a statement of the doctrine of Anaxagoras : *ἀρχὴ πάντων δὲ νοῦς, καὶ οὐτος αἴτιος καὶ κύριος τῶν ζῴων*. But in both these instances the word is followed by a genitive.

a quo is that which is given by the fact that the writer mixes Stoic physics with his Platonism. This sort of syncretism began in the time of Antiochus and Posidonius, i. e. in the first half of the first century B.C. It is therefore certain that the treatise cannot have been written before 100 B.C. But it was probably not written until much later.

A *terminus ante quem* may, perhaps, be inferred from the absence of any recognition of the existence of Christianity. The attitude of the writer of *Ascl. I* presents in this respect a contrast to that of the writer of *Ascl. III*. The latter, writing about A.D. 270 (see below), regards the advance of Christianity with horror and dismay; it is already clear to him that the Christians will soon get the upper hand, and that the Pagan cults will be abolished. But the writer of *Ascl. I*, when he asks himself (ch. 12 f.) what is the most serious obstacle in the path of those who seek salvation, finds it in the fact that certain Pagan teachers attach too much importance to the study of mathematics. If he had been aware that the very existence of his religion was threatened by the spread of Christianity, he could hardly have omitted to mention at this point a danger in comparison with which the error of which he speaks would have seemed to him a negligible trifle. This seems a sufficient reason for putting the date of *Ascl. I* earlier than that of *Ascl. III*. *Ascl. I* was probably written at a time when Christianity was not yet strong or aggressive enough to cause grave alarm or distress to the adherents of the old religions; *Ascl. III* was written at a time when it had already become apparent to the writer, not only that a danger was impending, but that the total extinction of Pagan religion was inevitable. For reasons given below, I think that a man in the situation of the writer of *Ascl. I* would not have been likely to ignore this danger at any time later than A.D. 260. We may therefore fix on 100 B.C. and A.D. 260 as the extreme limits between which the date of *Ascl. I* must be placed; and we might with strong probability restrict the range somewhat more narrowly, and say that the date must lie between 50 B.C. and A.D. 250.

I can find no internal evidence which would enable us to fix the date of *Ascl. I* more exactly; but on the ground of considerations which apply to the *Hermetica* in general, I am inclined to think that this *libellus* is not likely to have been written before the second century A.D.; and perhaps we should not be far wrong in conjecturing that the writer was a contemporary of Clement, who was teaching in Alexandria between A.D. 190 and 200.

The circumstances of the writer. The author of *Ascl.* I was probably an Egyptian by race. He can hardly have been a priest ; for he takes no interest in theurgic ritual ; and the worship of ‘daemons’ (i.e. temple-gods) is, in his eyes, a comparatively low form of religion, though better than none. It may be inferred that he had not been trained in the schools of the Egyptian priests, but had received a Hellenic education in Alexandria. Perhaps he had attended the lectures of one of the professional teachers of Platonism in that city, and is speaking from his own experience when he complains that such teachers put difficulties in the way of a seeker after God by including in their curriculum a compulsory course of mathematics. But in spite of these difficulties, he succeeded in learning as much of Greek philosophy as he needed for his purpose ; and we may suppose that he afterwards retired to some more secluded place, where he could live the contemplative life in companionship with a small group of congenial spirits, at first, perhaps, as a pupil of some older teacher of the *gnosis*, and afterwards as a teacher in his turn. The instruction in these little communities must have been chiefly oral, and carried on, for the most part, by means of colloquies between the master and a single pupil at a time ; and when one of the teachers committed his thoughts to writing, no doubt he reproduced, in the form of imaginary dialogues between Hermes and Tat or Asclepius, the method and contents of his own talks with this or that disciple.

If the writer of *Ascl.* I practised what he preached (ch. 11), he must have renounced all private possessions ; and it almost necessarily follows from this that the brotherhood to which he belonged, and of which he was perhaps the head, held property in common, and that the produce of their labours was thrown into a common stock, from which the wants of all the members were supplied. They must have divided their time between *cultus terrenorum* and *cultus caelestium* ; that is, they must have been occupied partly in tilling the piece of land which they owned collectively, and partly in adoration of the *di caelestes* (especially in the form of hymn-singing, ch. 9), and in drawing near to the supreme God by private prayer and meditation, and by such talk between teacher and pupil as is exemplified in our *Hermetica*. They felt that, in living such a life as this, they were doing the work which God had sent them down to earth to do ; and they looked forward with trustful hope to the time when they would be ‘released from the bonds of mortality’,

and, by God's grace, permitted to return to their true home above.

Asclepius II. That part of the composite dialogue which I call *Ascl. II* deals with the origin of evil ; the writer seeks to account for the existence of evil by attributing it to the operation of *ἀλη*. This discussion is not in any way connected either with the contents of *Ascl. I* or with those of *Ascl. III* ; and the dualism of *Ascl. II* is irreconcilable with the monism of *Ascl. I* and *Ascl. III*. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the Greek original of *Ascl. II* was in existence before it was made use of to form a part of the *Asclepius*. It appears to be complete in itself ; but whether it was an independent *libellus*,¹ or a piece extracted by the compiler of the *Asclepius* from a longer document, we have no means of knowing.

There is no indication of any definite date for the Greek original of *Ascl. II*. We may suppose it to have been written in the same period as the Greek originals of *Ascl. I* and *Ascl. III*, i. e. probably about A. D. 150-270 ; and this supposition is to some extent confirmed by the resemblance between the teaching of *Ascl. II* and that of Numenius and Hermogenes (A. D. 150-200) on the same subject.

The contents of ASCLEPIUS III. That part of the traditional text which I have named *Ascl. III* presents, at first sight, a mere chaos of passages not only unconnected with *Ascl. I* and *Ascl. II*, but also unconnected with one another. But this confusion may be in part, if not wholly, a result of the mutilated and disordered state in which the Latin text has come down to us ; and it seems probable that the Greek original of *Ascl. III* existed as a single document before the composite dialogue was compiled.

It appears that a number of passages were somehow severed from their context, but were preserved as detached fragments ; and that these fragments were collected into two blocks (27 b-29b and 33-6), which have been inserted into the text at the two places at which we find them. I have transposed these passages to what I conjecture to have been their original positions ; and the contents of *Ascl. III*, as rearranged by me, may be tabulated as follows :

¹ It would be a short *libellus*, but not shorter than some other *Hermetica* which may perhaps have been written as independent *libelli*, and meant to stand alone, e.g. *Corp. VIII* and *Corp. III*.

a { 16 b, 17 a c, «(33 a c, 34 a)»: *Ratio mundanorum*; a short account of the constituents of the material universe, viz. *ὕλη*, *μορφαί*, and *πνεῦμα*.

{ 18 b, 19 a, «(34 b)», 19 b «(27 c b)»,¹ 19 c, «(34 c, «(17 b)», 35, 36)»: *Ratio divinorum*; a discussion of *νοντά*.

* * * * * * * * *

20, 21: *Alia ratio divinorum*; on procreation.

22, 23 a: the gift of reason bestowed by God on man.

23 b, 24 a: man's power of making gods.

β { 24 b-26 a: *the Prophecy*; Hermes predicts the extinction of the national religion of Egypt.

{ 26 b, 27 a, 29 c-32 a, «(40 b)»: the eternity of God and the time-process of the Kosmos.

32 b: the three kinds of *νοῦς* (divine, cosmic, and human).

* * * * * * * * *

γ { 37, «(27 d)», 38 a: gods made by men (i. e. terrestrial gods).
{ 38 b-40 a: functions of terrestrial and celestial gods; Heimarmene.

* * * * * * * * *

δ { «(27 e-29 a)»: *de immortali et mortali*: on the life after death.
(The latter part of this passage is lost.)

{ «(29 b)»²: the happiness of the pious in this life.

In the portion marked β (i. e. chs. 20-32 b, omitting the misplaced fragments 27 b-29 b), the discourse of Hermes runs on without a break. The portion marked γ (i. e. chs. 37-40 a), which is also continuous in itself, begins with a reference back to 23 b (*homo factor est deorum*), and is thereby shown to have been intended by its writer to form part of the same treatise with β . As to the rest, there is much that remains doubtful; but the portion marked α , as conjecturally reconstructed, seems suitable for the beginning of the treatise; and the portion marked δ may very well have stood at or near the end of it.

Even in that part of the text which is undoubtedly continuous (viz. β , chs. 20-32 b), there is a lack of orderly and systematic arrangement; the writer seems to stray at random from one topic to another, as each in succession happens to occur to him. (In this

¹ It is doubtful whether the passage 19 b «(27 c b)» (i. e. the list of *οὐσιάρχαι*) is rightly placed here.

² It is uncertain where the fragment 29 b ought to stand.

respect, *Ascl.* III stands in marked contrast to *Ascl.* I.) The treatise as a whole has little unity ; and it is difficult to describe its subject in a single phrase. But every part of it contributes in some way to the exposition of what the writer holds to be the true religion ; and in some parts at least he is occupied in explaining what gods are to be worshipped, and how men ought to worship them. In the Prophecy he laments the impending abandonment of the old cults ; his repeated assertion that men make gods (23 b, 37) is a defiant justification of the usages of Pagan worship in the face of Christian hostility ; and the passage on time and eternity (26 b-32) leads up to a mention of that vision of the Eternal in which all worship culminates. Perhaps then the loosely connected discussions of which *Ascl.* III is composed may be fairly comprehended under the title *De cultu deorum*.

The sources of ASCLEPIUS III. The influence of Plato is manifest throughout. The fundamental conceptions of the writer—that of a supracosmic God, and that of an incorporeal *νοῦς*—are derived from Plato. The notion of eternity (26 b-32) is Platonic ; and the use of the word *aeternitas* (*αἰών*) to express this notion comes from the *Timaeus*. The doctrine of *νοητὰ* and *εἴδη* contained in chs. 17 b, 18 b, 19 a c, 34 b-36, is based on the teaching of Plato ; and the distinction between *νοητὰ εἴδη* and *αἰσθητὰ εἴδη* (17 b and 35) belongs to a stage of Platonism which can hardly have been reached before the time of Antiochus (first century B.C.). The daemonology of 27 e-29 a must have been taken over from some Platonic authority. The use of the term *ἄλη* (17 a) originated among the pupils of Plato. In 16 b, the Kosmos is described as *sensibilis deus* (*αἰσθητὸς θεός*, Pl. *Tim.*).

To Stoic influence must be ascribed the use of the term *spiritus* (*πνεῦμα*) in 16 b, 17 a, 18 b, and the doctrine of *εἰμαρμένη* in 39, 40 a. The definition of *vox* (*φωνή*) in 20 a is Stoic. In the words *quod dicitur extra mundum*, 33 a, the writer refers to the Stoic doctrine of a void outside the Kosmos. The statement that no two individuals are alike (ch. 35) is derived from the Stoics of the second century B.C., who maintained this doctrine in opposition to the Academics ; and the astral explanation of individual differences (*ib.*) would hardly have been found in the writings of any Stoic earlier than Posidonius. The terms *ἀποκατέστησεν* and *regenitura* (*παλιγγενεσία*) in the last paragraph of the Prophecy, 26 a, are Stoic, and the contents of this paragraph are probably derived in part from a Stoic source. In the

account of the life after death, 27 e–29 a, the assumption that all souls alike, on their separation from the body, ascend into the atmosphere is of Stoic origin; and the division of the atmosphere into two distinct strata, and the purgation of impure souls in the lower stratum, are derived from Posidonius.

The statement that *voūs* is *divina pars mundi*, ch. 22 b, is due to the influence of Stoic materialism, but may perhaps have been transmitted to the writer by the Peripatetic Critolaus and the Platonist Antiochus. The remarks on circular movement in 31 *fin.* and 40 b may perhaps have been derived from Aristotle.

The contents of chs. 20, 21 (God is *ἀνώνυμος* or *παντώνυμος*—God is *ἀρσενόθηλος*) may possibly be derived from native Egyptian sources. The views expressed in connexion with the statement that man makes gods (23 b, 24 a, and 37, 38) are Egyptian rather than Hellenic. In these passages, the writer formulates certain beliefs of his countrymen; he is here speaking of things familiar to him by direct and personal knowledge, and has no occasion to borrow from earlier writers.

In the list of *οὐσιάρχαι* (19 b, 27 c), the notion of a system of departmental gods, and the names *Zeus*, *Heimarmene*, indicate a Stoic source; but the terms (*Decani*), *Horoscopi*, and *Pantomorphos* are derived rather from the astral religion of Hellenistic Egypt. The combination of Stoic and Egyptian ingredients in this passage might be accounted for by the assumption that the scheme of *οὐσιάρχαι* has been borrowed from the Egyptian Stoic Chaeremon.

The form of the Prophecy, 24 b–26 a, may have been suggested by earlier apocalypses, Egyptian or Jewish; but its contents, so far as it refers to contemporary events, must be original.

Analogy to Jewish teaching may be found in the exaltation of human procreation, ch. 21 (cf. Gen. i. 28, *αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύεσθε*); in the statement that man is made *ex parte corruptiore mundi et ex divina*, ch. 22 (cf. Gen. ii. 7, *ἐπλαστεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κ.τ.λ.*); and in the application of the term *summus* (*ὑψιστός*) to the supreme God (*summus qui dicitur deus*, 16 b); but there is no proof that the writer was in any way affected by Jewish influences.

There is not the slightest reason to think that any part of the doctrine of *Ascl. III* has been derived from Christian sources. On the other hand, the writer's attitude is to a large extent determined by his repugnance to Christianity. This repugnance finds direct

expression in the Prophecy, and underlies his treatment of the topics of god-making and procreation.

Date of the Greek original of ASCLEPIUS III. A consideration of the sources from which the doctrine of *Ascl.* III is derived makes it certain that the treatise must have been written after the time of Antiochus and Posidonius, i. e. at some time later than 100 B.C. At no earlier period could Stoic conceptions have been blended with Platonism as we find them blended in this document. And if the writer has borrowed from Chaeremon, the date must be later than A.D. 50.

But the Prophecy, ch. 24 f., contains references to contemporary events; and by examining these references, it may be possible to determine the date more exactly. The contents of the Prophecy may be summarized thus: 'Cruel and impious foreigners will invade the land of Egypt, and slaughter a large part of the inhabitants; thereupon, the Egyptians themselves will become cruel and impious, and the national religion will die out.' At what date were these predictions written? It is evident that the writer is describing, under the form of a prophecy uttered by Trismegistus, things which had recently taken place, or were taking place before his eyes. If, therefore, we can identify the events of which he speaks, we shall obtain an approximate date for the writing of chs. 24-6 at least, if not for the whole treatise.

Let us consider first the predicted abandonment of the national religion.

Under the rule of the Persians and the Greeks, and under the earlier Roman empire, the Egyptian religion had maintained itself, not indeed unchanged, but unimpaired in strength, and unshaken by any sudden or violent transformation; and at no time could it be thought to be in danger of perishing, until it was threatened with extinction by the advance of Christianity.¹

¹ Under the Ptolemies and the early Roman emperors, the only declared opponents of Paganism in Egypt were the Jews; and they were never numerous or influential enough to cause such a feeling of impending and inevitable doom as is expressed by our Hermetist. (On the Jewish rising under Trajan, see below.)

An illustration of the attitude of the Jews towards the Egyptian religion is to be found in *Orac. Sibyll.* 5. 484-503, written by an Alexandrian Jew of unknown date (possibly about the time of Trajan or Hadrian):

Ἴα, θεῦ τριτάλαια, μενεῖς ἐνī χεύραιοι Νείλου
μονῆ, μανᾶς ἀναδος ἐπὶ ψαμόθοις Ἀχέροντος,
κούκετι σου μελα γε μενεῖ κατὰ γαῖαν ἄπασαν,
καὶ σύ, Σάραπι, λίθους ὄργοντι ἐπικείμενε πολλούς,
κείσῃ πτῶμα μέγιστον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τριταλαίη.

What, then, is the earliest date at which Christianity was powerful and aggressive enough in Egypt to give rise to such gloomy anticipations as are expressed in chs. 24-5 of the *Asclepius*? Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, Book IV, has collected the evidences of the spread of Christianity down to A. D. 325. Celsus¹ (A. D. 176-80) speaks as if Christianity had been almost extirpated. Doubtless he exaggerates the success of the repressive measures of Marcus Aurelius; but he could not have spoken thus if the Christians were numerous enough to cause serious alarm. In his time, Pagans regarded Christianity with hatred and contempt, but not with fear.

Tertullian² (A. D. 197-213) speaks in a tone which foreshadows the coming danger to Paganism. But allowance must be made for his rhetorical style; he greatly exaggerates the numbers and power of the Christians.

ὅσσοι δ' Αἰγύπτου πόθον ἡγαγον εἰς σε, ἀπαντες
κλαύσονται σε κακῶς, θεὺν ἀφέσιν ἐν φρεσὶ θέντες·
γνώσονται σε τὸ μηδὲν, ὅσαι θεὸν ἔξυμπσαν,
καὶ *(τότε)* τῶν ιερέων τις ἐρεῖ, λινόστολος ἀνήρ·
“δεῦτε, θεοῦ τέμενος καλὸν στήσωμεν ἀληθοῦν·
δεῦτε, τὸν ἐκ προγόνων δεινὸν νύμον ἀλλάξωμεν,
τοῦ χάριν οἱ λιθίνοις καὶ δοτρακίνοις θεοῖσιν
πομπᾶς καὶ τελετᾶς ποιούμενοι οὐκ ἐνόησαν.
στρέψωμεν ψυχὰς θεὸν ἀφέσιν ἔξυμποντες
τὸν πρύτανι πάντων, τὸν δληθέα, τὸν βασιλῆα,
ψυχοτρόφον γενετῆρα, θεὸν μέγαν αἰὲν ἔοντα.”

The Jewish Sibyllist here predicts the conversion of the Egyptians, as the writer of Isaiah ch. 19 had predicted it before him; but it is hardly to be thought that an Egyptian idolater would at any time have admitted that the conversion of the whole nation to Judaism was even possible, much less that it was inevitable.

¹ Celsus, in Origen *contra Cels.* 8. 69: ἴμων δὲ (sc. of you Christians) καν
πλανᾶται τις ἔτι λαθάνων, ἀλλὰ ἵγεται πρὸς θανάτου δίκτυον. (The dates of the books here cited are taken from Harnack, *Chronol. der Altchrist. Litt.*, 1897-1904.)

² Tertull. *Apolog.* 2 (A. D. 197) ‘Obsessam vociferantur civitatem, in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos, omnem sexum, aetatem, condicionem, etiam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen’. *Ib.* 37 ‘Si et hostes exertos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum et copiarum? . . . Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus. . . . Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamus, si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret quam occidere? . . . Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupuissemus a vobis, suffidisset utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcumque civium amissio, immo etiam et ipsa destituzione punisset. . . . Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent. Nunc etiam pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine Christianorum, paene omnium civitatum paene omnes cives Christianos habendo.’ Tertull. *adv. Judaeos* (A. D. 198-203) ‘In quem alium universae gentes crediderunt nisi in Christum?’ Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 3, 20 (A. D. 198-209) ‘Aspice universas nationes de voragine erroris humani exinde emergentes. . . . Christus totum iam orbem evangelii sui fide cepit.’ Tertull. *ad Scapulam* 2 (A. D. 212-13) ‘Tanta hominum multitudo, pars paene maior civitatis cuiusque, in silentio et modestia agimus’. See also Minucius Felix 9 (A. D. 222-50).

Origen¹ (A. D. 246-9), speaking the language of sober truth, supplies the necessary corrective to Tertullian's exaggerations. He admits that there are still many people, even in the Roman empire, whose ears the preaching of Christianity has not yet reached; and that the Christians are still 'very few' as compared with the Pagans. He looks forward with confident assurance to the ultimate prevalence of good over evil, either in this world or in the world to come; but he doubts whether the universal acceptance of the true religion is possible on earth.

Harnack (*op. cit.*, p. 376) concludes that 'as regards the stages in the history of the mission-work, the great advances, after the time of Paul, were made (1) in the epoch of Commodus (A. D. 180-92) and his next successors, and (2) in the years 260-303; and it was in the latter period that the progress was most rapid'.²

From the time of the edict of toleration issued at Milan by Constantine and Licinius in A. D. 313, the victory of the new religion was assured. Eusebius,³ about A. D. 325, describes the Christians as 'the most numerous of all the nations'; and Firmicus Maternus, some twenty years later, speaks of Paganism as almost extinct.⁴

¹ Origenes, *ad Matth.* 24. 9 (A. D. 246-9) 'Multi enim non solum barbararum, sed etiam nostrarum gentium usque nunc non audierunt Christianitatis verbum'. Orig. *contra Cels.* 3. 29 (A. D. 246-8) δο θέματα τῶν Ἱησοῦν θεός . . . ἐπώσησε παντάχου τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ διορθώσεως κρατήσαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἰησοῦ, καὶ γενέσθαι παντάχου ἐκκλησίας ἀντιπολετευομένας ἐκκλησίας δειποδαμύνων καὶ ἀκολάστων καὶ ἀδίκων. *Ib.* 8. 69 εἶπερ "ἀν δύο συμφωνῶσιν" ἐξ ἡμῶν . . . "γενέσται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς πατρός," . . . τι χρὴ νομίσειν, εἴ μη μόνον ὡς τῶν πάνι ὀλίγοι συμφωνοῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχή; *Ib.* 8. 68 ἥτις (sc. ἡ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκεία) καὶ μόνη ποτὲ κρατήσει, τοῦ λόγου δεῖ πλείονα νεμομένου ψυχάς. *Ib.* 8. 72 εὑχήν τινα εἰπὼν (sc. Celsus) τὴν "Εἰ γάρ δὴ οὖλον τε εἰς ἔνα συμφρονήσαι νόμον τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην καὶ Λιβύην κατοικοῦντας 'Ελληνας καὶ βαρβάρους ἄχρι περάτων νενεμημένους", ἀδύνατον τοῦτο νομίσας εἶναι, ἐπιφέρει διτὶ "ὅ τοιού οἴμενος οἶδεν οὐδέν". εἰ δὲ χρὴ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, λελέξεται δλίγα . . . εἰ τὸ φανῆναι οἱ μόνον δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθὲς τὸ λεγύμενον περὶ τοῦ εἰς ἔνα συμφρονήσαι νόμον πᾶν τὸ λογικόν . . . πάνταν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ φυχῇ κακῶν δυνατῶτερον ὃν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ θεραπεία, προσάγει κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ ἐκάστην αὐτῆν· καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐστι τὴν κακίαν . . . καὶ τάχις ἀληθῶς ἀδύνατον μὲν τὸ ποιούτον τοῖς ἔτι ἐν σώματι, οὐ μῆδ ἀδύνατον καὶ ἀπολυθεῖσιν αὐτοῦ.

² See Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* 5. 21. 1; 6. 36. 1; 8. 1. 1; 9. 9.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* 1. 4. 2 πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν πολυανθρωπότατον.

⁴ Firmicus Maternus, *de Err. Prof. Relig.* 20 (A. D. 346-7) 'Licet adhuc in quibusdam regionibus idolatriæ morientia palpitate membra, tamen in eo res est ut a Christianis omnibus terris pestiferum hoc malum funditus amputetur'. But this is an exaggeration. Paganism died slowly; and the reaction under Julian, A. D. 361-3, gave it a fresh lease of life. Firmicus himself, ch. 13, admits that the cult of Sarapis in Alexandria was still openly carried on at the time when he wrote. During the youth of Augustine, about A. D. 372, festivals of the Magna Mater and Attis were publicly celebrated in Carthage (*Aug. De civ. dei* 2. 4 and

From the evidence of the authors so far cited, we may form some notion of the stages by which Christianity advanced in the Roman empire as a whole. Our present purpose would be better served if we could trace the progress made in Egypt. The history of Christianity in Egypt down to A. D. 180 is almost a blank;¹ concerning that period we know only that some early Christian documents were probably written there; that a 'Gospel according to the Egyptians' was in circulation; and that Basilides, Valentinus, and other Christian Gnostics taught in Egypt. About 180, we find a vigorous Christian Church established in Alexandria, and the Christian 'Catechetical School' already at work. In the time of Clement (from A. D. 190 onwards), that School was attended by Pagans as well as Christians; and if Clement's words² may be taken as specially applying to Egypt, they imply that Christianity had gained a firm footing among the people of the country. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 6. 1, 2) says that in the persecution of Septimius Severus, A. D. 202, a large number of Christians 'from all (Lower) Egypt and all the Thebaid' suffered martyrdom in Alexandria.³ Harnack (*op. cit.*, p. 454) says that 'from the fragments of the letters of Dionysius Alex., bishop of Alexandria (A. D. 247-65), and from the accounts of the persecutions (A. D. 250-60), we get the impression that the number of Christians in Alexandria was large, and that Christianity had spread to a considerable extent in the towns and villages of the country. After the middle of the third century, Lower Egypt was certainly one of the regions in which the Christians were especially numerous. . . . At the time of the persecution of Decius (A. D. 250) there were already Christians holding public offices in Alexandria, and many wealthy men were Christians (Euseb.

¹ *7. 26*; Boissier, *Fin du paganisme*, i, p. 347). Libanius, *De templis*, about A. D. 384-7, speaks of Pagan cults as still practised (Boissier, *ib.*, ii, p. 341); the edict of Theodosius in A. D. 392 (*Cod. Theodos.*, 16. 10. 12) shows that the need of fresh enactments against them was still felt at that time; and even Theodosius II (*Cod. Theod.* 16. 10. 22) issued an edict against *paganos qui supersunt, quamquam iam nullos esse credamus*. In A. D. 398, Claudian (*De quarto cons. Honorii* 570 sqq.; Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, ii. 281 and i. 404) describes a procession of statues of the gods in Memphis.

² Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Chr.*, p. 448.

³ *Strom.* 6. 18. 167 δέ γε τοῦ διδασκάλου τοῦ ἡμετέρου λόγος . . . ἔχθη . . . ἀνά πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, πείσων Ἑλλήνων τε ὄμοι καὶ Βαρβάρων κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ κώμην καὶ πόλιν πᾶσαν, οἴκους ὅλους καὶ ιδίᾳ ἔκαστον τῶν ἐπακηκούτων, καὶ αὐτῶν γε τῶν φιλοσόφων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἦδη ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν μεθίστας.

⁴ Eusebius here speaks of 'a myriad' of martyrs: μυρίων δύσων τοῖς κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον ἀναδουμένων στεφάνοις. But μυρίοι in Euseb. merely means 'a good many'. Origen, c. *Celsus* 3. 8, says: ὀλίγοις κατὰ καιρὸς καὶ σφέδρα εὑαριθμητοι ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβείας τεθνήκασι.

6. 41: 7. 11'). The descriptions of the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 303) prove that there were at that time large numbers of Christians in the Thebaid. Dionysius Alex. (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 6. 41) speaks of Christians among the native Egyptian population as well as among the Greeks; and the translation of the Bible into Coptic was probably begun, in Upper Egypt, in the second half of the third century. 'It is certain', says Harnack, 'that at the time of the persecution of Diocletian the Christians in Egypt had long outnumbered the Jews; at the beginning of the fourth century their number probably exceeded a million.'

What, then, is the earliest date at which it would be possible for an adherent of Paganism in Egypt to foresee and lament the coming extinction of his religion? To this question no exact and certain answer can be given; but we may conclude that chapters 24-5 can hardly have been written before the renewed expansion of Christianity which followed on the close of the period of persecution under Decius, Gallus, and Valerian (A.D. 250-3 and 257-60). Thus from what we know of the progress of Christianity, we might fix on the year 260 as the *terminus a quo* for the Greek original of chs. 24-6. A *terminus ante quem* is given by Lactantius's quotation from the Greek original of ch. 26 in his *Div. Inst.*, written within a few years of A.D. 310. The prophecy, then, was probably written at some time in the half-century A.D. 260-310.

But we may hope to fix the date more exactly by identifying the particular events referred to. The prophecy speaks of an invasion of Egypt by *alienigenae*, and an immigration of 'Scythians or Indians or some such barbarians'. Who are these *alienigenae*? The term cannot be meant to apply to Greeks or Jews; for Greeks and Jews had been resident in Egypt in large numbers ever since the time of Alexander, and the invasion spoken of is evidently recent. Nor can the Roman conquest be meant; for we are told that the foreigners will 'fill the land'; but the Roman conquest caused no large and sudden influx of foreigners; indeed, Italians were at no time numerous in Egypt. And neither Greek, Jew, nor Italian can be described as 'Scythes aut Indus'.

We are also told of a vast slaughter, or series of slaughters, in which a large part of the population of Egypt perishes. The earliest incident to which this description could possibly be supposed to apply is the insurrection of the Jews under Trajan.¹ But though

¹ Mommsen, *Provs. of Rom. Empire*, Eng. tr., 1886, ii, p. 221: 'In the year
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the Jewish insurgents, [during their short-lived success, may have dealt harshly with the Egyptian idolaters, there is no reason to suppose that any large proportion of the Egyptians abandoned the religion of their fathers ; and no one at that date could anticipate the total extinction of Egyptian Paganism. Besides, there is nothing in that incident to account for the mention of *alienigenae*¹ and *Scythes aut Indus*. It is therefore certain that the event referred to cannot be the Jewish insurrection of A. D. 116.

The next incident to which the prophecy of slaughter might seem to be applicable² is the massacre of Alexandrians by order of Caracalla³ in A. D. 215. But the words *alienigenis terram complentibus* and *inhabitabit Aegyptum Indus aut Scythes* cannot be made to apply to Caracalla's soldiers.

It would seem that after this disaster Alexandria never fully recovered its former prosperity ; and from this time onward, things went from bad to worse in Egypt. In A. D. 252 we first hear of a pestilence which ravaged the empire in successive outbreaks during a space of fifteen years, and by which large numbers of Egyptians perished. But it was especially during the troubled years which followed the capture of Valerian by the Persians in 260, that calamities fell thick and fast upon the land. We have a contemporary description of the situation in Egypt between A. D. 261 and 265,⁴ in the letters written by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria.

116, the Jews of the eastern Mediterranean rose against the imperial government.' The chief seats of the rising were Cyrene, Cyprus, and Egypt; it was 'directed to the expulsion of the Romans as well as of the Hellenes, and apparently to the establishment of a separate Jewish state'. The Jews for a time got the upper hand in Egypt; 'they killed those (Greeks and Romans) whom they seized'; but 'in Alexandria, which does not itself appear to have fallen into the hands of the Jews, the besieged Hellenes slew whatever Jews were then in the city'. The insurrection was suppressed by an army and fleet sent by Trajan. Appian says that Trajan annihilated the Jews in Alexandria.

¹ The insurgent Jews in Egypt, though they may have been reinforced by contingents from elsewhere, must have been in the main Egyptian residents, and not invaders.

² It is certainly not applicable to the insurrection of the Βουκόλοι in Egypt in the time of Marcus Aurelius (Dio Cass. 71. 4).

³ Schiller, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 747: 'A rising in Egypt summoned Caracalla to that land, and Alexandria was severely punished; the town was given up to the soldiers to be plundered, and a great part of the inhabitants were killed.' Dio 77. 22, 23; Herodian 4. 8. 6-9 and 9; Spartianus, *Vita Caracall. 6. 2. 3.* The details are uncertain, but the fact that a great slaughter took place cannot be doubted. 'The subjection of Egypt' is depicted on a Roman coin struck at this time.

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* 7. 21 ff. The persecution of the Christians was stopped by order of Gallienus (Euseb. *H. E.* 7. 13); and as, after the capture of Valerian in 260, the rule of Macrianus was for a time recognized in Egypt, the order of

'When persecution had ceased', says Eusebius, 'Dionysius returned to Alexandria. There, civil strife and war broke out; and as the Christians were divided between the two factions, it was not possible for him to visit in person all the brethren in the city. He, therefore, at the Easter festival, communicated with them by letter, writing to them as if from beyond the borders, though he was in Alexandria.'

What was the *στάσις καὶ πόλεμος* of which Eusebius is speaking? The only recorded disturbance in Egypt which can be assigned to this time is the insurrection of Aemilianus.¹ It may be presumed, then, that one part of Alexandria was held by the troops and partisans of Aemilianus, and another part by those of the Roman commander Theodosius.²

Dionysius writes thus: 'I am obliged to communicate by letter with the members of my own church; and how my letter is to be conveyed to them, I do not know. For it would be easier to go

Gallienus cannot have taken effect there before 261. Dionysius died in 265 (Euseb. 7. 28. 3). The letters must therefore have been written between 261 and 265.

Mommsen's account of these events is self-contradictory. He rightly says that Dionysius died in 265 (*Rom. Emp.*, ii, p. 250, n. 2), and that the Palmyrene invasion of Egypt did not take place until after the death of Odaenathus in 266-7 (*ib.* pp. 106, 107); and yet he speaks of the incidents described by Dionysius as if they arose out of the Palmyrene invasion (*ib.* p. 250).

¹ Trebellius Pollio, *Vita Gallieni*, 4. i: 'Per idem tempus (i. e. not far from the time of the death of Macrianus, A. D. 262) Aemilianus apud Aegyptum sumpsit imperium. Sed hunc dux Gallienus Theodosius conflictu habito cepit.' *Ib.* 5. 6; 6. 4; 9. 1. *Tyrann. Trig.* 22: the Alexandrian mob attacked the house 'Aemiliani ducis': . . . 'Aemilianus sumpsit imperium. . . Consenserunt ei Aegypti totius exercitus, maxime in Gallieni odiū. Nec eius ad regendam remp. vigor defuit; nam Thebaide totamque Aegyptum peragravit, et, quatenus potuit, barbarorum gentes (Blemmyes and Saracens?) forti auctoritate summovit. . . . Misso Theodoto duce, Gallieno iubente, dedit poenas.' *Ib.* 26. 4 (whence it appears that Theodosius was an Egyptian by birth). This 'Aemilianus dux' may be identical with the *Αἰμιλιανὸς δίκτων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν* in Egypt, before whom Dionysius was summoned during the persecution of 257-60, Euseb. *H. E.* 7. 11. 6.

Mommsen, *Rom. Emp.*, ii. 251, n. 1, rejects the evidence of Trebellius Pollio, and doubts the existence of the alleged usurper Aemilianus. But this is surely an excess of scepticism. At any rate, the contemporary evidence of Dionysius makes it certain that either Aemilianus, or some person whose name we do not know, raised 'civil strife and war' in Egypt between 261 and 265.

As the Easter letter written by Dionysius during the *στάσις* is followed by another Easter letter written by him when fighting had ceased and pestilence was raging, and that again by others written 'when the city was at peace again', the *στάσις* may be assigned with probability, if not with certainty, to the year 262.

² We shall find a similar situation recurring a few years later in the 'siege of Bruchelion'. We are told that Caracalla, after his massacre in 215, had ordered a wall to be built, by which the city was divided into two parts; Dio 77. 23, *τὴν Ἀλεξανδρειαν διατείχισθηναι τε καὶ φρουρίους ὑπατείχισθηναι ἐκέλευσεν, σῶσα μηκέτ' ἀδεῶς παρ' ἀλλήλους φοιτᾶν*. It would seem that this fortification was still in existence, and was utilized by the combatants, in the time of Dionysius.

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into a foreign country, or even to traverse the world from East to West, than to pass from one part of Alexandria to the other. The principal street of the city is more impassable than the desert of Sinai ; and the harbours of Alexandria have become like the Red Sea, for they have many times been reddened with bloodshed. The river which waters the city¹ was at one time drier than the desert ;² at another time it overflowed its banks and flooded all the ways and lands around the city ; and it is continually polluted with blood and slayings and drownings. As in the days of Moses, "the waters have been turned to blood, and the river stinks".³ The air is turbid with noisome vapours ; earth and sea, river and harbour reek with foul exhalations ; corpses lie rotting everywhere,⁴ and the dew is corrupted by their fetid juices. And yet men wonder what is the cause of these incessant pestilences ! And they ask whence comes this great and manifold destruction of mankind,⁵ and why it is that the inhabitants of our great city, young and old together, are fewer in number than the elderly persons⁶ alone were in times gone by. For though all from fourteen to eighty years of age have now been included in the list of those entitled to receive the public corn-dole, they are less numerous than the people from forty to seventy years of age used to be in those times.⁷ Men see the human race continually diminishing and wasting away, and yet they do not tremble, though the course of things is tending more and more towards their total destruction.'

In another letter, written (apparently in the following year) when the war is ended, but the pestilence is at its height, Dionysius says, 'There is lamentation and mourning everywhere ; the city resounds with cries of woe by reason of the multitude of the dead, and of those that are dying day by day ;⁸ for "there is not a house where

¹ i. e. the canal by which the water of the Nile was brought to Alexandria.

² The regulation of the water-supply was probably neglected during the disturbances, and the water may have been purposely cut off by the besiegers.

³ Exod. vii. 20, 21. Cf. *Ascl. Lat.* 24 b : 'Torrenti sanguine plenus usque ad ripas erumpes, undaeque divinae non solum polluentur sanguine, sed totae corrumpentur.'

⁴ *Ib.* 'Tunc terra ista . . . sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima'.

⁵ *Ascl. Lat.* 24 b : 'Vivis multo maior erit numerus sepulchrorum.'

⁶ ὡμογένεια, i. e. old, but still vigorous.

⁷ Dionysius does not tell us of what earlier time he is speaking ; it may have been any time before the massacre of Caracalla. It appears that, for the purpose of the corn-dole, a maximum limit of number was maintained unaltered. In the time of greatest prosperity the full number had been made up by entering on the roll those between forty and seventy alone ; as the population decreased, the names of younger and older persons were added to the register.

there is not one dead "¹"—and would that there were not more than one. Even before this, many terrible things had befallen us ; first, the persecution of the Christians ;² . . . then, war³ and famine, which we Christians endured together with the Pagans, sharing the evils which they inflicted on each other ; . . . and then, after short respite to us and them, there came on us this pestilence, a thing most terrible to them, and the most cruel of all disasters.' The Christians, Dionysius says, tenderly nursed the sick, and buried the dead ; and many of them, in so doing, caught the infection and died themselves. 'But with the Pagans, it is far otherwise ; they thrust away from them people who were sickening ; they fled from their nearest and dearest ; they flung them out into the streets when they were dying ; and they cast forth corpses unburied, like offal.'

There is a striking resemblance between the situation depicted in these letters and that predicted by Trismegistus ; and it seems probable enough that the writer of the prophecy had lived through the events which Dionysius describes. As yet, however, we have met with no trace of the *alienigenae*. But Egypt was invaded by foreigners a few years later. Odaenathus of Palmyra, who ruled over the provinces of Syria and Arabia, and some adjacent countries,⁴ nominally as *Dux Orientis* under Gallienus, but in practical independence, was murdered between August 29, 266, and August 29, 267. His widow Zenobia claimed the succession for her son Vaballathus, and ruled in his name ; and, shortly after her husband's death,⁵ she sent an army under her general Zabdus to occupy Egypt, professedly on behalf of the Roman emperor. The fullest and most trustworthy account of the Palmyrene invasion is that given by Zosimus. He says (1. 44 ff.) that, after the first Gothic campaign of Claudius, 'Zenobia, seeking to extend her power, sent Zabdus to Egypt, which Timagenes, a native of the country, was endeavouring to bring under the rule of the Palmyrenes. The invading army was composed of Palmyrenes, Syrians, and barbarians, and amounted to the number of 70,000 men. The Egyptians met them with a force of 50,000, and a great battle took place. The Palmyrenes were

¹ Exod. xii. 30.

² A. D. 257-61.

³ i. e. the *ordōis* of the first letter.

⁴ 'Possibly Armenia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia,' says Mommsen, *Rom. Emp.*, ii. 107.

⁵ Apparently in the year 268 ; for Zosimus and Trebellius Pollio (*Vita Claud.* 11) agree that the Palmyrene invasion of Egypt took place in the reign of Claudius. Claudius succeeded Gallienus in 268, and there would hardly be room for the subsequent events if we placed the invasion later than that year.

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victorious in the war; they placed a garrison of 5,000 men in the country, and withdrew. Probus, who had been appointed by the emperor (Claudius) to clear the sea of the (Gothic) pirates, hearing that Egypt was occupied by the Palmyrenes, proceeded thither with his force, and being joined by those Egyptians who were not of the Palmyrene faction, attacked the garrison and drove it out.¹ The Palmyrenes² once more marched against Egypt; Probus got together an army of Egyptians and Libyans to oppose them; the Egyptians (under Probus) got the upper hand, and were driving the Palmyrenes out of the country. Probus took up a position on the mountain near Babylon,³ meaning to bar the passage of the enemy there as they marched towards Syria; but Timagenes, making use of his knowledge of the locality, occupied the summit of the mountain with 2,000 Palmyrenes, and surprised and destroyed the Egyptian force. Probus was caught with the rest, and killed himself. Thus Egypt became subject to the Palmyrenes.⁴

¹ It appears that Probus, in treating the Palmyrene invaders as enemies of Rome, acted on his own responsibility, without waiting for instructions from the emperor; and Claudius, being too much occupied with the Goths to be willing to involve himself in a simultaneous war in the East, afterwards acquiesced in the *fait accompli*, and recognized Vaballathus as governor of Egypt in his name.

² i.e. probably the main army, recalled, in the course of its homeward march, by the news of the defeat of the garrison.

³ Babylon is the fortress of 'Old Cairo', on the eastern bank of the Nile. (See A. J. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, p. 23.) The most convenient route from Alexandria to Syria passes round the apex of the Delta, from which Cairo is only a few miles distant up the river; and if the Palmyrenes, at the time of their retreat from Alexandria, still held the fortress of Babylon, they would naturally choose the point guarded by it for their crossing of the Nile. 'The mountain near Babylon' must mean some spur of the desert heights to the north-east of Babylon, i.e. east of the modern town of Cairo. (The citadel of Cairo stands on such a spur, and its site may be the very place.) Probus posted his force here, apparently with the intention of attacking the Palmyrenes in flank as they marched northward from Babylon after crossing the river. While the attention of Probus was fixed on the river-valley below him, Timagenes stole round behind, over the desert tableland, and came down upon him from above.

⁴ These events are summarized by Trebellius Pollio, *Vita Claud.* 11, as follows: 'Dum haec a divo Claudio aguntur, Palmyreni ducibus Saba et Timagine contra Aegyptios bellum sumunt, atque ab his Aegyptia pervicacia et indefessa pugnandi continuatione vincuntur. Dux tamen Aegyptiorum Probatus Timagenis insidiis interemptus est: Aegyptii vero omnes se Romano imperatori dederunt, in absens Claudii verba iurantes.' Trebellius Pollio has omitted to say that Timagenes was an Egyptian; but his account, as far as it goes, agrees in the main with that of Zosimus. But who is Probatus? Schiller, *röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 859, says that 'near the end of the reign of Gallienus, Egypt had revolted under a usurper Probatus. On the accession of Claudius II . . . Zenobia . . . caused the land to be reconquered for the Roman empire by her general Zabda.' But there is no evidence for the existence of Probatus except this passage of Trebell. Poll.; and Mommsen (ii. 107, n. 1) is undoubtedly right in identifying the 'dux Aegyptiorum Probatus' of Trebell. Poll. with the Probus of Zosimus, who was not a usurper, but a Roman commander opposing the Palmyrenes in the interest of the empire.

The war of conquest must have lasted for at least a large part of a year (A.D. 268-9). How long did the Palmyrenes hold the country they had conquered? Zosimus (i. 50) says that Aurelian, after his accession (early in 270), spent some time in settling affairs in Italy and Paeonia, and then 'was purposing to make war on the Palmyrenes, who by this time were masters of the inhabitants of Egypt, and of all the East as far (westward) as Ancyra in Galatia'. Aurelian probably set out on his expedition to the East in 271, captured Zenobia and received the surrender of Palmyra in the spring of 272, and, on the renewed revolt at Palmyra, destroyed that city in the spring of 273.¹ At what stage in the war did he recover possession of Egypt? Zosimus does not tell us. Vopiscus says that Egypt was reconquered for Aurelian by the future emperor Probus,² but gives no date. The most probable date seems to be

The *insidiae Timagenis* by which he perished must mean the fight near Babylon. What pretext, if any, Zenobia put forward to justify her occupation of Egypt, we do not know; but if there was any disturbance in the country which might be represented as calling for her interference, no record of it has come down to us; and Probus evidently regarded the invasion as an act of war against Rome, though Claudius subsequently found it convenient to recognize the Palmyrene as legitimate governor of Egypt in his name.

The last sentence of Trebell. Poll., 'Aegyptii vero . . . verba iurantes', must be taken to mean that the Egyptians submitted to Vaballathus, accepting him, however, not as an independent ruler, but as viceregent of the Roman emperor Claudius.

¹ Bury on Gibbon, i. 462.

² *Vita Probi* 5. 9 '(Probus) pugnavit etiam contra Palmyrenos Odenati et Cleopatrae (i. e. Zenobiae) partibus Aegyptum defendentes, primo feliciter, postea temere, ut paene caperetur; sed postea refectis viribus Aegyptum et orientis maximam partem in Aurelianum potestatem rededit'. The earlier part of this passage (as Mommsen has noted) suspiciously resembles the account of the conquest of Egypt by the Palmyrenes in 268-9. In that war another Probus had fought against the Palmyrenes in Egypt; and according to Zosimus's account, it might be said of him that he had fought 'primo feliciter, postea temere, ut caperetur'. It seems probable, therefore, that Vopiscus has erroneously taken as referring to the more famous Probus something that he had read about the doings of the other. The statement which follows, that the future emperor Probus reconquered Egypt for Aurelian, may none the less be correct; but the evidence is open to suspicion.

Mommsen (ii, p. 108) says, 'Egypt was already, at the close of the year 270, brought back to the empire . . . by Probus'; and he adds, 'The determination of the date depends on the fact that the usurpation-coins of Vaballathus cease entirely in the fifth year of his Egyptian reign' (by which must be understood the fifth year from the death of his father Odaenathus, not from his acquisition of Egypt), 'i. e. Aug. 29, 270—Aug. 29, 271; the fact that they are very rare speaks for the beginning of the year'. But this merely negative evidence is hardly conclusive; and the cessation of the coins may be otherwise accounted for, by the supposition that Vaballathus died in 270-1 (Schiller, i. 864).

Mommsen, *ib.*, p. 250, says, 'When Probus, the general sent by Claudius, at length gained the upper hand', &c. Is this a slip of the pen? Or has Mommsen, like Vopiscus, here confused the one Probus with the other? It is certain that the Roman war against the Palmyrenes did not begin till after the death of Claudius.

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271; so that we may conclude that Egypt was under the dominion of the Palmyrenes for about two years.

An incident in this war of reconquest¹ is described by Eusebius (*H.E.* 7. 32), who speaks of it as occurring 'in the course of the siege of Piruchion² at Alexandria'. The Roman commander held one part of the city, and was blockading the Palmyrene faction (including, it would seem, the bulk of the inhabitants), who were cooped up in the other part, and were dying of hunger. The besieged Alexandrians were under the rule of a council (*βουλή*, *συνέδριον*). An influential Christian who was amongst them induced the council to grant permission to the starving non-combatants to pass the lines and go over to the Romans, and at the same time, communicating with a friend on the other side who had access to the Roman commander, obtained from the latter a promise to spare the lives of all who came over to him. By so doing, he saved from death not only the aged, the women, and the children, but also a large number of able-bodied men, who took the opportunity to escape from the blockaded quarter, disguised in women's clothes.

The Palmyrene faction was conquered for the time, but it was not yet extinguished. Even before the invasion, there had been in Egypt a party, headed by Timagene, which sought to place the land under the rule of the Palmyrenes; and some two years after the reconquest of the country by Aurelian's force, this party (no

¹ Schiller (i. 865) speaks of the siege of Bruchelion as taking place in the course of the suppression of the subsequent revolt of Firmus in 273. But against this view it may be argued (1) that we are told that Aurelian suppressed that revolt 'statim' (Vopiscus), *σὺν τάχει* (Zosimus), and this is not consistent with a prolonged blockade; and (2) Eusebius's mention of an unnamed 'Roman commander' (*τὸν Ρωμαίον στρατηλάτον*, *τὸν Ρωμαίων στρατηγόν*) implies that Aurelian was not present in person, whereas it is stated that, in the suppression of the revolt of Firmus, Aurelian himself was in command.

² According to Mommsen, ii. 108, the Prucheion (Piruchion, or Bruchelion) 'was no part of the city, but a locality close by the city on the side of the great oasis; Hieronymus, *vit. Hilarionis*, c. 33, 34, vol. ii, p. 32 Vall.' *Ib.*, p. 250, 'the strong casle of Prucheion in the immediate neighbourhood of the city'. Eusebius, however, was of a different opinion; for his narrative clearly implies that the place besieged was a part of the city itself—presumably one of the two parts into which the city was divided by the wall of Caracalla. The two statements may be reconciled by assuming that, in consequence of the devastation of this part of the city by Aurelian, and the subsequent dwindling of the population, the Bruchelion ceased to be inhabited. It was a part of the Alexandria known to Eusebius; it was outside the Alexandria known to Jerome. Cf. Ammianus 22. 16. 15 'Alexandria, . . . Aureliano imperium agente, civilibus iurgiis ad certamina internecciva prolapsis dirutisque moenibus amisit regionis maximam partem, quae Bruchion appellabatur'. Eusebius, *Chron.*, mentions the siege of Bruchelion, but puts it in the first year of Claudius, 268. Is this a mistake? Or does it refer to a distinct event which occurred at the time of the Palmyrene invasion in that year?

doubt strengthened by foreign immigrants who had settled there during the Palmyrene supremacy) once more asserted itself. About the time of the final revolt of Palmyra in 273, and probably in connexion with it, the Palmyrene faction in Egypt rose in insurrection, under the lead of a rich Egyptian merchant named Firmus,¹ who called in the Blemmyes² and Saracens as his allies. Aurelian, shortly after his return from Palmyra, proceeded to Egypt in person, promptly suppressed the insurrection, and inflicted punishment on Alexandria.³ But he was unable to expel the Blemmyes, or at any rate, to prevent their return; and they continued to hold a large part of Upper Egypt until driven out by the emperor Probus in A.D. 279.⁴

¹ Vopiscus, *Vita Aurelian.* 32 'Firmus quidam extitit, qui sibi Aegyptum sine insignibus imperii, quasi ut esset civitas libera, vindicavit.' (As to *civitas libera* cf. the *συνέδριον* spoken of by Eusebius in his account of the siege of Bruchelion.) Ad quem continuo Aurelianus revertit (from Europe, shortly after his return from Palmyra in 273). Nec illic defuit felicitas solita; nam Aegyptum statim recepit.' Vopiscus xxix, *Vita Firmi*, 2-6: 'Firmum, qui Aureliani temporibus Aegyptum occupaverat. . . . Illum et purpura usum et percussa moneta Augustum esse vocitatum. . . . (Firmus), Zenobiae amicus et socius, qui Alexandriam Aegyptiorum incitatus furore pervasit, et quem Aurelianus . . . contrivit. . . . Idem et cum Blemmyis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis. . . . Hic ergo contra Aureliano sumpsit imperium ad defendendas partes quae supererant Zenobiae. Sed Aureliano de Thracis redeunte superatus est.' *Ib.*, c. 5, dispatch of Aurelian: 'Firmum etiam, latronem Aegyptium, barbaricis motibus (*sc.* of Blemmyes and Saracens) aestuantem, et feminei propudici (*sc.* Zenobiae) reliquias colligentem, . . . fugivimus, obsedimus, cruciavimus, et occidimus.'

Mommsen, *Rom. Emp.*, ii. III, n. 1, and 251, n. 1, rejects the evidence of Vopiscus concerning Firmus as worthless; and he says that 'the so-called description of the life of Firmus is nothing else than the sadly disfigured catastrophe of Prucheion' (i. e. the reconquest of the country by Probus for Aurelian at an early stage of the war against Zenobia). Vopiscus is not a Thucydides; but it is difficult to believe that he can have created *ex nihilo* the story of this insurrection. What motive could he or his informant have for such audacious lying? Moreover, Mommsen ignores the corroborative evidence of Zosimus, who speaks of the suppression of a revolt in Egypt by Aurelian at the time in question. Zos. I. 61 (Aurelian destroyed Palmyra), σὺν τάχει δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρίας στασί-σαντας καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ιδόντας παραστησάμενος, θρίαμβον εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην εἰσαγαγάντων κ.τ.λ.

² The Blemmyes lived in the mountain country to the south-east of Egypt. They harried Egypt with frequent raids from this time onward to the Arab conquest.

³ We are told that he destroyed all buildings in the Bruchelion that might harbour insurgents, and increased the dues paid to Rome by the Egyptians. *Vita Aurel.* 45. 1. Zosimus I. 61.

⁴ Mommsen, ii, 250-1. To complete the list of the calamities of Egypt during the third century, I quote from Mommsen (*ib.*): 'Under the government of Diocletian, we do not know why or wherefore, as well the native Egyptians as the burgesses of Alexandria rose in revolt against the existing government. . . . The revolt lasted from three to four years, the towns Busiris in the Delta and Coptos not far from Thebes were destroyed by the troops of the government, and ultimately under the leading of Diocletian in person in the spring of 297 the

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It appears, then, that it is impossible to find any time to which the prophecy of Trismegistus could refer, except the time of the Palmyrene occupation of Egypt; and that the events of that time—i. e. of the five years 268–73—correspond exactly with the indications given in the prophecy.

We are told that the invading army, 70,000 in number, was composed of Palmyrenes, Syrians, ‘and barbarians’. These barbarians were, no doubt, contingents sent by countries subject or allied to Zenobia, and adventurers attracted by the prospect of pay and plunder. Among them were certainly Saraceni (Bedouin Arabs), probably Armenians, perhaps Iberians, and possibly Persians.¹ A patriotic Egyptian might naturally enough describe a body thus composed by the contemptuous phrase ‘Scythes aut Indus aut aliquis talis de vicina barbaria’. It should be remembered that the trade-route between Egypt and India traversed the Red Sea, and consequently the inhabitants of the southern coast-lands of the Red Sea—Arabes Eudaemones and Axomitae, and perhaps Blemmyes also—were, from the point of view of an Egyptian, neighbours of the Indians;² while the Armenians, Iberians, and Persians were neighbours of the Scythians. Moreover, the conquest of the country would probably give occasion for a large influx of Arab and other immigrants in addition to the armed forces; and if to these we add the hordes of the Blemmyes pouring in over the

capital was reduced after an eight months’ siege.’ This, however, cannot be the event referred to in the prophecy; for there was at this time no fresh invasion of *alienigenae*.

¹ During the siege of Palmyra in 272, Zenobia was expecting succour from Persia. Letter of Zenobia in Vopiscus, *Vita Aurelian.* 27: ‘Nobis Persarum auxilia non desunt, quae iam speramus; pro nobis sunt Saraceni, pro nobis Armenii.’ Letter of Aurelian in Trebell. Poll. *Trig. Tyrann.* 30. 7: ‘Possum adserere tanto apud Orientales et Aegyptiorum populos timori mulierem fuisse, ut se non Arabes, non Saraceni, non Armenii commoverent.’ Vopiscus, *Vita Aurelian.* 33, describing Aurelian’s triumph at Rome after his conquest of Palmyra, mentions the attendance of delegations from the Blemmyes, Axomitae (Abyssinians), Arabes Eudaemones, Indi, Bactrani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae. It is implied that all these races had been so far concerned in or affected by the struggle, that they found it expedient to show respect to the conqueror; and with the exception of the Indi, all the nations named may have given some support to Zenobia. Cf. the hyperbolical encomium quoted in *Vita Aurelian.* 41. 9: '(Aurelian) Persas . . . fudit, fugavit, oppressit: illum Saraceni, Blemmyes, Axomitae, Bactrani, Seres(!), Hiberi, Albani, Armenii, populi etiam Indorum veluti praesentem paene venerati sunt deum.'

² In Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 2. 385, Agrippa describes Egypt as ὅμοπος τῆς Ἰνδίας. In a Coptic document, quoted by E. O. Winstedt in *Classical Quarterly*, July, 1909, p. 218, the Axomitae, the Adulitae, the Homeritae (of south-west Arabia), and other dwellers in that region (including a tribe which Mr. Winstedt identifies with the Blemmyes) are called Indians.

southern frontier, there is quite enough to account for the words 'Alienigenis terram istam complentibus'.

The loss of life caused by war and insurrection during these five years, and by the famine and disease that war brought with it, must have been enormous ; and scenes such as those described by Dionysius a few years earlier must have recurred again and again. It might well be said that 'the land was filled with corpses', and 'the waters were polluted with blood', and even (if we make some allowance for a prophet's rhetoric) that 'the dead were far more in number than the survivors'.

The inhabitants were divided into two factions, the one siding with the Palmyrenes, and the other opposing them. Thus the horrors of civil war were added to those of foreign invasion ; 'Egypt itself was infected with yet worse plagues' than those inflicted by the barbarian invader, and 'set an example of cruelty to the world'.

And lastly, the national religion was dying out. As we have already seen, the power which Christianity had acquired by A.D. 260, and its rapid growth from that time onward, were enough to give a worshipper of the gods of Egypt cause to anticipate the total defeat and overthrow of his religion ; and the violent disturbance of native traditions caused by the shock of the Palmyrene invasion must have further promoted that general abandonment of the old cults which was already in progress. The invaders and immigrants, who at this time 'filled the land', were doubtless worshippers of many different gods,¹ but all of them alike must have been strangers to the national religion of Egypt, and little disposed to venerate its rites. The Palmyrene rulers, if they did not directly promote the spread of the new faith, were at any rate not hostile to it;² and a devout Egyptian might well feel, when his land fell under their dominion, that Egypt was forsaken by the gods, and that the national religion, already much impaired by the encroachments of Christianity, was now indeed doomed to perish.

¹ There must have been Christians among them. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Chr.*, p. 440 : 'It is established that before 190 A.D. Christianity was strong in Edessa and the vicinity, and that (soon after the year 201, or even earlier?) the royal family of Edessa had gone over to the Church.' (Edessa was one of the principal cities within the dominion of Zenobia.) In the kingdom of Armenia, Christianity was the officially established religion by the beginning of the fourth century : Harnack, *ib.*, p. 472; Euseb. *H. E.* 9. 8. 2.

² Paulus of Samosata, the bishop of Antioch described in Euseb. *H. E.* 7. 30, is said to have been favoured by Zenobia. Harnack, *ib.*, p. 430. On the other hand, the Pagan Longinus was one of her counsellors. The Palmyrene invaders may perhaps have plundered temples, or confiscated temple endowments.

I think then that we may take it as established that the prophecy in chs. 24-6 of the *Asclepius* was written under the impression produced by the Palmyrene invasion of Egypt and the events connected with it. And as there is in the prophecy no hint that the foreigner will be expelled or dispossessed, and it seems to be assumed that his occupation of the land will be permanent ('inhabitabit Aegyptum'), it may be inferred that the passage was written either before the reconquest of the country for Aurelian in 271, or at any rate, before the final suppression of the Palmyrene faction in 273. The writing of the prophecy then (with the exception of two sentences added after A.D. 353) must be assigned to the years 268-73.

It remains to be considered whether *Asclepius III* as a whole is of the same date. It is conceivable that the prophecy might have been inserted into an already existing document. But as ch. 26, which is closely connected with the preceding predictions, passes on without a break into the main current of the treatise, I do not think this hypothesis can be admitted. It is also conceivable that different parts of the prophecy itself might be of different dates—i.e. that the prediction of the extinction of the national religion (in chs. 25 and 26) might have formed part of an *Ascl. III* which was in existence before 268, and that the references to the Palmyrene invasion ('Alienigenis enim . . . videbitur alienus', if my rearrangement of the sentences is accepted) might have been subsequently inserted in 268-73. But against this it may be said, first, that the latter passage, if not absolutely needed for continuity, at any rate fits perfectly with its context, and supplies a cause for that decay of religion of which the writer goes on to speak ; and secondly, that, since we have already found reason to think the writer's conviction of the impending doom of the national religion could hardly have arisen before A.D. 260, the dates of the two portions of the prophecy could in any case be separated by no more than a few years at most. I conclude therefore that this hypothesis also must be rejected, and consequently, that the Greek original of *Ascl. III* as a whole was written in A.D. 268-73.

Circumstances of the writer of ASCLEPIUS III. The author of *Ascl. III* must have been an Egyptian by race; he regards Egypt as his country, and his Hellenic education has not diminished the intensity of his national patriotism (ch. 24 b). Seeing that he localizes the cult of the god Asclepius (ch. 37) and the ancient cult

of the Egyptian kings (ch. 27 d) at Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis, it seems probable that he resided in or near the Fayum. His keen interest in the national temple-cults, and his grief at the prospect of their suppression, suggest that he may have been an Egyptian priest. His approval of marriage (ch. 21) makes it unlikely that he was a member of a monastic brotherhood such as that to which the writer of *Ascl.* I presumably belonged. He shows a less unworldly disposition than that writer; he values the mundane benefits which the temple-gods confer; and his hearty love and admiration of the material universe (ch. 25) seems hardly consistent with the *contemptus mundi*, and aspiration to escape from the body, which his principles required him to profess. We may imagine him then to have been a priest attached to the temple of one of the local deities of the Fayum; and we may suppose that he had assimilated the Hermetic doctrine without ceasing to discharge his priestly functions and to take his part in social life, and that he found in that doctrine a justification of the worship in which his interests centred, and a means of defending it against the attacks of the Christians.

Date of the composite Λόγος τέλειος. The Greek original of the Latin *Asclepius* as a whole was known to Lactantius, under the title Λόγος τέλειος, about A.D. 310. The redactor who joined together the Greek *Ascl.* I, *Ascl.* II, and *Ascl.* III to make a single dialogue must therefore have done his work at some time between A.D. 270 and 310. But *Corp.* IX announces itself as a sequel to the Λόγος τέλειος; and if, as seems probable, this title was given only to the composite document, and not to any of its component parts before they were joined together,¹ the redactor's work must have been done before *Corp.* IX was written. We may conjecture then that the Λόγος τέλειος was compiled about A.D. 280-90, and that *Corp.* IX was written about A.D. 290-300. It is possible that the same person who compiled the composite Λόγος τέλειος proceeded to write *Corp.* IX as a sequel to it; if so, the date of both might be about A.D. 290.

It may be doubted whether the concluding prayer of the *Asclepius* (41 b) formed part of the original *Ascl.* III (written about A.D. 270), or was added by the compiler of the Λόγος τέλειος. This prayer has been borrowed by the sorcerer who wrote one of the magic incantations preserved in the *Papyrus Mimaut* (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 151, 156). Wessely (*Denkschr. der kais. Akad. der Wissensch.*

¹ See notes on *Ascl. Lat. init.*

xxxvi, Wien, 1888, Abth. 2, p. 36) says that the *Papyrus Mimaut* was written in the fourth century A.D.; but Reitzenstein (*Arch. für Rel.*, 1904, p. 397) is inclined to assign it to the third century rather than the fourth. Thus the prayer may have been first written about A.D. 270-90, and borrowed by a sorcerer a little later.

Date of the Latin translation. The Latin *Asclepius* has come down to us among the works of Apuleius. Now Apuleius was born about A.D. 125, and wrote under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, i.e. before A.D. 180. If, therefore, any good reason could be shown for attributing the translation to Apuleius, it would be necessary to reconsider our conclusion as to the date of the Greek original of *Ascl. III.*

Hildebrand (*Apuleii Opera*, 1842, vol. i, pp. xl ix ff.) discusses the question whether the translation was written by Apuleius, dealing with it mainly on the ground of Latin style, and states his conclusion thus: 'hunc dialogum ab Apuleio confectum esse persuasum mihi quidem est. . . . Demonstrasse mihi videor, dicendi rationem quae in hoc dialogo cognoscitur ab Apuleiana non esse alienam, ac pluribus locis cum ea concordare. Inde quamquam colligi per se nequit Apuleium revera huius dialogi esse auctorem, tamen cum accedat manuscriptorum auctoritas, qui optimi quique Apuleii nomen in fronte habent, non intelligo cur nostro scriptori hic liber abiudicandus sit.'

But the incompetence shown by our translator¹ is a strong argument against identifying him with Apuleius, who would surely have done the work better. Moreover, the method of translation in the *Asclepius* differs widely (as Hildebrand admits) from that of Apuleius in his version of the Aristotelian *De mundo*.² In the *De mundo*, the translation is free and fluent; in the *Asclepius*, it is literal³ and clumsy.

It may be considered certain that Augustine, who knew our translation, did not suppose it to have been written by Apuleius. In quoting from it,⁴ he says 'Huius Aegyptii verba, sicut in nostram

¹ The quality of his work as a translator can be judged from the fragments of the Greek original which have been preserved, as well as from the numerous difficulties in the text which can only be explained on the assumption that he has misunderstood or inadequately rendered the meaning of the Greek.

² That the translator of the *De mundo* was Apuleius is attested by Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 4. 2: 'quae . . . Apuleius breviter stringit in eo libello quem de mundo scripsit.'

³ e.g. we find a Greek genitive (gen. abs. or gen. after a comparative) represented by a Latin genitive, where Latin grammar demands an ablative.

⁴ *Civ. Dei* 8. 23 ff.

linguam interpretata sunt, ponam', without naming the translator. But in the same passage Augustine speaks of Apuleius, and contrasts the view of Apuleius with that of 'Hermes' (i. e. that expressed in the *Asclepius*) ; if therefore he had thought the Latin *Asclepius* to be the work of Apuleius, he would have mentioned the fact—as he does elsewhere in the case of the *De mundo*.

I can therefore see no reason to dissent from Goldbacher,¹ who says, '*Asclepi dialogum . . . iniuria inter Apulei opera referri mihi persuasum (est)*'. After speaking of the passage in Augustine, Goldbacher continues, '*Quo cum accendant aliae res gravissimae, quas Bernaysius² . . . exposuit, haud quemquam fore putaverim, qui hunc dialogum ab Apuleio e Graeco in Latinum conversum esse existimet*'. The Latin *Asclepius* was, no doubt, attributed to Apuleius in the archetype of our MSS. : but that attribution was an error. Consequently, there is nothing to set against the conclusion at which we have already arrived, namely, that the Greek original of *Ascl.* III was written in A.D. 268–73 ; and the Latin translation must have been written at some time after that date.

The *terminus ante quem* for the Latin translation is given by the fact that Augustine quotes from it in his *De civ. Dei*, about A.D. 413–26. If the references to penal laws against Pagan worship are contemporary with the rest of the Latin text,³ the translation must be dated between 353 and 426. If those references have been subsequently interpolated into the Latin text, any date between about 280 and 426 is possible for the translation.

Who was the translator? That question cannot be answered with certainty ; but the only man known to us to whom the translation might with some probability be attributed is C. Marius Victorinus. Hieronymus *Vir. illustr.* 101 : 'Victorinus, natione Afer, Romae sub Constantio principe (A.D. 350–61) rhetorican

¹ *Apulei Opuscula quae sunt de Philosophia*, 1876, p. xv.

² Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. i, p. 340 : 'tritt hierdurch zu der inneren Unmöglichkeit, das ein stilistischer Künstler mit gelehrte Bildung wie Apuleius der Urheber unserer holperichten und zuweilen schnitzerhaften Uebersetzung sei, noch ein äusseres Anzeichen, da Lactantius eine durch Apuleius' Namen empfohlene Arbeit schwerlich unbenutzt gelassen hätte.'

³ Boisier, *La Fin du Paganisme*, ii, p. 229, speaking of the Latin *Asclepius*, says : 'L'ouvrage original était composé avant la victoire du christianisme, mais le traducteur, qui écrivait pendant que l'ancien culte était persécuté, n'a pu s'empêcher d'ajouter au texte quelques allusions à ces lois, . . . qui proscrivaient la piété et en font un crime capital.' The two references to penal laws are certainly of later date than the rest of the prophecy ; and it is probable that one of them at least was inserted by the translator.

INTRODUCTION

docuit, et in extrema senectute Christi se tradens fidei¹ scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros, qui nisi ab eruditis non intelleguntur, et commentarios in apostolum² (sc. Paulum).³ Hieron. *Praef. comm. in Ep. ad. Galat.*: 'Non quia ignorem C. Marium Victorinum, qui Romae me puero³ rhetoramicam docuit, edidisse commentarios in apostolum, sed quod occupatus ille eruditione saecularium litterarum omnino sanctas ignoraverit.'⁴ Hieron. *Chron.*, ad ann. 2370: ⁵ 'Victorinus rhetor et Donatus grammaticus praceptor meus Romae insignes habentur; e quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in foro Traiani meruit.' August. *Confess.* 8. 2: 'legisse me quosdam libros Platonicorum, quos Victorinus quondam rhetor urbis Romae, quem Christianum defunctum esse audieram, in Latinam linguam transtulisset.'⁶ . . . Ille doctissimus

¹ The conversion of Victorinus to Christianity is spoken of at greater length by Augustine, *Confess.* 8. 1-5; and we are there told that he was already a Christian at the time when, by Julian's edict (A.D. 362), Christians were prohibited from holding posts as public teachers. He may have been converted about A.D. 356.

² Christian writings ascribed to Victorinus are printed in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 8. 993-1310. Those which may be accepted as certainly authentic are (1) *De generatione Verbi divini, ad Candidum Arianum*; (2) *IV libri contra Arium*; (3) *De διονούσιον recipiendo*; (4) *Hymni tres de Trinitate*; (5) *Commentarii in Apostolum* (*Gal.*, *Philipp.*, and *Eph.*). In these writings Victorinus maintains the Nicenean διονούσιον-formula in opposition to the Arians. Their contents are discussed by Gore, *C. Marius Victorinus Afer*, in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, 1887; G. Geiger, *C. Marius Victorinus, ein neuplatonischer Philosoph*, Landshut, 1888; and R. Schmid, *Marius Victorinus Rhetor und seine Beziehungen zu Augustin*, Kiel, 1895. Victorinus's treatment of the question is a blending of Christian doctrine with a Neoplatonic system closely resembling that of Plotinus. (In that respect his position is similar to that of Augustine about the time of his baptism, A.D. 387. See P. Alfarcic, *L'évolution intellectuelle de S. Augustin*, i. 515-27: 'S'il (sc. Augustin) était mort après avoir rédigé les *Soliloques* (written at Cassiciacum, A.D. 387) ou le traité *De la quantité de l'âme* (written at Rome, A.D. 387-8), on ne le considérerait que comme un Néoplatonicien convaincu, plus ou moins teinté de Christianisme'.)

These writings are rightly described by Jerome as *valde obscuri*. It is, as Gore says, 'matter of astonishment that one who had Victorinus's reputation as a rhetorician should have been so wholly incapable of giving clear expression to his thought'; and since his style, as shown in his Christian treatises, so little deserves the reward of a public statue, we must suppose that he gained that honour rather by his influence as a teacher of the Plotinian philosophy, and perhaps by personal qualities which won for him the respect and affection of his senatorial pupils.

³ Jerome was born about A.D. 340; *me puero* therefore agrees with the other evidence, which indicates that Victorinus held the post of *rhetor* at Rome during the years A.D. 350-62.

⁴ Victorinus's frequent quotations from the Bible in his Christian writings show that, at the time when he wrote them, he was not '*wholly ignorant of sacred literature*'; but he lived to old age in the study of Pagan philosophy before he became a Christian.

⁵ A.D. 354; Teuffel; A.D. 358, Gore.

⁶ Alfarcic, *L'évolution intell. de S. Augustin*, i. 374 sqq., says that among the *libri Platonicorum*, of which Latin translations by Victorinus were read by

senex et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus, quique philosophorum tam multa legerat et dijudicaverat, doctor tot nobilium senatorum, qui etiam ob insigne praeclari magisterii . . . statuam in Romano foro meruerat et acceperat.' Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii*, Brandt (*Editionis primae*), 1. 1 : 'id quod Victorinus, orator sui temporis ferme doctissimus, Porphyrii per Isagogen, id est per introductionem in Aristotelis Categorias, dicitur transtulisse.' Boethius *ib.* (*Editionis secundae*), 5. 24 : 'huius libri seriem primo quidem ab rhetore Victorino, post vero a nobis Latina oratione conversam.' Boethius found Victorinus's translation of the *Isagoge* to be inaccurate,¹ and for that reason wrote a fresh translation of it for himself.

Victorinus then, in the course of a long life which ended soon after A.D. 362, was much occupied in the study of Pagan philosophy; he translated into Latin (presumably for the use of his pupils at Rome) 'books of Platonists', among which were some of the writings of Plotinus and Porphyry; and his translations were read by Augustine, who, since he did not read Greek, was dependent on them for his knowledge of Neoplatonism. Such a man would almost necessarily become acquainted with the Hermetic Λόγος τέλεος, and might very well think it worth while to translate a document which contained doctrines so closely related to those of his Neoplatonic creed; and the fact, made known to us by Boethius, that he sometimes misunderstood his Greek original, and made mistakes in translation, adds to the probability of the hypothesis that our Latin *Asclepius* is his work. There is no positive evidence that it was so; but it may safely be said that the translator was either Victorinus or some one who had much in common with him.

Augustine, were probably Plotinus, *Enn.* i, 2, 3, 4, 6; iii, 2; and v, 1; and perhaps also Porphyry, *De reditu animae ad Deum* and *Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes* ('Αφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητά).

¹ e.g. Boeth. *ib.* 2, 6 : quod Victorinus scilicet intellexisse minus videtur: nam quod Porphyrius ἀνάλογον dixit, id est proportionale, ille (sc. Victorinus) sic accepit quasi ἀλογον diceret, id est irrationale.

THE HERMETICA IN THE ANTHOLOGIUM OF STOBAEUS

JOANNES STOBAEUS, at some date not far from A. D. 500,¹ compiled a large collection of extracts from Pagan Greek writers. The collection was divided into four books, and was entitled ἔκλογῶν, ἀποθεγμάτων, ὑποθηκῶν βιβλία τέσσαρα. It seems to have been made up by putting together the contents of earlier collections of extracts, and adding to them passages extracted by Stobaeus himself from books which he had read. He arranged the extracts in chapters according to subjects, and placed at the head of each chapter a superscription stating the subject of the extracts contained in it.

Photius (*c.* A. D. 850) read this *anthologium* in a copy differing little from the original as written by Stobaeus; and in his *Bibliotheca*, p. 112a, 16 ff., he describes it as a work in two volumes (*τεύχη*), consisting of four books (*βιβλία*), and gives the superscriptions of the 208 chapters into which the four books were divided.

Our MSS. of Stobaeus are derived from an archetype closely resembling the MS. used by Photius, if not from that very MS. But at some time not far from A. D. 1000, the two volumes of which the archetype consisted were separated; the two parts passed into different hands, and thenceforward, each of them was copied and recopied separately. Hence the first part (Bks. I and II) has come down to us in one set of MSS., and the second part (Bks. III and IV) in another set of MSS. The two parts consequently came to be edited separately, as if they were two different works; and the editors gave to Bks. I and II the title *Eclogae physicae et ethicae*, and to Bks. III and IV the title *Florilegium*. Either the term *Eclogae* or the term *Florilegium* might serve as a title for the whole (each extract, whether in Bks. I and II or in Bks. III and IV, is an

¹ The latest writer quoted by Stobaeus is the Neoplatonist Hierocles, a contemporary of Proclus (A. D. 410-85). The fact that Stobaeus ignores all Christian writings makes it improbable that he lived much later than Hierocles (Christ, *Gesch. der gr. Litt.*, p. 848).

ecloga, and the four Books are collectively a *florilegium*); but the assignment of the title *Eclogae* to one part of the collection and the title *Florilegium* to the other is arbitrary and groundless, and Wachsmuth and Hense, the latest editors, have rightly rejected these titles. In their edition, what had hitherto been called *Stob. Ed.* is called *Stobaei Anthologii libri duo priores*, and what had hitherto been called *Stob. Floril.* is called *Stobaei Anthologii libri duo posteriores*; and their correction will doubtless be henceforth accepted by all scholars.

After the separation of the two parts of the *Anthologium*, the first part (Bks. I and II) was reduced to smaller compass by an epitomator, who had a preference for philosophical writings. He copied out almost in full Bk. I, chs. 1–30; but from that point onward as far as his handiwork can be traced (i.e. down to Bk. II, ch. 9), he omitted nearly all extracts except those from Plato, Aristotle, Archytas, Porphyry, and (fortunately for our present purpose) Hermes. The last part of his *epitome* (Bk. II, chs. 10–46) is lost. It is only this mutilated *epitome* of Bks. I and II, and not the full text of these two books as read by Photius, that has come down to us in the MSS. of Stobaeus. Some of the missing passages have, however, been recovered from a *gnomologium*, partially preserved in a cod. Laurentianus (fourteenth century), the compiler of which borrowed largely from the four Books of Stobaeus at a time when they were still complete; and from that source Wachsmuth has been able to print the text of Stob., Bk. II, chs. 15, 31, 33, and 46.

Stobaeus seems to have got his *Hermetica* from (1) a collection of 'Ερμοῦ λόγοι πρὸς Τάτ.; (2) a collection of 'Ερμοῦ λόγοι πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν; (3) a collection of 'Ερμοῦ λόγοι πρὸς Ἀμμωνα; and (4) a collection of 'Ερμοῦ λόγοι Ἰσιδος πρὸς Ὦρον. The total number of Hermetic excerpts in his *Anthologium* is forty-two,¹ if we include *Exc. [XXVIII]* and *[XXIX]*, and count as separate excerpts the two parts of Stob. 1. 41. 1 (which I call *Exc. II B* and *Exc. XI*), and the two parts of Stob. 1. 41. 6 (which I call *Exc. IV B* and *Exc. III*). Of these, ten are taken from *libelli* which have been preserved in the *Corpus Hermeticum* (*Corp. II*, *IV*, and *X*); and one (Stob. 4. 52. 47)

¹ There may perhaps have been some more *Hermetica* in chs. 10–46 of Bk. II, which are missing in our MSS. of Stobaeus; ch. 11, for instance, the superscription of which was "Οτι χρή σέβειν τὸ θεῖον, may very likely have contained some Hermetic extracts.

is an extract from the Greek original of the Latin *Asclepius*. The remaining thirty-one are given in the present edition as Excerpts I, II A, II B, III, IV A, IV B, V—[XXIX]. I have arranged and numbered them, grouping together the *Hermes to Tat* Excerpts (I–XI), the *Hermes to Ammon* Excerpts (XII–XVII), the Excerpts in which there is no indication of the pupil's name (XVIII–XXII), and the *Isis to Horus* Excerpts (XXIII–XXVII); and I have divided the longer Excerpts into numbered sections.

Twenty-seven of these 'Excerpts', as well as all the ten extracts from *libelli* which are extant in the *Corpus*, occur in Stob. Bk. I, and two (*Exc. I* and *Exc. XVIII*) in what remains of Stob. Bk. II. There are only two Hermetic extracts (*Exc. II A* and *Exc. XXVII*) in Stob. Bk. III, and only one (the extract from the original of *Ascl. Lat.*) in Stob. Bk. IV. But by an accident which must have happened before the separation of the two parts of the *Anthologium*, the leaf of Bk. II on which *Exc. I* was written in the archetype was, together with two other leaves, shifted from its place, and inserted in Bk. IV; and the contents of these three leaves have consequently been transmitted as part of the text of Bk. IV. For the text of *Exc. I* therefore we are dependent on the MSS. of Bks. III and IV (the so-called *Florilegium*), and not on the MSS. of Bks. I and II (the so-called *Eclogae*). Wachsmuth has now restored these misplaced passages to their original positions in Bk. II, chs. 1, 4, and 2.

Of the MSS. which contain the extant remains of Stob. Bks. I and II, two only need be taken into account, as all the other MSS. are derived from them. These two are

cod. Farnesinus (F), fourteenth century ;
cod. Parisinus (P), fifteenth century.

F and P then are our only sources for the text of all the Hermetic extracts except four. F is much the better of the two; but the evidence of P also is of some value. There are in P numerous corrections by two or three later hands; but these corrections (marked P^o) are conjectural.

The other four Hermetic extracts (viz. *Excerpts I, II A, XXVII*, and the fragment of the Greek original of *Ascl. Lat.*) have come down to us in the MSS. of Stob. Bks. III and IV. Of these, the earliest and best is cod. Vindobonensis (S), written soon after A.D. 1000. The *editio princeps* of Bks. III and IV by Trincavelli

(Tr.)¹ faithfully reproduces the text of a cod. Marcianus (fifteenth or sixteenth century) closely related to S, if not wholly derived from it, and is useful chiefly as a substitute for certain missing parts of S. There are two other MSS. which are of some value, as representing a text of different descent, viz. cod. Escurialensis (M), c. A. D. 1100, and cod. Parisinus (A), fourteenth century. Hense has also made use of the cod. Laurentianus (L) mentioned above, which contains extracts from Stob. Bks. III and IV as well as from Stob. Bks. I and II, and of another *gnomologium*, preserved in cod. Bruxellensis (Br.), fourteenth or fifteenth century, which likewise contains borrowings from Stob. Thus our sources for these four Hermetic extracts are S (with Tr.) and MA, supplemented by L and Br.

The chief printed editions of Stobaeus are the following:—

Bks. I and II: Canter (*ed. princeps*), Antwerp, 1575; Heeren, 1792–1801; Gaisford, 1850; Meineke, 1860–3; and Wachsmuth, Berlin, 1884.

Bks. III and IV: Trincavelli (*ed. princeps*), Venice, 1535–6; Gesner, 1st edition 1543, 2nd ed. 1549, 3rd ed. 1559; Gaisford, 1822; Meineke, 1860–3; and Hense, Berlin, 1894–1912.

Wachsmuth and Hense have investigated the MSS. far more thoroughly than any of the previous editors; and the edition of the *Anthologium* of Stobaeus which they have produced by their combined labours supersedes all earlier publications of the text. Their edition is my sole authority for the readings of the MSS. in the Hermetic extracts.

In my text of the *Excerpts*, and in my textual notes on them, I have used the same notation as in the *libelli* of the *Corpus Hermeticum*.¹ The readings of P² I have treated as conjectures.

The task which Wachsmuth and Hense have set themselves in their edition, and which they may be considered to have accomplished, as far as its accomplishment is possible, is that of restoring the text of the *Anthologium* as written by Stobaeus.² There remains

¹ In passages based on F and P alone, I have sometimes marked as P a reading of that MS. which I have inferred from a statement of Wachsmuth concerning F, or vice versa.

² Wachsmuth, vol. i, p. xxxi, says: ‘Ex his igitur codicibus recognovi Stobaei verba; cui fundamento certo speramus fore ut iam multi suam emendandi operam superstruant; nam permultos philosophorum potissimum locos etiamnunc medicina egere nemo me melius intellegit. Quodsi in hac editione non improbabiliter emendationem incohatam esse confido, id prorsus debetur amicitiae Hermanni Useneri. . . . In afferendis verbis eorum scriptorum, quorum libri ipsi aetatem tulerunt (e.g. in the extracts from *libelli* which are extant in the *Corpus*

the further task of emending the more or less corrupt text of each extract as read by Stobaeus, and so recovering, as nearly as may be, the original text of the passage as written by its author. For the performance of this task also, Wachsmuth and Hense have given valuable help; but much remains to be done; and it is this that, as far as the Hermetic extracts are concerned, I have aimed at doing in the present edition. Starting from the text of the archetype of the Stobaeus-MSS., as reconstructed by Wachsmuth and Hense, I have tried to discover or guess, firstly, what words the author of each Hermetic passage wrote, and secondly, what he meant by the words he wrote. When one has concluded that a phrase is corrupt, the best way to deal with it is usually to attack the second of these two problems first; i. e. to infer from the context, and from parallels in other writings, what the author must have meant, and thence, if possible, to infer what words he used to express his meaning. In a matter of this kind, complete success is unattainable; but there is much that can be done, and it is to be hoped that the process of recovering the thoughts of the Hermetic writers, to which I have tried to contribute, will be taken up and carried farther by others.

Hermeticum), hanc normam tenui, ut non ea quae ipsos scripsisse probabile esset, sed ea tantum quae in exemplo suo Stobaeus legisse videretur restituerem.'

Hense, vol. iii, p. lxv, says: 'Mibi quid in hac editione propositum fuerit, iam puto elucere. Ad librorum manuscriptorum fidem reversus id operam dedi, ut et ordo eclogarum et contextus ab illorum archetypo abesset quam proxime.'

TESTIMONIA

THE earliest evidence for the existence of writings of similar character to our religious and philosophic *Hermetica* is that of Athenagoras, A. D. 177–80. But that evidence is not quite free from doubt; for the statement which Athenagoras apparently ascribes to Hermes, viz. that he was descended from ‘gods’ who were men (i. e. from men who were held to have become gods after death), might have occurred in any sort of document the teaching of which was attributed to Hermes, e. g. in a dialogue dealing with astrology or magic.

Tertullian, *De an.* 33, quotes a passage from a writing of the same kind as our *Hermetica*. His obscure style makes it difficult to be sure what he means in the three passages in which he mentions Hermes Trismegistus without quoting him; but it may be inferred from *Adv. Valentin.* 15 and *De an.* 2 that he knew of writings of which Hermes was supposed to have been the author, and which contained doctrines resembling those of Greek philosophers, and especially those of Plato. His evidence proves then that in A. D. 207–13 some *Hermetica* similar to ours were in existence, and were accessible to Christian readers; but it does not prove that at that time any of the extant *Hermetica* had yet been written.

In the writings of Clement of Alexandria,¹ there is no mention of any Greek *Hermetica*. What is to be inferred from this fact? Large parts of Clement’s *Stromateis* are occupied with discussions of the relation between Greek philosophy and ‘barbarian’ philosophy (by which he usually means the teaching of Moses and the Hebrew prophets). He seeks to prove that the Greek philosophers were later in date than the Hebrew writers, and ‘stole’ from them. If he had known our *Hermetica*, and believed them to contain the

¹ Clement taught in the Catechetical School of Alexandria from about A. D. 190 to 202 or 203. At the latter date he quitted Egypt; he was residing in Asia Minor about A. D. 211, and he died in or about A. D. 216. The dates of his chief writings are probably *Protrept.*, A. D. 190–200; *Strom.* i–iv, *Paedag.*, *Strom.* v–vii (in this order), A. D. 203–16 (Harnack, *Chronol.*, ii. 3–18).

teachings of an ancient Egyptian sage, he could not possibly have omitted to speak of them in the course of these discussions. He could not have failed to notice the resemblance between the Hermetic doctrines and those of Plato; and he would have said, as others did, ‘Plato borrowed from Hermes’!¹ His silence concerning the Greek *Hermetica* can therefore be accounted for only by assuming either that they were not yet in existence; or that they were in existence but unknown to him; or that he knew them, but knew them to be of recent date, and therefore had no more reason to speak of them than of other recent writings. Now the hypothesis that no such writings were yet in existence is excluded by the evidence of Clement’s contemporary, Tertullian, who quotes from a philosophic *Hermeticum*; and if writings of this character were known to Tertullian, it is most unlikely that they were unknown to Clement, whose work as a teacher in Alexandria must have brought him into contact with thinkers of all kinds that were to be found in Egypt, Pagans as well as Christians. It is therefore probable that Clement knew of the existence of some Greek *Hermetica* of the same character as ours, but knew them to have been composed by men of his own time, and therefore to have no bearing on the question what sort of doctrines were taught in Egypt before the beginnings of Greek philosophy.

Arguments *ex silentio* are often of little weight; but in the case of Clement, the force of this argument will, I think, be evident to any one who reads the following passages. *Strom.* 1. 15. 66–73 (a long list of Greek philosophers who were either barbarian by race or pupils of barbarian teachers). *Strom.* 1. 21. 134 (an item in a long list of Pagan prophets): ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρ’ Αἰγυπτίος ἀνθρώπων ποτέ, γενομένων δὲ ἀνθρωπίη δόξῃ θεῶν, ‘Ερμῆς τε δὲ Θηβαῖος καὶ Ἀσκληπίος ὁ Μεμφίτης.² *Strom.* 5. 5. 29: καὶ ὅλως δὲ Πυθαγόρας καὶ οἱ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ Πλάτωνι μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων

¹ Moreover, if he had read our *Hermetica* with attention, he would have noticed in *Corp.* I and elsewhere certain resemblances to *Genesis*, and would consequently have added, as some others did, ‘Hermes borrowed from Moses’. But we have no proof that any of the extant *Hermetica* were in existence in Clement’s time.

² The conjunction of these two names might perhaps be thought to indicate a knowledge of dialogues in which Hermes and Asclepius were speakers. But Clement cannot here have been thinking of any writings resembling our *Hermetica*. The context shows that he means by ‘prophets’ men who predict future events (see § 135); but in our *Hermetica* Hermes does not speak as a prophet in that sense (except in the ‘Prophecy’ in *Ascl. Lat.* iii, and in a few *obiter dicta* elsewhere).

σφόδρα τῷ νομοθέτῃ ὥμιλησαν (i. e. read the Books of Moses), ὡς ἔστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν συμβαλέσθαι τῶν δογμάτων. Why did not Clement mention the much more evident resemblance between the doctrines of Plato and the Greek *Hermetica*? *Strom.* 5. 12. 78: Clement quotes Pl. *Tim.* 28 C (*τὸν γὰρ πατέρα . . . ἐξεπεῖν ἀδίνατον*), and says that Plato got this thought from *Exod.* xix, where it is shown that God is ἀόρατος καὶ ἄρρητος; and he compares some verses of Orpheus, who, he says, got the same truth from the same source. Why did he not rather adduce Herm. *ap.* Stob. *Exc.* I (which is much more like the passage in Plato), if it was known to him? *Strom.* 6. 4. 35–8: εὑρομεν δὲ ἂν καὶ ἄλλο μάρτυριν εἰς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν φιλοσόφων παρ' ἡμῶν (i. e. from our Hebrew Scriptures) σφετερισμένους ὡς ἴδια αὐχέν, τὸ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων (i. e. from others besides the Hebrews) ἀπηρθίσθαι τῶν εἰς ἑκάστην αἱρεσιν συντεινόντων τινά, μάλιστα δὲ Αἴγυπτίων τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν μετενσωμάτωσιν τῆς ψυχῆς δόγμα.¹ μετίστι γὰρ οἰκείαν τινὰ φιλοσοφίαν Αἴγυπτοι· αὐτίκα τοῦτο ἐμφάνει μάλιστα ἡ ἱεροπρεψὴς αὐτῶν θρησκεία. (Here follows a list of the different orders of Egyptian priests, and of the subjects dealt with in the ‘Books of Hermes’ which priests of the several orders were required to study.) δύο μὲν οὖν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πάνι ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ Ἐρμῇ γεγόνασι βίβλοι· ὃν τὰς μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ, τὴν πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτίων περιεχούσας φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ προειρημένοι (priests) ἐκμαθάνονται, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐξ οἱ παστοφόροι, ἰατρικὰς οὖσας . . . καὶ τὰ μὲν Αἴγυπτίων, ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ φάναι, τοιαῦτα· Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἡ φιλοσοφία κ.τ.λ. Clement evidently means by ‘Books of Hermes’ books written in the Egyptian language, and ascribed to Thoth, which were used in the schools of the priests. He must have got the

¹ Clement thought that the doctrine of *metensomatosis*, taught by Pythagoras and Plato, was of Egyptian origin. But there is no need to suppose that he was here thinking of Greek *Hermetica* in which that doctrine was taught; he may have got his mistaken notion from Herodotus 2. 123. The notion that the Egyptians believed in *metensomatosis* was probably a false inference drawn by Greeks, in or before the time of Herodotus, from the observed fact that Egyptians revered certain kinds of animals, and thought it wicked to kill and eat them. A Greek, knowing that Pythagoreans abstained from the flesh of animals, would be apt to think that the reason for these strange Egyptian usages must be the same that Pythagoreans gave for their abstention, viz. that they believed that a human soul was or might be incarnated in the animal. Moreover, Greeks would be told by Egyptians that in each of the individual animals worshipped in the temple-cults (e. g. the Apis-bull) some god (e. g. Osiris), who had once reigned as a king on earth, was incarnated; and this might easily seem to the Greek visitor to be merely a particular instance of the doctrine of *metensomatosis* taught by Pythagoras.

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list of books, directly or indirectly, from a native Egyptian ; and he knew nothing about their contents, beyond the meagre information which he gives at second hand. If he had believed any Greek *Hermetica* known to him to be translations or paraphrases of ancient and genuine 'books of Hermes', he would necessarily have referred to them here, as the best evidence accessible to him and his readers concerning the character of the 'Egyptian philosophy', instead of talking of the books studied by the priests, books which he could not read, and about which he knew very little.

We must conclude then that Clement either did not know of any Greek *Hermetica* such as ours, or else, as seems more likely, knew of some such writings (not necessarily any of those which have come down to us), but knew that they were of recent date, and that their contents could not be rightly attributed to the ancient teacher Hermes.¹

Did Origen (A. D. 185-255) know any philosophic or religious *Hermetica*? No quotations from or references to Hermetic documents have been found in his writings. Origen, like his teacher and predecessor Clement, repeatedly asserts that Moses and the Hebrew prophets were prior in time to the Greek philosophers, and says that, as far as there was any borrowing, it must have been the Greeks that borrowed from the Hebrews ; but he does not discuss this question at length and in detail, as Clement does ; and I do not know of any passages in Origen's works in which the course of his argument is such that, if he had known any Greek *Hermetica* and thought the teachings contained in them to be Egyptian and of ancient date, it would have been *necessary* for him to speak of them.²

¹ Clement assumed without question the authenticity of pseudonymous writings such as those ascribed to Orpheus and the Sibyl ; and he would hardly have been capable of discovering the true character and date of *Hermetica* merely by examining their contents (as Casaubon did at a later time). But he may have known something about the authors of Greek *Hermetica* by direct information ; indeed, it is not impossible that he was personally acquainted with some of them.

² There are passages in which a mention of the *Hermetica* would have been appropriate ; e. g. Orig. *c. Cels.* 1. 12 : οἱ μὲν Ἀιγυπτίων σοφοὶ κατὰ τὰ πάρια γράμματα πολλὰ φιλοσοφοῦσι περὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νεονομημένων θεῶν (al. θεῶν)· οἱ δὲ ἰδιῶται, μόνοις τινάς διεύσαντες ἢν τοὺς λόγους (meanings or explanations) οὐκ ἐπίστανται, μέγα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φρονοῦσιν. Origen here goes on to say that the only men who know this secret wisdom of the Egyptians, and from whom it might be learnt, are the priests. (That however is merely an *obiter dictum*.)

Ib. 4. 39 : 'Some think that Plato, while staying in Egypt, met Jewish philosophers (*τοῖς τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ φιλοσοφῶσι*), and learnt some things from them.' That notion is not so absurd as it might seem at first sight ; there were Jews in Egypt before the time of Alexander, and it is not quite impossible that some

It may however be said of Origen, with even more confidence than of Clement, that if any such writings were current in his time, he must have been aware of their existence. Origen was born and brought up in Alexandria, and lived and taught there as head of the Catechetical School (with some intermissions) from A. D. 203 to 230, after which he migrated to Palestine. He had a wide and thorough knowledge of Pagan philosophic writings, and especially of those of the Platonists, down to and including Numenius. Some have thought that he was for a time a pupil of Ammonius Saccas, and a fellow-pupil with Plotinus (who was junior to him by about eighteen years). Statements to that effect seem to have arisen out of a confusion between the Christian Origen and a Pagan Platonist of the same name. But be that as it may, the fact remains that he was living in Egypt at the same time as Ammonius Saccas and Plotinus ; that he *may* have been personally acquainted with one or both of them ; and that he *must* have got his Platonism from the same sources that they did, or from similar sources. Among the sources from which he got it, were any *Hermetica* included ? That question we have no means of answering. There are in his writings many passages which, in the thoughts expressed, closely resemble passages in our *Hermetica* ; but I have found no instances of verbal resemblance of a kind that could be held to prove direct borrowing ; and the resemblances in thought prove nothing more than that both Origen and the Hermetists were familiar with Platonism.

In any case, Origen's writings are of special significance for the study of the *Hermetica*, because he lived at the very time during which we have reason to think that most of the earlier of our extant *Hermetica* were written. He was a Platonist as well as a Christian.¹ The Platonism that is to be found in his writings is intermixed with allegorical interpretations of Bible texts, but it can, for the most part, be disentangled from them without much difficulty ;² and we

report of the Jewish account of the Creation may have reached Plato by that route, and may have been borne in mind by him (together with much else) when he was writing the *Timaeus*. But to any one who knew our *Hermetica*, and thought them to be ancient, it would have seemed much more evident that Plato had learnt some things from them.

¹ Just as Philo was a Platonist as well as a Jew.

² See, for instance, Orig. *De principiis*, I. i. 5-7, pp. 31-9 Lommatsch (concerning the incorporeality of God and mind). That passage might, without change of a single word, have been written by a Pagan Platonist ; and if it had come down to us as a *libellus* ascribed to *Hermes*, we should have found in it nothing incongruous with that ascription.

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have it in a specimen of the kind of Platonism that was current in Egypt at that time, i.e. after Numenius, and before the publication of the teachings of Plotinus.

The date of the sentence concerning Hermes in Cyprian (?) *Quod idola* is so uncertain, that no inference can safely be drawn from it.

The author of the *Cohortatio ad Graecos* (probably A. D. 260–302) quotes Herm. *ap.* Stob. *Exc.* I; and if the conjecture 'Αγαθοῦ δαίμονος for Ἀκρωτὸς is accepted, he also knew a Hermetic dialogue in which Agathos Daimon was the teacher.

The earliest Pagan *testimonium* is that of Porphyry, who, in his *Letter to Anebo*, written in the latter part of the third century, said that he had met with some philosophic *Hermetica* (*Ab ammonis resp.* 8. 4a : ἐν τοῖς συγγράμματιν οἷς λέγεις περιτευχηκέναι . . . τὰ μὲν γὰρ φερόμενα ὡς Ἐρμοῦ κ.τ.λ.).

It might perhaps be argued that the Greek *Hermetica* may have been for some considerable time kept secret (as is enjoined in some of them), that is, may have been passed from hand to hand within the small groups of men for whose instruction they were written, but concealed from all others; and that they may therefore have been in existence long before they became known to outsiders. But that seems improbable. Among 'seekers after God', such as were the authors of our *Hermetica* and their pupils, conversions to Christianity must have been frequent; and a Hermetist who had become a Christian would no longer have any motive for concealing the writings which he had previously held sacred. There was therefore nothing to prevent these documents from becoming widely known soon after they were written.

We find then that the external evidence agrees with and confirms the conclusion to which the internal evidence points, namely, that most of the extant *Hermetica* were written in the course of the third century after Christ, and that few of them, if any, can have been written long before A. D. 200.

That most of them, if not all, were in existence at the end of the third century, is proved by the evidence of Lactantius.

The treatise of Lactantius *De opificio dei*, his larger work *Divinae institutiones*, and his treatise *De ira dei* were written between A. D. 303 and 311.¹ The contents of the *Divinae institutiones* are

¹ See Harnack, *Chronol. der altchrist. Litt.*, ii. 415 ff., and Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, pp. 178–80.

repeated in an abridged form, with some variations and additions, in the *Epitome div. inst.*, which was written by Lactantius some years later, perhaps about A. D. 315. For the text of Lactantius, my authority is Brandt's edition, *Corp. script. eccl. Lat.* vol. xix (1890) and vol. xxvii (1893-7).¹

In the *De opif. dei* (c. A. D. 304), there is no mention of Hermes. In *Div. inst.* 2. 10. 14 f., speaking of the making of the human body by God, Lactantius mentions Hermes, together with the Stoics and Cicero, as having dealt with the subject, and adds, 'I pass over this topic now, because I have recently written a book (viz. the *De opif. dei*) about it'. But he does not there say that he made use of any Hermetic document when he was writing the *De opif. dei*; and it is possible that the Hermetic passage (probably *Corp. V. 6*) to which he refers in *Div. inst. l.c.* was not known to him until after the *De opif. dei* was finished.

Brandt, *Über die Quellen von Lactanz' Schrift De opificio dei* (*Wiener Studien* 13, 1891, pp. 255-92), tries to prove that one of the two main sources of the *De opif. dei* was a Hermetic document—probably, he thinks, the *Aphrodite*, of which Herm. ap. Stob. *Exc. XXII* is a fragment. His argument may be summarized as follows: 'Lactantius, throughout *De opif. dei* cc. 2-13, insists on the *beauty* of man's bodily structure even more than on its *utility*. Now that is exceptional; in most other writings on the same topic (e.g. in *Cic. Nat. deor.* 2. 133-53) the utility of the bodily organs is spoken of, but not their beauty. Lactantius must therefore have drawn from a source other than Cicero and Varro, and other than the Stoic writings of which Cicero and Varro made use. And as Lactantius in *Div. inst.* 2. 10. 13 says that Hermes had dealt with the subject, the peculiar source from which Lactantius drew in the *De opif. dei* must have been a *Hermeticum*. In that *Hermeticum*, beauty must have been spoken of side by side with utility. The only extant Hermetic passage in which the construction of the human body by God is dealt with is *Corp. V. 6*; and that', says Brandt (mistakenly, as it seems to me), 'cannot be the passage referred to in *Div. inst. l.c.*, because it speaks only of the beauty of the bodily organs, and not of their utility. The *Hermeticum*

¹ The chief MSS. of *Div. inst.* are *B*, sixth or seventh century; *R*, ninth century; *H*, tenth century; *S*, twelfth century; *P*, ninth century; *V*, tenth or eleventh century; and (for the passages quoted in Greek by Lactantius) *Sedulius*, ninth century.

of which Lactantius made use in the *De opif. dei* must therefore have been a *libellus* which is now lost; and it may very likely have been the *Aphrodite*. From it are derived those parts of the *De opif. dei* in which either the utility and the beauty of the bodily organs are spoken of together, or their beauty is spoken of alone; viz. *cap. 2*, *cap. 5. 13*, nearly the whole of *cap. 7*, much in *cap. 8. 1-8*, much in *cap. 10*, and most of *cap. 13*.¹

If that were established, it might be said that a large part of the contents of a lost Hermetic *libellus* has been preserved in the *De opif. dei*. But Brandt's argument does not appear to me to be convincing.² Beauty as well as utility is spoken of in this connexion by Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 17. 11: 'formae nostrae pulchritudo deum fatetur artificem: . . . nihil in homine membrorum est, quod non et necessitatis causa sit et decoris.' The passages of Lact. *De opif. dei* which Brandt thinks to be of Hermetic origin are an expansion of that statement. Minucius Felix shows no knowledge of Hermetic writings. His *Octavius* was certainly known to Lactantius; and the passages in the *De opif. dei* of which Brandt speaks may have been suggested to Lactantius either by that passage of Minucius Felix, or by some Stoic treatise which was known to both of them.³ We must conclude then that there is no evidence that anything in the *De opif. dei* of Lactantius comes from a Hermetic source. But Hermes is many times spoken of and quoted in the *Div. inst.*, and is once referred to in the *De ira dei*.

Lactantius knew of 'many' writings ascribed to Hermes that were of the same character as our *Hermetica* ('libros, et quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes', *Div. inst.* I. 6. 4). He had read the Greek original of *Ascl. Lat.*, which he calls Λόγος τέλεως; and as he refers to three different parts of it (*Ascl. Lat.* I. 8; III. 24 b-26 a; *Epilogus* 41 a under that same title—*Div. inst.* 4. 6. 4; 7. 18. 4; 6. 25. 1) there can be no doubt that the compilation

¹ Brandt's conclusion is rejected by Gronau, *Poseidonios und die jüdisch-christl. Genesisexegesis*, 1914, p. 162.

² Gronau, *op. cit.*, p. 162, points out the resemblance between Lact. *De opif. dei* 2. 7 (*si homini ferinos dentes aut cornua aut ungues aut unguis aut caudam aut varii coloris pilos addidisset, quis non sentiat quam turpe animal esset futurum?') and Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio* 141 B (*εἰ . . . οὐτως δυνάμεως εἶχεν δὲ ἀνθρώπος, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἀκέντητι παρατρέχειν τὸν ἵππον, ἀπριπτον δὲ ὑπὸ στερρότητος ἔχειν τὸν πόδα, δηλαῖς τισιν ἢ χτηλαῖς κρειδόμενον, κέρατα δὲ καὶ κίντρα καὶ ὄνυχας ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρειν, . . . θηριώδης τις δὲ ἦν καὶ δυσάντητος*). A large part of the contents of Gregory's *De hom. opif.*, as Gronau has shown, must have been derived directly or indirectly from Posidonius; and a large part of the contents of Lact. *De opif. dei* may have been derived from the same source.*

of that composite dialogue was already completed, and that it was known to him in a form differing little from that in which it has come down to us in the Latin translation. There is positive proof that he knew also *Corp.* XII. ii (*Div. inst.* 6. 25. 10), *Corp.* XVI (*Div. inst.* 2. 15. 7), Herm. *ap.* Stob. *Exc.* I (*Epit.* 4. 5 and *De ira dei* II. 11), and *Exc.* II A (*Div. inst.* 2. 12. 5); and there is probably, if not certainly, a reference to *Corp.* V in *Div. inst.* 2. 10. 14. It is possible, but not certain, that *Corp.* X is referred to in *Div. inst.* 1. 11. 61, and *Corp.* IX in *Div. inst.* 2. 15. 6. Lactantius also quotes or refers to several passages in Hermetic writings which were known to him but are not now extant (*Div. inst.* 1. 6. 4; 4. 7. 3; 7. 13. 3; 1. 7. 2; 4. 8. 5; 7. 9. 11).

It may be inferred then from the evidence of Lactantius that nearly all the extant *Hermetica*,¹ as well as a considerable number of Hermetic *libelli* that are now lost, were written before A. D. 311 at the latest, and probably before A. D. 300.

From the time of Lactantius onward, the existence of religious or philosophic *Hermetica*, and the resemblance of the doctrines taught in them to those of Platonism, were widely known among the Christians. In the course of the Arian controversy of the fourth century, disputants on both sides referred to these documents. (See Marcellus of Ancyra and Ps.-Anthimus.) They were read by Didymus (A. D. 380-93), and by Cyril of Alexandria (A. D. 435-41). Augustine (A. D. 413-26) read *Ascl. Lat.* in the translation which has come down to us, but does not appear to have read any other *Hermetica*. He did not read Greek; and the Λόγος τέλειος was probably the only *Hermeticum* that had in his time been translated into Latin. Lactantius, Augustine, and Cyril took for granted the antiquity and authenticity of the *Hermetica*; and it does not appear that any doubt on that point arose among Christians thenceforward down to the time of Casaubon.

The Pagan Neoplatonists paid little attention to the *Hermetica*. Porphyry spoke of them in his *Letter to Anebo*, but there is no reference to them in any of his extant writings. The author of *Abammonis responsum* shows knowledge of them in his reply to Porphyry. Iamblichus is said by Proclus *In Tim.* 117 D to have cited a statement of 'Hermes'; and Proclus makes use of that statement to show that a certain doctrine was taught by 'the

¹ There is no proof that any of the *Isis to Horus* documents were known to Lactantius.

tradition of the Egyptians'. But with these exceptions, the *Hermetica* are ignored in Neoplatonic literature.¹ Seeing that the doctrines set forth in the Hermetic writings are closely connected with those taught by Plotinus and his successors, we might have expected the Neoplatonists to be keenly interested in these documents. Why did they neglect them, and prefer to accept as inspired scriptures the *Oracula Chaldaica* and the *Orphica*, which would seem to us far less suitable for their purpose? Probably because they knew that the attribution of the *Hermetica* to the ancient prophet Hermes was an error. Porphyry was too good a scholar and critic to be misled in this matter; he must have seen them to be what in fact they are, namely, documents written by Egyptian Platonists in his own time, or very shortly before it. The author of *Abammonis resp.* knew at least that they were not written by Hermes (that is implied by his phrase *τὰ φερόμενα ὡς Ἐρμοῦ*, 8. 4 a, which he may have taken over from Porphyry); though he mistakenly thought that they correctly reproduced the meaning of doctrines taught in books written by ancient Egyptian priests. The later Neoplatonists, if they were aware that the *Hermetica* were of recent date, would have little reason to refer to them; for all that was acceptable to them in the teaching of the *Hermetica* was to be found more fully worked out in Plotinus.

Some of our *Hermetica* were known to the alchemist Zosimus (A. D. 300–50?). Stobaeus, c. A. D. 500, had access to the whole mass of *Hermetica*, and made copious extracts from them. About the same time Fulgentius happened to meet with *Corp. I*; and the Λόγος τέλεος, and at least one other *Hermeticum*, were read by Lydus, c. A. D. 550. From that time onward the Greek *Hermetica*

¹ Malalas (Migne, tom. 97, col. 512) says that in A. D. 367–83 Θέων ὁ σοφώτατος φιλόσοφος (that is, no doubt, Theon of Alexandria, the father of Hypatia) ἐδίδασκε καὶ ἤρμηνε τὰ ἀπτρονομά, καὶ τὰ Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου συγγράμματα, καὶ τὰ Ὀρφέως. (See note on Herm. ap. Stob. *Exc.* [XXIX].) But we are not told that 'the writings of Hermes Trismegistus' on which Theon commented were philosophic or religious; they may have been writings on astrology or some other kind of 'occult' science.

Cyril of Alexandria (Migne, tom. 76, col. 548 B; see *Testim.*) says that some man, whom he does not name, 'composed at Athens the fifteen books entitled *'Ερμαῖα*'; and he quotes from the first book of that work (which seems to have been written in the form of a dialogue) a passage, put into the mouth of an Egyptian priest, in which it is said that Hermes was the founder of Egyptian civilization and science. But we do not know how long before Cyril's time the work called *Hermaica* was written; we know nothing about its contents except the extract quoted by Cyril; and in that extract nothing is said of Hermes as a teacher of philosophy or religion.

seem to have been little known and seldom read, until they were brought to light again in the revival of learning which took place at Constantinople under the lead of Psellus. In that interval (A.D. 550–1050) most of them perished; and (apart from extracts and quoted fragments) those only survived which were, at some date unknown to us, put together to form the *Corpus Hermeticum*. The Latin *Asclepius* may have owed its preservation to the fact that it was mistakenly ascribed to Apuleius, and handed down together with his writings.

But while the reputation of Hermes as a philosopher and teacher of religion dwindled in Europe, it lasted on undiminished in another region. The centre in which it most strongly maintained itself, and from which it spread afresh, was Harran,¹ an important city in northern Mesopotamia, situated on the main road between Babylonia and the West. When Christianity, in the course of the fourth century, became the dominant religion in the neighbouring regions of the Roman empire, the majority of the Harranians refused to be converted, and continued to worship in their heathen temples as before;² so that Harran came to be spoken of by Christians as a 'city of Pagans' ('Ελλήνων πόλις').³ When Syria and Mesopotamia were invaded and conquered by the Arabs (A.D. 633–43), a large part of the Harranians were still Pagans; and under Moslem rule they adhered to their religion with the same pertinacity. We hear little of them for nearly two centuries; but they emerge into light again in the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mún (son of Hárún ar-Rashíd). In A.D. 830, al-Mamun, setting out from Bagdad, his

¹ The evidence of Arabic writers concerning the Pagans of Harran has been collected and very thoroughly discussed by D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Petersburg, 1856 (a work in two volumes, which contains large stores of material, exasperatingly ill arranged). Chwolsohn's main conclusions are accepted by more recent authorities, e.g. Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, 1900, pp. 61–71, and E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, 1902, pp. 302–6. (It is very likely that my transliterations of Arabic names will be found inaccurate or inconsistent. In writing the names I usually omit diacritical marks, except at the first place where each name occurs.)

² Northern Mesopotamia was the chief battle-ground in the long series of wars between the Romans and the Persians. It was therefore of great importance to the Roman government to retain the loyalty and goodwill of the inhabitants of Harran, which was one of the chief strongholds of that region; and it may have been for this reason that Paganism was connived at there when it was forcibly suppressed in other places.

³ Chwolsohn, i, pp. 303 and 438. (He refers to *Acta Conciliorum*, t. ix, ed. Paris, 1644, pp. 34 and 37.) Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* 2. 13, says that in A.D. 540 the Persian king Chosroes showed exceptional favour to Harran 'because its inhabitants were mostly Pagans' (ὅτι δῆ οἱ πλεῖστοι οἱ Χριστιανοί, Δῆλος δέξεται τὴν παλαιὰν τυγχάνουσιν δύντες).

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capital, on a campaign against the Byzantines, passed through Harran,¹ and noticing, among those who there presented themselves before him, some people strangely dressed, asked them, 'To which of the peoples protected by law² do you belong?' They answered, 'We are Harranians'. 'Are you Christians?' 'No.' 'Jews?' 'No.' 'Magians?' 'No.' 'Have you a holy scripture or a prophet?' To this question they gave an evasive answer. 'You are infidels and idolaters then', said the caliph, 'and it is permitted to shed your blood. If you have not, by the time when I return from my campaign, become either Moslems or adherents of one of the religions recognized in the Koran, I will extirpate you to a man.'³ Under this threat, many of them, in outward profession

¹ This story is quoted by an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (A.D. 987), Bk. 9, cap. 2 (Chwolsohn, ii, pp. 14 sqq.), from a book called *The disclosure of the doctrine of the Harranians, who are in our time known under the name of Sabians*, which was written (probably c. A.D. 900) by a Christian named Abū-Jusuf Abshaa' al-Qathī.

² According to Mohammedan law, 'Peoples of a Book', i.e. non-Moslems whose religion was founded on a scripture containing truths revealed by God to one whom Moslems recognized as a prophet, were entitled to toleration, on condition of payment of a fixed tax. This law was based on certain passages in the Koran in which Jews, Christians, and 'Sabians' were favourably spoken of. (*Koran* 2. 59: 'The believers, be they Jews, Christians, or Sabians, if only they believe in God and the last day, and do what is right, will find reward in the presence of their Lord; neither fear nor sorrow shall torment them.') See also *Koran* 5. 73 and 22. 17.)

According to Chwolsohn, the people called 'Sabians' by Mohammed were the Mandaean, a sect residing in the marsh-lands near the head of the Persian Gulf. (See Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, 1889, and *Mandäische Schriften*, 1893.) These people called themselves Mandaean, a name derived from *māndā*, which means *ὴ γνῶσις*; but their neighbours called them Sabians, a Semitic word meaning 'people who wash themselves', or 'baptists'. A few thousands of Mandaean were still to be found in the neighbourhood of Basra in the nineteenth century; but they are probably by this time almost, if not quite, extinct. The sect may have been in existence as early as the second century A.D. Their scriptures are written in an Aramaic dialect, and contain a mixture of Babylonian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian ingredients, slightly modified by Christian influence. These writings, in the form in which they are now extant, may perhaps have been composed about the seventh or eighth century A.D., but were doubtless compiled out of documents of earlier date. In the ninth century, so little was generally known about this sect, that it was possible for the Pagans of Harran, who had no connexion whatever with them, to claim the name of Sabians without fear of contradiction, and thereby to get for themselves a legal status similar to that of Jews, Christians, and Magians (i.e. Zoroastrians) under Moslem rule.

There is, however, some doubt whether Chwolsohn was right in identifying the 'Sabians' of the Koran with the Mandaean. De Goeje (*Actes du 6^e congrès international des Orientalistes*, Pt. ii, section 1, Leyden, 1885, p. 289) says that the people called Sabians in the Koran were 'a Christian sect strongly impregnated with Pagan elements, the Elkasaites, who existed in Babylonia, and who, while having much resemblance to the Mandaean, are not identical with them, as Chwolsohn thought they were'. But whether the sect denoted by the name Sabians before A.D. 830 was that of the Mandaean or some other, it was in any case a sect with which the Pagans of Harran had nothing to do.

³ Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, 1921, p. 274, says: 'In his

at least, went over to Islam, and others to Christianity. But some of them held out, and consulted a Moslem jurist, who, in return for a large fee, gave them this advice: 'When al-Mamun comes back, say to him, "We are Sabians"; for that is the name of a religion of which God speaks in the Koran.' Al-Mamun never came back (he died two or three years later, while still at war); but the Harranian Pagans acted on the advice of the jurist. They called themselves Sabians, and were thenceforward officially recognized by the Moslem government as entitled to toleration under that name.¹

But in order to make good their claim to this legal status, it was necessary for them not merely to call themselves by a new name, but also to put forward a Book on which it could be said that their religion was based, and a Prophet or Prophets to whom the contents of that Book had been revealed. The sacred books of the sect which had hitherto been denoted by the name Sabians were probably unknown and inaccessible at Harran; and if they had been known there, it would have been evident that those books had nothing to do with the religion of the Harranians. It was therefore

sagacious tolerance, Mamun recognized no distinction of creed or race; all his subjects were declared eligible for public offices, and every religious distinction was effaced. . . . Liberty of conscience and freedom of worship had been always enjoyed by non-Moslems under the Islamic régime; any occasional variation in this policy was due to the peculiar temperament of some local governor. Under Mamun, however, the liberality towards other religions was large-hearted and exemplary.' This seems hardly consistent with the story told above. But the discrepancy is to be explained in this way; Mamun's tolerance of non-Moslem religions was genuine as far as it went, but it extended only to those religions which were recognized by law.

Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, p. 30, tells a story (reported by Masudi) of a group of Manichaeans arrested and put to death as heretics by Mamun's order.

¹ Hence, from A.D. 830 onward, the name Sabians had a new and different meaning. Some Arabic writers were aware that there were people 'in the marshes' near the head of the Persian Gulf who were called Sabians; but the name was henceforward more commonly used to denote the Harranian Pagans. And since these were the only Pagans with whom the Moslem Arabs of the Bagdad region were directly or personally acquainted, the name Sabians came to be habitually used (from about A.D. 1000 onward) to signify Pagan polytheists or 'star-worshippers' in general. (The Arabs were inclined to think that all Pagans were star-worshippers; this notion they probably got by generalizing from what was known to them about the local cults of Harran.) An Arabic writer says, for instance, that Constantine was converted from 'Sabism' to Christianity; and another says that Pharaoh was a 'Sabian'.

The name 'Sabians' then had three different meanings. (1) Before A.D. 830, it meant the Mandaeans, or some other sect of similar character. (2) From A.D. 830 to about 1000, it meant the Harranian Pagans. (3) From about A.D. 1000 onward, it meant Pagans in general, of all places and all times. But most Moslems were not aware of these distinctions; and it is often difficult to decide whether an Arabic writer is using the name in the second or the third sense.

necessary to choose some other writings, which would serve the purpose better.

Now the religion of the Pagan Harranians of the ninth century was the indigenous religion of heathen Syria, more or less modified by Hellenic and perhaps by Persian and other influences. For the mass of the people, religion must have been, there as elsewhere, a matter of cult far more than of doctrine. Of the local cults of Harran some descriptions have come down to us in Arabic writings; but these are mostly vague and meagre, and some of the more definite statements are evidently due either to gross misunderstanding or to malicious invention. We learn from them, however, that there was at Harran a temple of the Moon-god Sin,¹ and that among the deities worshipped by the Harranians the seven planet-gods were prominent; and there are also descriptions of a cult² which seems to show some resemblances to Mithraism.

But there were among the Pagans of Harran learned men who were well acquainted with Greek philosophy; and in those times Greek philosophy meant a religious philosophy founded on Plato and Aristotle—that is, in one word, Neoplatonism.³ The religion

¹ The cult of the Moon-god Sin must have been firmly rooted at Harran ever since what may be vaguely called 'the time of Abraham'; and this Harranian cult was in high repute under the Roman empire. We hear of it, for instance, in the time of Caracalla; and in A. D. 363, Julian, halting at Harran on his way to war against the Persians, worshipped in the temple of the Moon-god (Amm. Marcell. 23. 3. 1). This worship seems to have continued without intermission under Moslem rule, until the temple of Sin at Harran was finally destroyed, either in A. D. 1032, or according to another authority, at the time of the Tartar invasion in A. D. 1230.

² We are told (Chwolsohn, i. 496, 513, and ii. 319-64) that in one of the temples at Harran was worshipped a god named *Shemāl*, 'the lord of the genii (or daemons), the highest God, the God of the mysteries'; and that underneath this temple there were crypts, in which were idols, and in which mysteries were celebrated. Boys were admitted into a crypt, and were there terrified by weird sounds and voices. Women were excluded from the rites. There was a sacrament in which cakes were eaten (we are told that these cakes were made of meal mixed with the blood of a slaughtered baby; but that is doubtless a calumny, like similar accusations against the early Christians; and in both cases alike, the accusation may have been based on a too literal interpretation of symbolic actions and metaphorical phrases used in the ritual); and there was also a sacramental drinking of some liquid out of seven cups.

In this description there is much that reminds one of Mithraism. It must have been in some region not far distant from northern Mesopotamia that the Mithraic cult which spread over the Roman empire first took shape; and after it had spread westward, it might have been brought back to that same region and revived there by Roman soldiers and merchants.

³ Roughly speaking, it may be said that the Neoplatonists made use of Aristotle as their chief authority for logic, but Plato for philosophy in the stricter sense. But they habitually tried to explain away the differences between Plato and Aristotle, and to show that one and the same philosophy was taught by both. The

of these men must have been related to that of the uneducated mass of worshippers of Sin and the planet-gods in the same sort of way that the religion of Iamblichus was related to that of uneducated Pagans in the Roman empire. And when the Pagan Harranians were required, on pain of death or merciless persecution, to name a Book on which their religion was based, it would necessarily fall to the learned men among them to find an answer to the question, and to speak on behalf of the whole body. They might have said with some truth that their religion (i. e. the philosophic religion of these learned men themselves, though not the religion of the mass of Pagans) was based on Plato's Dialogues; but they preferred to name what were believed to be the more ancient writings from which Plato had derived his wisdom—that is, the Greek *Hermetica*. 'Our Scriptures', they must have said to the Moslem officials, 'are the Hermetic writings; and our Prophets are those whose teaching is recorded in those writings, namely, Hermes Trismegistus, and his teacher Agathos Daimon.'¹

The Moslems did not set any fixed limit to the number of 'prophets' acknowledged by them (among those whom they recognized as prophets were Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, &c., and we are told by one authority that the total number of prophets amounted to 313, Chw. i. 626); and there might be no great difficulty in adding two more to the list; but it would be easier to get these two accepted if they could be identified with prophets already well known to Mohammedans. It was probably for this reason, and at the suggestion of Harranians, that Agathodaimon came to be identified with Seth son of Adam, and Hermes with Idris, whom Moslems held to be identical with Enoch (*Koran* 19. 57 and 21. 85).

The fact that the Harranian Pagans, when required to name a Scripture, chose the *Hermetica*, proves that in A. D. 830 a collection of *Hermetica* was known and read in Syria; and the fact that they named Agathodaimon as a prophet together with Hermes proves that their collection included some dialogues (now lost, and known

'Aristotle' of the Arabs meant Aristotle as interpreted by Neoplatonic commentators, and included, *inter alia*, the so-called *Theologia of Aristotle*, which is a paraphrase of Plotinus.

¹ An Arabic writer, who died in A. D. 898, describes the doctrine of the 'Sabians' (i. e. Harranian Pagans) as a philosophy, and says that their teachers are Agathodaimon and Hermes, and that they have a writing of the latter (Chwolsohn, i. 196).

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to us only by a few fragments and references), in which Hermes was the pupil, and Agathos Daimon the teacher. It may be inferred from the occurrence of the names Tat, Asclepius, and Ammon in conjunction with that of Hermes in Arabic writings,¹ that these Harranians had in their possession Hermetic *libelli* in which the pupils were so named; and among these were presumably some that are now lost, as well as those which have come down to us.

In the ninth century, Hermetic documents were most likely known to some scholars at Harran in the original Greek; but the *Hermetica* had probably been translated into Syriac long before that time, and were doubtless usually read in Syriac by Harranians and their neighbours at Edessa and elsewhere.²

¹ 'Tat son of Hermes' is repeatedly spoken of in Arabic writings; and Asclepius is mentioned as one of the prophets recognized by the Harranians (Chwolsohn, i. 229, ii. 523, &c.), and is called a follower of Hermes (Chw., i. 243). Of Ammon there is at least one mention; al-Qifti, A. D. 1248 (Chw., i, p. 787, and ii, p. 533), wrote a book containing, *inter alia*, biographies of Idris (i. e. Hermes), King Amon, Asclepius, Empedocles, and Plato.

² We know from Ephraim Syrus (see *Testim.*) that *Hermetica* were known in Syria c. A. D. 365, and that at that time a Syrian who probably did not read Greek had some knowledge of their contents (but perhaps only at second hand). De Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, 1901, says that translation of profane writings from Greek into Syriac began in or about the fourth century. In the fifth century, there was in Edessa a flourishing academy, furnished with a large library of Greek and Syriac books (Chw., i. 172-4), and there can be little doubt that among those books were the *Hermetica*. We hear of works of Aristotle translated into Syriac in the fifth century (Chw., *ib.*). The school at Edessa, having become infected with Nestorianism, was suppressed by the emperor Zeno in A. D. 489 (C. de Vaux, *Avicenne*, p. 41), and there seems to have been thenceforward no one central seat of learning for Syrian Christians; but the work which had been centred at Edessa was still carried on in other Syrian cities (e. g. at Nisibis). Meanwhile, Harran was the chief seat of learning for Syrian Pagans, and continued to be so down to the end of the ninth century. The Arabs got their knowledge of Greek science and philosophy partly from Syrian Christians (orthodox, Monophysite, and Nestorian), but (from A. D. 830 onward, if not before) partly also from Syrian Pagans of Harran.

Masudi (*ap.* C. de Vaux, *Avic.*, p. 38) reports from a lost work of al-Farabi (who died in A. D. 950) the following sketch of the history of learning: 'The chief seat of human knowledge was transferred from Athens to Alexandria in Egypt. The emperor Augustus, after destroying Cleopatra, established two centres of teaching, Alexandria and Rome; the emperor Theodosius put a stop to the teaching at Rome, and brought back the whole of it to Alexandria. Under Omar son of Abd-el-Aziz (A. D. 705-10), the chief seat of teaching was transferred from Alexandria to Antioch; and later on, in the reign of Mutawakkil, it was transferred to Harran.' The caliph Mutawakkil, 'the Nero of the Arabs', was a drunken debauchee, and a rigidly orthodox Mohammedian (Ameer Ali, *Short Hist.*, p. 288). Why is he, of all people, mentioned in this connexion? Apparently because it was in his reign (A. D. 847-61) that the learning of the Harranians first became widely known among the Arabs. From the time of the Arab conquest until A. D. 830, the date at which their religion was granted legal recognition, the learned Pagans of Harran had been forced to remain in concealment.

From that time onward, for about two centuries (A. D. 850-1050), we hear much of the Harranian Pagans. Some of them rose to positions of high eminence, and played an important part in the intellectual life of Bagdad.

The most famous of them is Thabit ibn Qurra,¹ who was born A. D. 835, and died c. A. D. 901. During the earlier part of his life he resided in Harran, as a money-changer. But shortly before A. D. 872, there was a schism in the community² of 'Sabians', as the Harranian Pagans were now called; Thabit's party was defeated, and he was expelled, and forced to leave the city. After some years he settled at Bagdad, was introduced to the caliph, and attained to high favour at court; and he got the government to recognize him and his companions as a separate and independent community of 'Sabians', with a head of its own.³ Most of the learned men of Harran probably migrated to Bagdad and joined him. The community thus established at Bagdad must have been a sort of school of Pagan Neoplatonism,⁴ in some respects analogous to the school of Pagan Neoplatonism which had flourished at Athens until suppressed by Justinian about 350 years before.⁵ But there

¹ Chw., i. 546 sqq., 482 sqq., 177, 516, &c.

² When the Harranian Pagans obtained a legal status, it would necessarily follow that they became, like Jews and Christians under Moslem rule, a definitely organized body, with an official head or primate, through whom the government would communicate with them.

We are not told what the quarrel was about; but it may be conjectured that the learned men and students of philosophy differed so widely in their views from the uneducated vulgar, that it was found impossible for the two parties to act together.

³ Chwolsohn (i. 488) says that this Sabian community in Bagdad was probably founded under the caliph Mutadhid, A. D. 892-902.

⁴ One result of the migration must have been to diminish the importance of cult for these men, and increase the comparative importance of philosophy. The Harranians who had migrated to Bagdad might still take a theoretic interest in the local cults of Harran, but would henceforth be debarred from practising them; and there were in Bagdad no Pagan temples in which they could worship.

Masudi calls the Sabians (meaning the Harranian Pagans of Bagdad) 'eclectic philosophers' (Chw., i. 543); and Avicenna (+1037) speaks of them as having a philosophic theory of religion (Chw., i. 225).

⁵ We are not told that any of the teachers and students who quitted Athens at that time settled at Harran; but it seems not unlikely that some of them did so. The heads of the Athenian schools who, when forbidden to teach at Athens, migrated to Persia in the expectation of finding ideal happiness there under the rule of a philosopher-king, and returned disillusioned a few years later, most likely passed through Harran, both on their way to Persia and on their way back. A. Stahr, in Smith's *Dict. Biogr.*, says that Damascius, who was the professor of Platonic philosophy at Athens when Justinian closed the Pagan schools there in A. D. 529, and who was one of those that migrated to Persia, 'appears to have returned to the West' in A. D. 533; but that 'we have no further particulars of the life of Damascius; we only know that he did not, after his return, find any

were doubtless considerable differences ; and one of the differences was this, that whereas the Neoplatonists of Athens had ignored the *Hermetica*, the Harranian Neoplatonists of Bagdad recognized the *Hermetica* as their 'Scripture', and regarded the Hermetic teaching as the source whence their philosophy was derived.

Thabit lived on at Bagdad, occupied in teaching and writing, till his death about A. D. 901. We are told that towards the end of his life he was forced to become a Mohammedan ; but his sons remained Pagans, and the Pagan community which he had founded in Bagdad continued its activities after his death.

Thabit's work as a writer extended over a wide range of subjects. He is spoken of as highly distinguished in mathematics, astronomy, logic, and medicine, as well as in philosophy. His mother tongue was Syriac, but he knew also the Greek and Arabic languages. Barhebraeus says that Thabit wrote about 150 works (translations included?) in Arabic, and 16 in Syriac. He translated Greek writings, and corrected earlier translations made by others ; and according to an Arabic writer, it was said that 'no one would have been able to get any benefit from the philosophic writings of the Greeks, if they had not had Thabit's translations'.¹ Among his writings on philosophy and logic were the following : a *Tractatus de argumento Socrati ascripto* ; a *Tractatus de solutione mysteriorum in Platonis Republica obviorum* ; a translation of part of Proclus's commentary on the *Aurea carmina* of Pythagoras ; an *Isagoge in logicam* ; commentaries on Aristotle's Περὶ ἐργασίας, and a part of Aristotle's Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις ; extracts from Arist. *Cat.*, *Anal. prior.*, and *Περὶ ἔρμη*. But he was, like the Neoplatonists of Athens, interested in Pagan cults (more especially, perhaps, but not exclusively, the local cults of Harran), as well as in philosophy ; and under this head may be placed the following titles given in the list of his writings : *Liber de lege et canonibus* (ceremonial law and ritual?) *ethnicorum* ; *Liber de sepultura mortuorum* ; *Liber de confirmatione religionis ethnicorum* ; *Liber de munditie et immunditie* ;

school either at Athens or at any other place'. Is it certain that Damascius did not settle down at Harran and teach there? He could hardly find any other place where he would feel so much at home as in that 'city of Pagans'. He was a Syrian, born at Damascus, whence he got his name.

¹ This agrees with what is said by Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, p. 37 : 'Translation into Arabic began under al-Mansur (A. D. 753-74) ; but philosophic writings were not at first included among those translated, and the Arabs had not sufficiently perfect translations of Aristotle into Arabic until the time of al-Farabi, at the beginning of the fourth century of the Hegira' (i. e. c. A. D. 912, a few years after Thabit's death).

Liber de animalibus sacrificio aptis ; Liber de horis precum ; Liber de lectionibus recitandis ad singulas septem planetas accommodatis ; Liber de poenitentia et deprecatione ; Liber de religione Sabiorum ; Liber de legibus (ceremonial regulations?) Hermetis, et de orationibus (prayers) quibus utuntur ethnici. From one of these books (perhaps the *Liber de confirmatione religionis ethnicorum*) must have been taken the following passage, quoted from Thabit by Barhebraeus : 'We are the heirs and propagators of Paganism.... Happy is he who, for the sake of Paganism, bears the burden (of persecution?) with firm hope. Who else have civilized the world, and built the cities, if not the nobles and kings of Paganism? Who else have set in order the harbours and the rivers? And who else have taught the hidden wisdom? To whom else has the Deity revealed itself,¹ given oracles, and told about the future, if not to the famous men among the Pagans? The Pagans have made known all this. They have discovered the art of healing the soul; they have also made known the art of healing the body. They have filled the earth with settled forms of government, and with wisdom, which is the highest good. Without Paganism the world would be empty and miserable.'

Thabit seems to have also dabbled in the 'occult' sciences; he paid some attention to astrology, and he wrote a commentary on a 'Book of Hermes' concerning *doctrina litterarum et nominum*—probably a treatise dealing with the cryptic significance or magic efficacy of letters of the alphabet.² It is very likely that he knew other books also on such subjects (e.g. on astrology) that were ascribed to Hermes, and assumed them to have been written by the same Hermes that he believed to be the author of the teachings recorded in the religious and philosophic *Hermetica*.

Thabit's son Sinán was a physician of high repute, and held by official appointment the position of head of the medical profession in Bagdad. Masudi says that Sinan had a thorough knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, logic, metaphysic, and the philosophic systems of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

Chwolsohn (i. 577 sqq.) enumerates twenty-seven other 'Sabians' (i.e. Harranian Pagans) whose names have been preserved. One of them, al-Battáni (A.D. 877-918), was a famous astronomer and mathematician, known as Albategnus in medieval Europe.³

¹ An audacious thing to write under a Mohammedan government.

² See F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, Teubner, 1922.

³ C. de Vaux says, 'It is thought that al-Battani knew Greek; he commented

It appears that the 'Sabians' lived on at Bagdad, and continued to be known there as a separate sect, for about 150 years after the death of Thabit (A. D. 900-1050). At that time the 'Golden Age' of the great caliphs (al-Mansur, ar-Rashid, and al-Mamun, A. D. 754-833) was past, and the vast empire over which they had ruled had fallen to pieces. The decline may be said to have begun in the reign of Mutawakkil, c. A. D. 850. There was a period of confusion, in the course of which caliphs at Bagdad were helpless in the hands of Turkish praetorians, and provincial governors made themselves independent and established local dynasties. But shortly before A. D. 950 one of these local rulers, a son of Buwayh, who had got possession of a large part of Persia, made himself master of Bagdad; and thenceforward (until the coming of the Seljuks in 1055) the Buwayhids governed there as 'Mayors of the Palace', and the caliphs, reduced to impotence, retained only a shadowy dignity as pontiffs. Thus during the greater part of the century A. D. 950-1050 Bagdad was under a tolerably firm and settled government, and though shorn of much of its earlier glory, was still the chief city of a considerable dominion (Mesopotamia, Iraq, and western Persia).

During these political changes, students pursued their work without intermission, some at Bagdad, and others at the place of residence of this or that local dynast; and it was not until after the political decline had begun that Arabic learning reached its highest level.

In the intellectual activity of A. D. 900-1050 the Sabians of Bagdad took their part. During that time, or at least during the earlier part of it, there was still under Moslem rule much freedom of thought; and non-Moslems, though subject to occasional ill-usage or annoyance, were often well received at court, and found the highest careers open to them. But from about A. D. 1050 we hear no more of these Sabians; and their disappearance is probably to be accounted for as the result of a gradual increase in the strictness with which Mohammedan orthodoxy was enforced.

Among 'the two and seventy jarring sects' of Islam, there were, and had been from the first, two main tendencies in conflict. There was a school of theologians (the 'orthodox' theologians as they may be called) who relied wholly and solely on the authority of

on the *Tetrabiblos* of Ptolemy, and revised the *Almagest* and several works of Archimedes'.

revelation—i. e. on what God had revealed to Mohammed—and refused to diverge from this or go beyond it; and opposed to them there was a school of ‘liberal’ theologians, who, while accepting the authority of the Koran, claimed a right to the use of human reason in the interpretation of the sacred text, and exercised that right to a varying extent. In the ninth century, when the Arabs had got access to Greek learning, there arose, side by side with the two schools of theologians, a third school, that of the ‘philosophers’.¹ Philosophy meant, for the Arabs, not a search for truth in any direction, but adherence to those philosophic doctrines which they had learnt from the Greeks—that is, to Neoplatonism; so that the ‘philosophers’ were, in fact, a sect among other sects. They were professedly Mohammedans (differing in this from the Sabians, who were not Mohammedans in any sense), and they did not openly reject the Koran; but they disregarded it as far as they could with safety, and when obliged to take notice of it, contrived some sort of compromise between their Neoplatonic doctrines and those of Moslem theology. Meanwhile, the liberal theologians also read the philosophic writings, and got from them arguments which they employed in their controversies with the more rigidly orthodox. Thus the ‘orthodox theologians’ and the ‘philosophers’ came to stand opposed to one another as the two extremes, while the ‘liberal theologians’ held an intermediate position between them.

Under the great caliphs, the liberal theologians had, on the whole, the upper hand, and men of all ways of thinking could express their opinions openly. But as time went on, the orthodox party grew in strength, and asserted itself more and more. The tenets of this party, or of a comparatively moderate section of it, were formulated by al-Ashari (who died A. D. 935, i. e. about half a century after the founding of the Sabian community in Bagdad); and his followers, known as ‘the Asharites’, carried on the struggle until they brought it to a victorious conclusion. From the school of the Asharites issued Ghazali (A. D. 1058–1111), who ‘crushed the philosophers’, and finally established the system of Mohammedan orthodoxy which has, in the main, been in force from his time down to our own day.

¹ Among the numerous Oriental Arabs who taught philosophy in their writings, there are three whose names stand out conspicuously, viz. al-Kindi, who died about A. D. 873 (of his writings only small remnants have been preserved); al-Farabi, who died A. D. 950; and ibn-Sina (Avicenna), who died A. D. 1037.

What is here said about the religious parties and disputes of the Moslem Arabs is taken chiefly from de Boer, *Gesch. der Philosophie im Islam*, 1901, and Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne and Gazali*.

Thus, about A.D. 1050, the forces hostile to freedom of thought were already prevailing. Men such as the Sabians of whom I have been speaking could no longer venture to speak out; they could escape ill-treatment only by remaining in obscurity; and they were probably soon absorbed into the mass of orthodox Moslems.

Now the time at which the Sabians disappear at Bagdad (*c. A.D. 1050*) is just about the time at which documents of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, after an interval of five centuries during which nothing has been heard of them in Europe, reappear at Constantinople, in the hands of Psellus. Is there not something more than chance in this? It may be that one of the Sabians of Bagdad, finding that his position under Moslem rule was becoming unendurable, migrated to Constantinople, and brought in his baggage a bundle of Greek *Hermetica*—and that our *Corpus* is that bundle. If so, the line along which the *libelli* of the *Corpus* have been transmitted to us from Egypt runs through Harran and Bagdad. This is merely an unproved hypothesis; but it is one that agrees well with the facts known to us. The Pagans of Harran almost certainly possessed the whole collection of *Hermetica* (including many documents that are not now extant) in Greek, at the time when they adopted these writings as their Scriptures, in A.D. 830; and there can be little doubt that Thabit, who was a good Greek scholar, still had a copy of them in Greek at the end of the ninth century. During the 150 years which had since elapsed, knowledge of Greek must have almost, if not quite, died out at Bagdad, and the *Hermetica* must have been now read only, or almost only, in Syriac or Arabic translations. But a man such as the Sabian I am supposing would, even if he did not himself know the Greek language, have good reason to preserve with care, and to take with him when he migrated to a place where Greek was spoken, any portions of his Scriptures, in the original Greek, that had chanced to escape destruction and to come into his hands; and it is just such a chance collection of specimens that we have in the *Corpus*.

Moreover, if we choose to indulge in yet further conjectures, there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that it was the arrival in Constantinople of a few such Sabian Neoplatonists from Bagdad, and the writings which they brought with them, that first started that revival of Platonic study in which Psellus¹ took the leading

¹ Psellus might be called a Byzantine Cicero. A modern Plutarch would be able to show that the lives of Cicero and Psellus are curiously parallel in some

part. This would be very much like what took place four centuries later, when Neoplatonism, conveyed by Greeks who migrated westward, passed on from Constantinople to Florence, and again carried with it the *Corpus Hermeticum*.

It is almost surprising that no extracts or quotations from the *Hermetica* (except the insignificant scrap which I call Fragment 37) have been found in Arabic writings. Possibly some such passages may yet be discovered. There may be in existence unpublished MSS. containing treatises on philosophic or religious subjects, written by Thabit b. Qurra or by other Sabians of Bagdad; and it might be expected that these men would sometimes quote from the documents which were regarded as their Scriptures.¹

Al-Kindi (who died about A.D. 873, i.e. before the Sabian community in Bagdad was founded) said that he had seen a book 'the teaching of which is accepted by' the Pagans of Harran, and which consisted of treatises 'which Hermes wrote for his son' (i.e. a collection of *Hermes to Tat* documents); but he does not quote from these documents, and he tells us little about their contents, except that they teach 'the unity of God'.

Shahrastani (†A.D. 1153), Katibi (†A.D. 1276), and other Arabic writers give summaries of the philosophic teaching of the Harranian Sabians; and the contents of these summaries are probably derived (either directly or through Moslem intermediaries) from some of the writings of Thabit and his associates. The doctrines which these Arabic writers ascribe to the Harranian Sabians are for the most part such as are to be found in our *Hermetica*, or might have been found in *Hermetica* now lost; but we have no means of knowing whether the Sabian writers got them from the *Hermetica*, or from Platonic sources of the same kind as those from which the Hermetists drew.

Among the Arabic writers whose *testimonia* are known to me, the only one who shows any considerable knowledge of the contents of the Greek *Hermetica* is the mystic Suhrawardi (†A.D. 1191). This man says he 'finds himself in agreement' with Hermes as well as with Plato; and this implies that he knew writings which contained philosophic or religious teachings ascribed to Hermes,

respects; and one of the things in which the two men were alike is that each of them did much to make philosophy known to his countrymen.

¹ It would be worth while to examine for this purpose a document entitled *Gubernatio animarum*, written by Sinan son of Thabit (British Museum *Cod. Arab.* MS. Add. 7473 Rich, fol. 26-31).

and saw that these teachings resembled those of Plato. He says 'it can be proved' of Hermes (as well as of Plato) that he 'saw the spiritual world' (i. e. *τὰ νοητά*); and he must have found his proof of this in passages of the *Hermetica* in which Hermes speaks of 'seeing' God or things incorporeal 'with the eye of the mind'. He says that Hermes (as well as Pythagoras, Plato, and others) taught 'transmigration of souls', and the doctrine 'that the spheres of heaven give forth sounds'; these statements must be based on particular passages in the *Hermetica*.

It appears then that Suhrawardi had the same sort of knowledge of the philosophic *Hermetica* that he had of the writings of Plato, and of the doctrines ascribed to Pythagoras by Greek tradition; and hence it may be inferred that he had either himself read some of the *Hermetica* (in a Syriac or Arabic translation), or got information about their contents from the writings of Sabians or Moslems who had read them. We know from Barhebraeus (*Testim.*) that a Syriac translation of a collection of *Hermes to Tat* dialogues was extant in and after Suhrawardi's time.

The statements of Arabic writers concerning Hermes show that, down to the twelfth century and later, his name was widely known among them, and was held in high repute as that of a teacher of philosophic religion; but they add nothing to our knowledge of the Greek *Hermetica*. There has come down to us, however, one document which may be called an Arabic *Hermeticum*; namely, *Hermes de castigatione animae*, a translation of which is given at the end of the *Testimonia*. There are many passages in it which contain teaching that closely resembles that of some of the Greek *Hermetica*. It seems probable that most of these passages are extracts from the writings of men who knew the Greek *Hermetica* (or Syriac or Arabic translations of them), and that some of them have been translated, with little alteration, from Greek originals. It is possible that some of these Greek originals were *Hermetica*; but it cannot be said with certainty of any passage in the *Castig. an.* that it is a translation of a Greek *Hermeticum*.

A collection of 'Sayings of Hermes' is given by Honein ibn Isháq,¹ *Dicta philosophorum* (Loewenthal, 1896). This book con-

¹ Honein ibn Ishaq (†A. D. 873) was a Nestorian Christian. He took a leading part in the translation of Greek writings into Arabic, and was assisted in the work by his son and nephew. He resided mostly at Bagdad, but travelled in Byzantine territory, where he remained for two years, and brought back thence a collection

tains a *gnomologium* in which are reported *dicta* of several sages (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, &c.), one of whom is Hermes. Among the thirty-six sayings ascribed by him to Hermes are the following : 'Desire is slavery ; renunciation is freedom.' 'He who publicly reprimands any one deserves blame and contempt.' 'Let nothing of the advantages which the Creator has given you be small in your eyes, that you may not lose that which is already given.' 'Leave the liar and his company, for you get nothing that is of use from him ; he is like the mirage in the desert, which shines, but does no quench your thirst.' 'He who scorns another on account of his sins finds no forgiveness.' 'For the merciful, the repentance of the offender is a sufficient advocate.' 'Death is like an arrow (that is already) in flight, and your life lasts only until it reaches you.' 'The height of magnanimity is to be merciful to fools.' Gnomic sayings such as these have nothing to do with the Greek *Hermetica*. It is evident that the name Hermes has here been employed at random, and it is a mere chance that these sayings are ascribed to him, and not to Socrates or some other sage. This document therefore is, for our present purpose, significant only as showing that in the ninth century Hermes was, in the circle to which Honein belonged, reputed a 'wise man' in the same sense as the chief Greek philosophers.

Bardenhewer, in his introduction to the *Castig. an.*, says that there is an unpublished writing of Mubashshiri b. Fatik (*Cat. bibl. Acad. Lugd.-Bat.* iii, p. 342) which contains a *collectio acute dictorum* (doubtless a *gnomologium* resembling that of Honein), and in which *Hermes gravem agit personam* ; and that there are other similar and partly identical Arabic collections of gnomic sayings.

of Greek writings. But as far as one can judge from the book translated by Loewenthal, he appears to have been surprisingly ignorant of Greek life and thought, and can hardly have been capable of understanding the writings which he translated.



TEXTS AND TRANSLATION

CORPVS HERMETICVM

LIBLELLVS I

[Ἐρμοῦ τρισμεγίστου] Ποιμάνδρης.

- 1 Ἐννοίας μοὶ ποτε γενομένης περὶ τῶν ὅντων, καὶ μετεωρισθείσης μὲν τῆς διανοίας σφόδρα, ⟨⟨ὕπνῳ⟩⟩ ⟨δὲ⟩ κατασχεθεισῶν μου τῶν σωματικῶν αἰσθήσεων, {οὐ μέντοι} καθάπερ ⟨τ>οῖς[[ὕπνῳ]] βεβαρημένοις⟩ ἐκ κόρου τροφῆς ἡ ἐκ κόπου σώματος, ἔδοξά τινα ὑπερμεγέθη μέτρῳ ἀπεριορίστῳ ⟨ἐν⟩τυγχάνοντα καλεῖν μου τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ λέγειν [τα] μοι. Τί βούλει ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι, καὶ νοῆσας μαθεῖν καὶ 2 γνῶναι;—φημὶ ἔγω. Σὺ γὰρ τίς εἶ;—Ἐγὼ μέν, φησίν, είμὶ δὲ Ποιμάνδρης, δὲ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς. [[Οίδα δὲ βούλει¹⁰ 3 καὶ σύνειμι σοι πανταχοῦ.]]—φημὶ ἔγω. Μαθεῖν θέλω τὰ ὅντα καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν τούτων φύσιν, καὶ γνῶναι τὸν θεόν. ⟨περὶ τοῦτων, ἔφην, ἀκοῦσαι βούλομαι.—φησὶν ἐμοὶ πάλιν. ⟨Οίδα δὲ βούλει, {δε} καὶ σύνειμι σοι πανταχοῦ.⟩⟩ ἔχει νῷ σῷ σταθέλεις μαθεῖν, κάγω σε διδάξω.¹⁵
- 4 οὗτος εἰπόν^{τος}, ἡλλάγη ⟨⟨εὐθέως πάντα μοι⟩⟩ τῇ ἴδεᾳ καὶ [[εὐθέως πάντα μοι]] ἡνοικτὸ ροπῆ. καὶ δρῶ θέαν δόριστον, φῶς [δὲ] πάντα γεγενημένα ἥπιόν τε καὶ ἰλαρόν· καὶ ἡγάσθην ἴδων. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον, σκότος κατωφερὲς ἦν ἐν μέρει {τινὶ} γεγενημένον, φοβερόν τε καὶ στυγνόν,²⁰ Γσκολιῶς πεπειραμένον¹ [ώς εἰκάσαι με]. ⟨...⟩ εἴδον μεταβαλλόμενον τὸ σκότος εἰς ὑγράν τινα φύσιν ἀφάτως τεταραγμένην, καὶ καπνὸν ἀποδιδοῦσαν ώς ἀπὸ πυρός. καὶ τινα ἥχον ἁποτελοῦσαν¹ ἀνεκλάλητον γοώδη. [εἴτα] βοή {γὰρ}

In Libello I, codicum ABCDMQ et Turnebi lectiones adhibui. O = codicium ABCDM prima manus teste Reitzenstein.

1 Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου DM Turnebus: 'Ἐρμοῦ Τρισμεγίστου cett. 2 μοὶ ποτε AMQ Turn.: μηποτε C 3 μὲν scripsi: μοὶ codd., Turn. 4 καθάπερ A: ὥσπερ CDQ Turn. 5 τοῖς βεβαρημένοις scripsi: οἱ ὕπνοι βεβαρημένοι A: οἱ ἔν ὕπνῳ βεβαρημένοι CDQ Turn. 5-6 Fulgentius Myth. p. 26. 18 Helm: 'Hermes in Optimandrea libro ait: ecurutrofes et eufusomatos (ἐκ κό[υ]ρου τροφῆς {ἢ} ἐκ κούφου σώματος): id est, absque instruptione escae ei vacuo corpore' 6 Fortasse tīva [] μέτρῳ ἀπεριόριστον

CORPVS HERMETICVM

LIBELLVS I

The Poimandres [of Hermes Trismegistus].

Once on a time, when I had begun to think about the things 1
that are, and my thoughts had soared high aloft, while my bodily
senses had been put under restraint by sleep,—yet not such sleep
as that of men weighed down by fullness of food or by bodily
weariness,—methought there came to me a Being of vast and
boundless magnitude, who called me by my name, and said to me,
'What do you wish to hear and see, and to learn and come to
know by thought?' 'Who are you?' I said. 'I,' said he, 'am 2
Poimandres, the Mind of the Sovereignty.' 'I would fain learn,' 3
said I, 'the things that are, and understand their nature, and get
knowledge of God. These,' I said, 'are the things of which
I wish to hear.' He answered, 'I know what you wish, for indeed
I am with you everywhere; keep in mind all that you desire to
learn, and I will teach you.'

When he had thus spoken, forthwith all things changed in 4
aspect before me, and were opened out in a moment. And
I beheld a boundless view; all was changed into light, a mild and
joyous light; and I marvelled when I saw it. And in a little
while, there had come to be in one part a downward-tending
darkness, terrible and grim.... And thereafter I saw the darkness
changing into a watery substance, which was unspeakably tossed
about, and gave forth smoke as from fire; and I heard it making
an indescribable sound of lamentation; for there was sent forth

7 μον om. Turn. : μον ex με corr. A | λέγειν Tiedemann : λέγοντά codd.,
Turn. 18 περὶ τούτων scripsi : πώς OQ Turn. | φθοίν om. A | έμοι
Flussas : ἐμὲ OQ Turn. 15 ἔγώ CDQ: κάγώ cett. 16 οὔτας εἰπόντος
scripsi : οὐτός εἰπόν Turn. : τούτων εἰπάν C: τοῦτο εἰπάν cett. 18 ἥπιόν
scripsi : ἥπιόν OQ Turn. : εῦδιόν Plasberg 19 ἡγάσθην Keil : ἡράσθην
OQ Turn. 20 φοβερόν τι καὶ Q 20-21 φοβερόν . . . πεπιραμένου
om. C. Fortasse σκότος [καταχρεῖς] ήν . . . δυσκόλος ἐπαιρόμενον 21 εἴδοι
scripsi : εἰδότα OQ Turn. : ιδόντα B² 24 ἀποτελούσαν codd., Turn. :
fortasse ἀφείσης ἥκουσα | ἀνεκλάλητον om. A, vacuo relichto xi littera-
rum spatio | Βοή γῆρα scripsi : εἴτη βοή codd. (εἴτη βοή M)

- ἔξι αὐτῆς ἀσύναρθρος ἔξεπέμπετο. [[ώς εἰκάσαι φωνὴν
 5 α φωτός.]] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς προελθὼν λόγος ἄγιος ἐπέβη
 τῇ (ὑγρᾷ) φύσει, «ώς εἰκάσαι μέ φωνὴν εἶναι τοῦ φωτός.»
 [[5 b καὶ πῦρ ἄκρατον . . . πνευματικὸν λόγον.]]
- 6 [[εἰς ἀκοήν]] ὁ δὲ Ποιμάνδρης [[εἰς ἀκοήν]] ἐμοὶ Ἐνόησας,
 φησί, τὴν θέαν ταύτην ὅ τι καὶ βούλεται; — <. . .> καὶ
 γνώσομαι, ἔφη ἐγώ.—Τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνο, ἔφη, ἐγώ, νοῦς, ὁ πρώτος
 θεός, ὁ πρὸ φύσεως ὑγρᾶς τῆς ἐκ σκότους φανείσης· ὁ δὲ ἐκ
 [νοὸς] φωτ[ειν]ὸς λόγος νίδις θεοῦ.—Τί οὖν; φημί.—Οὕτω
 γνῶθι, τὸ ἐν σοὶ βλέπων [καὶ ἀκούων]· ἔπει καὶ ἐν σοὶ ὁ το
 λόγος [κυρίου] (νίός), ὁ δὲ νοῦς πατήρ [θεός]. οὐ γὰρ
 διίστανται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἔνωσις γάρ τούτων ἔστιν ή ζωή.—
 Εὔχαριστῷ σοι, ἔφη ἐγώ.—
- 7 Ἄλλα δὴ νόει τὸ φῶς, καὶ γνώριζε τοῦτο.—εἰπὼν τοσ-
 [ταῦτα, ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον ἀντώπησέ μοι, ὥστε με τρέμειν το
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰδέαν. ἀνανεύσα[ντος] δέ, θεωρῶ ἐν τῷ νοὶ μου
 τὸ φῶς ἐν δυνάμεσιν ἀναριθμήτοις δν, καὶ κόσμον ἀπεριβριστον
 γεγενημένον. [[καὶ περισχέσθαι τὸ πῦρ δυνάμει μεγίστῃ
 καὶ στάσιν ἐσχηκέναι κρατούμενον.]] ταῦτα δὲ ἐγὼ διενοήθην
- 8 a ὁρῶν διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ποιμάνδρου λόγον. ὡς δὲ ἐν ἐμπλήξει μου το
 ὄντος, φησὶ πάλιν ἐμοὶ Εἰδεῖς ἐν τῷ νῷ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον εἶδος,
 τὸ προάρχον τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸ ἀπέραντον.—ταῦτα ὁ Ποιμάνδρης
 ἐμοί.
- 8 b Τί οὖν; ἐγώ φημι· <τὰ> στοιχεῖα τῆς φύσεως πόθεν
 ὑπέστη;—πάλιν ἐκεῖνος πρὸς ταῦτα· Ἐκ βουλῆς θεοῦ, ἡτις
 [[λαβοῦσα τὸν λόγον]] [καὶ] ἰδοῦσα τὸν καλὸν κόσμον ἐμιμή-
 σατο. <ἡ γὰρ ὑγρὰ φύσις> [[λαβοῦσα τὸν λόγον]] (ἐ)κοσμο-
 ποιήθη, δια(κριθέν)των ἐξ αὐτῆς τῶν στοιχείων, <ἐξ δν>
 5 b καὶ τὸ γέννημα τῶν (ἐμ)ψύχων. <καὶ γάρ> πῦρ ἄκρατον

1 ἀσύναρθρος ἔξεπέμπετο Reitz.: ἀσυνάρθρως ἔξεμπέμπετο BCDMQ Turn.: om. A, vacuo relichto xx litterarum spatio 2 φωτὸς προελθὼν λόγος scripsi: φωτὸς τί λόγος BCDMQ Turn.: φωτὸς (spatium vi litt.) λόγος A 4 § 5 b (καὶ πῦρ . . . πνευματικὸν λόγον) hinc transposui: vide post § 8 b 6 Fortasse <Σύ μοι φράσον> 7 δ πρῶτος θεός scripsi: δ σὸς θεός codd., Turn. (οὐδὲ ex dōs factum esse conicio) 10 βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων C: βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων Q: βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων cett. 11 γάρ (post οὐ) om. CDQ 13 σοι om. CDQ 14-15 εἰπὼν τοσαῦτα scripsi: εἰπόντος ταῦτα codd., Turn. (τοῦτο φησίν, καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα B²) 15 ἀντέποτε CQ: ἀντέρησέ (ἀντώ-
 πησέ corr. man. pr.) A | ὥστε μοι A: ὥστε με cett. 17 δν Turn.: ὄντος OQ | κόσμον DQ et man. pr. C 18-19 καὶ . . . κρατούμενων hinc ad § 5 b transposui 22 τὸ ἀπέραντον scripsi: τῆς ἀπέραντου codd., Turn. 24 Τὰ οὖν, ἐγώ φημι, στοιχεῖα codd., Turn.: 'vielleicht τί οὖν;

from it an inarticulate cry. But from the Light there came forth 5 a holy Word,¹ which took its stand upon the watery substance ; and methought this Word¹ was the voice of the Light.

And Poimandres spoke for me to hear, and said to me, 'Do 6 you understand the meaning of what you have seen?' 'Tell me its meaning,' I said, 'and I shall know.' 'That Light,' he said, 'is I, even Mind, the first God, who was before the watery substance which appeared out of the darkness ; and the Word which came forth from the Light is son of God.' 'How so?' said I. 'Learn my meaning,' said he, 'by looking at what you yourself have in you ; for in you too, the word¹ is son, and the mind is father of the word. They are not separate one from the other ; for life is the union of word¹ and mind.' Said I, 'For this I thank you.'

'Now fix your thought upon the Light,' he said, 'and learn to 7 know it.' And when he had thus spoken, he gazed long upon me, eye to eye, so that I trembled at his aspect. And when I raised my head again, I saw in my mind that the Light consisted of innumerable Powers, and had come to be an ordered world, but a world without bounds.² This I perceived in thought, seeing it by reason of the word which Poimandres had spoken to me. And when I was amazed, he spoke again, 8 a and said to me, 'You have seen in your mind the archetypal form, which is prior to the beginning of things, and is limitless.' Thus spoke Poimandres to me.

'But tell me,' said I, 'whence did the elements of nature³ 8 b come into being?' He answered, 'They issued from God's Purpose, which beheld that beauteous world⁴ and copied it. The watery substance, having received the Word, was fashioned into an ordered world, the elements being separated out from it ; and from the elements came forth the brood of living creatures. Fire unmixed leapt forth from the watery substance, and rose up 5 b

¹ Or 'Speech'.

² The 'world' here spoken of is the 'intelligible world', as opposed to the 'sensible world'.

³ I.e. the elements of the material or sensible world.

⁴ I.e. the intelligible world.

ἐγώ φημι, *(τὰ) στοιχεῖα*' Reitz. 27-28 ἐκοσμοποιήθη scripsi : κοσμοποιηθείσα codd., Turn. 28 διακριθέντων ἐξ αὐτῆς τῶν στοιχείων scripsi : διὰ τῶν ἑαυτῆς στοιχείων codd., Turn. 28-29 ἐξ ἀν καὶ τὸ γένημα τῶν ἐμψύχων scripsi : καὶ γεννημάτων ψυχῶν codd., Turn. 29 § 5 b (καὶ πῦρ . . . πνευματικὴ λόγον) huc transposui

ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως ἀνω εἰς ὕψος· κουφὸν δὲ ἦν καὶ ὁρῶν, δραστικόν τε. ἅμα ⟨δὲ⟩ καὶ ὁ ἄηρ, ἐλαφρὸς ὁν, ἡκολούθησε τῷ πυρί, ἀναβαίνων [τοσοῦτον] μέχρι τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὑδατος, ὡς δοκεῖν κρέμασθαι αὐτὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. ⟨⟨καὶ περι<ε>σχέθη τὸ πῦρ δυνάμει μεγίστῃ, καὶ στάσιν 5 ἔσχ[ηκ]ε[ναι] κρατούμενον.⟩⟩ γῆ δὲ καὶ ὑδωρ ἔμενε καθ' ἑαυτὰ συμμεμιγμένα, ὡς μὴ Γθεωρεῖσθαι¹ [ἀπὸ] [[τοῦ ὑδατος]]. κινούμενα δὲ ἦν διὰ τὸν ⟨ἐπάνω⟩ ⟨τοῦ ὑδατος⟩ ἐπιφερόμενον πνευματικὸν λόγον.⟩⟩

9 δὲ νοῦς δὲ πρώτος, [[ἀρρενόθηλυς ὁν,]] ⟨δ⟩ ζῷὴ καὶ φῶς 10 ὑπάρχων, ⟨⟨ἀρρενόθηλυς ὁν,⟩⟩ ἀπεκύνησε(ν) [λόγῳ] ἔτερον νοῦν δημιουργόν, ὃς δεύτερος [τοῦ] [[πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος]] ὁν ἐδημιούργησε(ν) ἐκ ⟨⟨πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος⟩⟩ διοικήτ(ορ)άς τινας ἐπτά, ἐν κύκλοις περιέχοντας τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον· καὶ ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῶν είμαρμένη καλεῖται. 15

10 ἐπήδησεν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν κατωφερῶν στοιχείων ⟨⟨τῆς φύσεως⟩⟩ [τοῦ θεοῦ] δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος εἰς τὸ καθαρὸν [[τῆς φύσεως]] δημιούργημα, καὶ ἡνῶθη τῷ δημιουργῷ νῷ δόμοούσιος γὰρ ἦν· καὶ κατελείφθη [τὰ] ἀλογα τὰ κατωφερῆ τῆς φύσεως στοιχεῖα, 11α ὡς εἶναι ὅλην μόνην. δὲ δημιουργὸς νοῦς σὺν τῷ λόγῳ, 20 [δ] περίσχων τοὺς κύκλους καὶ δινῶν ροΐζω, ἔστρεψε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργήματα, καὶ εἴσει στρέφεσθαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀρίστου εἰς ἀπέραντον τέλος· ἀρχεται γὰρ οὐ λήγει ἡ [δὲ] τούτων περιφορά.

11b ⟨ἡ δὲ φύσις, καθὼς ἡθέλησεν δὲ νοῦς, ἐκ τῶν κατωφερῶν 25 στοιχείων ζῷα ἡνεγκεν ἀλογα· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι εἶχε τὸν λόγον. ἄηρ δὲ πετεινὰ ἡνεγκε, καὶ τὸ ὑδωρ νηκτά,—διεκεχώριστο δὲ

1 ἐξεπήδησεν om. A, vacuo relicto xvi litt. spatio | κουφὸν δὲ om. A,
vacuo relicto viii litt. spatio 2 δραστικὸν τε DQ Turn.: δραστικὸν δὲ ABCM
3 πυρὶ Reitz.: πῦν vel πνεύματι OQ Turn. | ἀναβαίνων [τοσοῦτον] scripsi: ἀναβαίνοντος (σῶα βαίνοντος C) αὐτὸν codd. 5–6 καὶ . . . κρατούμενον huc a
§ 7 transposui 5 περισχέθη scripsi: περισχέσθαι OQ Turn. 6 ἔσχε
scripsi: ἐσχηκέναι codd., Turn. 8 ἐπιφερόμενον om. BC 10 πρώτος
(i.e. ἀος) scripsi: θεός codd., Turn. 11 ὅληρχον om. A | λόγῳ
seclusit Reitz. Fortasse ἀπεκύνησε ⟨πρὸς τῷ> λόγῳ 12 δεύτερος (i.e. βος)
scripsi: θεός codd., Turn. 14 ἐπτά τινας A: τινας ἐπτά cett. | περι-
έχοντε C 17 τοῦ θεοῦ seclusit Tiedemann | εἰς τὸ τῆς θαρὸν BC
18 δημιούργημας C 19 τὰ (ante ἀλογα) seclusit Reitz. 21 δὲ περι-
σχῶν DQ Turn.: δὲ περι ἰσχῶν M: ὅπερ ἰσχῶν C: δὲ περιέχον AB | ἔτρεψε
C 23 ἀρίστου CDM | δὲ seclusit Reitz. 25 ἡ δὲ φύσις hic
addidi: ἀρχεται γὰρ . . . περιφορά, καθὼς θέλει δ Noūs. ⟨ἡ δὲ φύσις⟩ ἐκ τῶν
Reitz. | ἡθέλησεν AB: ηθέλει C²: θέλει CDMQ Turn. | Fortasse
δημιουργὸς νοῦς | δ νοῦς, καὶ ἐκ Turn. 26 'Vielleicht ἔτι εἶχε'

aloth ; the fire was light and keen, and active. And therewith the air too, being light, followed the fire, and mounted up till it reached the fire, parting from earth and water ; so that it seemed that the air was suspended from the fire. And the fire was encompassed by a mighty power, and was held fast, and stood firm. But earth and water remained in their own place, mingled together, so as not to be . . . ;¹ but they were kept in motion, by reason of the breath-like² Word which moved upon the face of the water.

And the first Mind,—that Mind which is Life and Light,—⁹ being bisexual, gave birth to another Mind, a Maker of things ; and this second Mind made out of fire and air seven Administrators,³ who encompass with their orbits the world perceived by sense ; and their administration is called Destiny.

And forthwith the Word of God leapt up from the downward-tending elements of nature to the pure body which had been made,⁴ and was united with Mind the Maker ;⁵ for the Word was of one substance with that Mind. And the downward-tending elements of nature were left devoid of reason,⁶ so as to be mere matter.

And Mind the Maker worked together with the Word, and ^{11 a} encompassing the orbits of the Administrators, and whirling them round with a rushing movement, set circling the bodies he had made, and let them revolve, travelling from no fixed starting-point to no determined goal ; for their revolution begins where it ends.

And Nature, even as Mind the Maker willed, brought forth ^{11 b} from the downward-tending elements animals devoid of reason ; for she no longer had with her the Word.⁷ The air brought forth birds, and the water, fishes,—earth and water had by this

¹ Perhaps, ‘so that they could not be distinguished’.

² Or ‘wind-like’, or ‘airy’. (Not ‘spiritual’, but perhaps ‘of the nature of vital spirit’.)

³ I.e. the seven planets.

⁴ This ‘pure body’ is heaven, or the highest sphere of heaven.

⁵ I.e. the second Mind.

⁶ Earth and water were left ‘devoid of reason’, because ‘the Word’, which here signifies ‘reason’, departed from them.

⁷ Or ‘Reason’.

ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡ τε γῆ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ [καθὼς ἡθέλησεν ὁ νοῦς],— καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν *(ἢ γῆ)* [ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀ εἰχε] ἔφα τετράποδα *(καὶ)* ἐρπετά, θηρία ἄγρια καὶ ἡμέρα.

12 δὲ πάντων πατὴρ [[δ]] νοῦς, ⟨⟨δ⟩⟩ ὧν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς, ἀπεκύησεν ἀνθρώπον αὐτῷ ⟨δρυον. οὐ ἡγάσθη ὡς ἰδίου 5 τόκου περικαλλῆς γάρ *(ἥν)*, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνα ἔχων. εἰκότως *[γ]άρ(α)* [καὶ] ὁ θεὸς ἡγάσθη τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς· καὶ παρέδωκε^ν [[τὰ]] [ε]αὐτῷ πάντα ⟨⟨τὰ⟩⟩ δημιουργήματα.

13a *(ὁ δέ,)* ⟨⟨γενέμενος ἐν τῇ δημιουργικῇ σφαιρᾳ,⟩⟩ ⟨⟨κατενόησε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὰ δημιουργήματα⟩⟩ ⟨⟨τοῦ ἐπικειμένου ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς⟩⟩ [καὶ] κατανοήσας δὲ τὴν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ κτίσιν ἐν τῷ πυρὶ, ἡβουλήθη καὶ αὐτὸς δημιουργεῖν· καὶ συνεχωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. [[γενέμενος ἐν τῇ δημιουργικῇ σφαιρᾳ]] [ἔξ ῶν τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν] [[κατενόησε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὰ δημιουργήματα]] ⟨ . . . ⟩ ⟨⟨πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντα τῶν διοικητόφων⟩⟩ οἱ δὲ ἡγάσθησαν αὐτοῦ, ἔκαστος δὲ μετεδίδου τῆς ἰδίας *[τέξεως]* *(φύσεως)*.

13b καὶ καταμαθὼν τὴν τούτων οὐσίαν, καὶ μεταλαβὼν τῆς [ε]αὐτῶν φύσεως, ἡβουλήθη ἀναρρήξαι τὴν περιφέρειαν τῶν κύκλων [καὶ τὸ κράτος] [[τοῦ ἐπικειμένου ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς]] 20

14 [κατανοήσαι]. καὶ [ὁ τοῦ τῶν θυητῶν κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων 25 ζώων ἔχων πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν] διὰ τῆς ἀρμονίας παρέκυψεν, ἀναρρήξας τὸ κύτος, καὶ ἔδειξε τῇ κατωφερεῖ φύσει τὴν καλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μορφήν. ἡ[ν] *(δέ)*, ἴδουσα ⟨τὸ⟩ [[ἀκόρεστον]] κάλλος [[πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντα τῶν διοικητόφων]] 25 τῆς *[τε]* μορφῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐμειδίασεν ἔρωτι ⟨⟨ἀκορέστω⟩⟩ ⟨⟨τοῦ ἀνθρώπου⟩⟩, *[ἄτε]* τῆς καλλίστης μορφῆς [[τοῦ ἀνθρώπου]] τὸ εἶδος ἐν τῷ ὕδατι *(ἀναδιμούσα,* καὶ τὸ σκίασμα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ὁ δέ, ἴδων τὴν δομίαν αὐτῷ μορφὴν *[ἐν ἑαυτῷ]* οὖσαν ἐν *(τῇ γῇ καὶ)* τῷ ὕδατι, ἐφίλησε, καὶ ἡβουλήθη αὐτοῦ οἰκεῖν. 30

2 ἡ γῆ addidi (καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐξήνεγκεν Patritius) | καὶ (ante ἐρπετά) addidit Keitz.

4 ὁ (ante νοῦς) om. DQ | φῶς AB Turn.: φύσις CDMQ 5 ὅμοιον
Patr.: λεον codd., Turn. | ἡγάσθη scripsi: ἡράσθη codd., Turn. | ἡγάσθη
addidit Patr. 7 εἰκότως ἄρα scripsi: ὕπτως γάρ καὶ codul. Turn. | ἡγάσθη
scripsi: ἡράσθη codd., Turn. | Fortasse ἡγάσθη, τῆς ἰδίας *(ἀγάμενος)* μορφῆς
7-8 καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ scripsi: παρέδωκε τὸ ἑαυτόν A: καὶ παρέδωκε τὸ ἑαυτόν
DQ Turn.: καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἑαυτόν B² 10-11 τοῦ ἐπικειμένου ἐπὶ τοῦ
πυρὸς huc a § 13b transposui 11 κτίσιν Turn.: κτῆσιν OQ 12 πυρὶ³
scripsi: πατρί codd., Turn. 13 ὑπὸ Q: ἀπὸ certi. 15-16 πᾶσαν... διοικητόφων
huc a § 14 transposui 15 ἔχοντα Turn.: ἔκόντα ABDMQ 16 ἡγά-
σθησαν scripsi: ἡράσθησαν codd., Turn. 19 αὐτῶν B³: ἑαυτῶν O
Turn. 20 τοῦ . . . πυρὸς hinc ad § 13a transposui | τοῦ (ante
πυρὸς) om. A 21 κόσμου om. CDQ 21-22 καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἥπαν

time been separated from one another,—and the earth brought forth four-footed creatures and creeping things, beasts wild and tame.

But Mind the Father of all, he who is Life and Light,¹ gave 12 birth to Man, a Being like to Himself. And He took delight in Man, as being His own offspring; for Man was very goodly to look on, bearing the likeness of his Father. With good reason then did God take delight in Man; for it was God's own form that God took delight in. And God delivered over to Man all things that had been made.

And Man took station in the Maker's sphere,² and observed 13 a the things made by his brother,³ who was set over the region of fire; and having observed the Maker's creation in the region of fire, he willed to make things for his own part also; and his Father gave permission. . . . having in himself all the working of the Administrators;⁴ and the Administrators took delight in him, and each of them gave him a share of his own nature.

And having learnt to know the being of the Administrators, 13 b and received a share of their nature, he willed to break through the bounding circle of their orbits; and he looked down through 14 the structure of the heavens, having broken through the sphere,⁵ and showed to downward-tending Nature⁶ the beautiful form of God. And Nature, seeing the beauty of the form of God,⁷ smiled with insatiate love of Man, showing the reflection of that most beautiful form in the water, and its shadow on the earth. And he, seeing this form, a form like to his own, in earth and water, loved it, and willed to dwell there. And the deed followed

¹ I.e. the first Mind.

² I.e. in the highest sphere of heaven, which was the abode of Mind the Maker.

³ 'His brother' is Mind the Maker. 'The things made by his brother' are the planets.

⁴ I.e. of the planets.

⁵ It must be the lowest sphere of heaven (i.e. the lunar sphere) that he broke through.

⁶ 'Downward-tending Nature' is the force which works in the 'downward-tending elements', earth and water. This force is here personified.

⁷ Seeing Man, who 'bore the likeness of God', she saw in him 'the form of God'.

ἔχων Α : ζέφων καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἔχων C Turn. 23 κύρος scripsi : κράτος
codd. 1 τὴν καταφερῆ φύσει B² Flussas : τὴν καταφερῆ φύσιν AM Turn. :
τὴν καταφερῆ φύσιν Q : τὴν καταφερῆ φύσιν C 24 ἡ δὲ Reitz. : ἡν OQ :
ἡν Turn. 25 τᾶσαν . . . διοικητόραν hinc ad § 13 a transposui 26 τῆς
μορφῆς scripsi : τὴν τε μορφὴν codd., Turn. 27 ἄπε Turn. : ὡς τε C : ὡς
ἄπε codd., cett. 28 ἀναδίδοντα scripsi : ἰδοῦσα codd., Turn. 30 αὐτῶ
vel αὐτῷ CDQ Turn. : αὐτοῦ cett.

άμα δὲ τῇ βουλῇ ἐγένετο ἐνέργεια, καὶ φκησε τὴν ἀλογον
γμορφήν¹. ἡ δὲ φύσις λαβοῦσα τὸν ἑρώμενον περιεπλάκη
ὅλη, καὶ ἐμίγησαν ἑρώμενοι γὰρ ἦσαν.

15 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ξφα διπλοῦς ἔστιν
δ ἀνθρωπος, θνητὸς μὲν διὰ τὸ σῶμα, ἀθάνατος δὲ διὰ τὸν 5
οὐσιώδη ἀνθρωπον. ἀθάνατος γὰρ ὁν, καὶ πάντων τὴν
ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, τὰ θνητὰ πάσχει, ὑποκείμενος τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ.
ὑπεράνω γὰρ² [οὖν] ὁν τῆς ἀρμονίας, [ἐναρμόνιος] [εἱμαρμένη]
γέγονε δοῦλος³ ἀρρενοθήλυς δὲ ὁν ἐξ ἀρρενοθήλεος ὄν[τος
τοῦ] πατρός, καὶ ἀνπνος ἀπὸ ἀνπνου, ⁴ ὑπ' ἔρωτος καὶ λήθης⁵ ιο
κρατεῖται.—

16 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ⁶ *ἔφην ἐγώ· Καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὁ* νοῦ[σ],
〈φράστον〉 [δ ἔμοι· καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐρῶ τοῦ λόγου.—δ δὲ
Ποιμάνδρης εἶπε· Τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ [[κεκρυμμένον]] μυστήριον
(τὸ) μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας *〈κεκρυμμένον〉*. ἡ γὰρ φύσις 15
ἐπιμιγεῖσα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡνεγκέ τι θαῦμα θαυμασιώτατοι.
ἔχοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ (ἀπὸ) τῆς ἀρμονίας τῶν ἐπτὰ τὴν φύσιν,
οὐδ[σ] *ἔφην* σοι ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος *〈γεγονέναι〉*, οὐκ
ἀνέμεινεν ἡ φύσις, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπεκύησεν ἐπτὰ ἀνθρώπους
πρὸς τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἐπτὰ διοικητόρων, ἀρρενοθήλε[ι]ας καὶ 20
μεταρσίους.—καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα *〈ἔφην ἐγώ· Ω Ποιμάνδρη,*
*εἰς μεγάλην γὰρ νῦν ἐπιθυμίαν ἥλθον, καὶ ποθῶ ἀκοῦσαι, μὴ
ἔκτρεχε.—καὶ δ Ποιμάνδρης εἶπεν· Άλλὰ σιώπα· οὕπω γάρ
σοι ἀνήπλωσα τὸν πρῶτον λόγον.—Ιδού σιωπῶ, *ἔφην ἐγώ.**—

17 *Ἐγένετο οὖν, [ώς] ἔφη[ν], τῶν ἐπτὰ τούτων ἡ γένεσις τοιῷδε* 25
*τρόπῳ. *〈ἐξ ἡνεγκεν ἡ φύσις τὰ σώματα〉** θηλυκὴ γὰρ ἦν
(ἡ γῆ), καὶ *〈τὸ* ὕδωρ ὀχευτικόν [τὸ δὲ ἐκ πυρὸς πέπειρον] *ἔκ* δὲ αἰθέρος τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλαβο*〈ν〉*. [καὶ *[[ἐξ ἡνεγκεν ἡ φύσις τὰ σώματα]]* *...* πρὸς τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· δ δὲ
ἀνθρωπος ἐκ ζωῆς καὶ φωτὸς ἐγένετο εἰς ψυχὴν καὶ νοῦν, ἐκ 30
μὲν ζωῆς ψυχῆς, ἐκ δὲ φωτὸς νοῦν. καὶ ἐμεινεν οὔτω τὰ

1 βουλῆ codd.: fortasse βουλήσει
7 τὰ θνητὰ OQ Turn.: τὰ θνητῶν B²: τὰ θνητοῦ Reitz.

| πάσχειν AB:
πάσχει cett.

| ὑποκείμενος Casaubon: ὑποκείμενον OQ Turn.

Keilz.: οὖν OQ Turn. | Θ ἐξ ἀρρενοθήλου AMQ Turn.: ἐξ ἀρρενοθήλεος

cett. 9-10 ὄντος τοῦ scripsi: ὁν codd. (om A) et Turn.

12-13 μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφην ἐγώ· Καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὁ νοῦ, φράσον μοι scripsi: μετὰ ταῦτα νοῦς δ

ἐμός codd., Turn.: μετὰ ταῦτα *〈έγω· Δίδαξόν με πάντα〉*, νοῦς δ ἐμός Reitz.

18 οὖς Keil: οὖ OQ Turn. | πυρὸς Reitz.: πρᾶ (i. e. πατρὸς) OQ: πατρὸς

Turn. 19 ἀνέμεινεν CDQ: ἀνέμεινεν codd. cett., Turn.

20 ἀρρενοθήλεας Reitz.: ἀρρενοθηλείας AM: ἀρρενοθήλας BDQ Turn.

2 μορφήν codd.: fortasse ὑλην
| πάσχειν AB:

8 γάρ

πάσχειν OQ Turn.

12-13 μετὰ

ταῦτα ἔφην ἐγώ· Καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὁ νοῦ, φράσον μοι scripsi: μετὰ ταῦτα νοῦς δ

ἐμός codd., Turn.: μετὰ ταῦτα *〈έγω· Δίδαξόν με πάντα〉*, νοῦς δ ἐμός Reitz.

18 οὖς Keil: οὖ OQ Turn. | πυρὸς Reitz.: πρᾶ (i. e. πατρὸς) OQ: πατρὸς

Turn. 19 ἀνέμεινεν CDQ: ἀνέμεινεν codd. cett., Turn.

20 ἀρρενοθήλεας Reitz.: ἀρρενοθηλείας AM: ἀρρενοθήλας BDQ Turn.

21 ἔφην ἐγώ

close on the design ; and he took up his abode in matter devoid of reason. And Nature, when she had got him with whom she was in love, wrapped him in her clasp, and they were mingled in one ; for they were in love with one another.

And that is why man, unlike all other living creatures upon 15 earth, is twofold. He is mortal by reason of his body ; he is immortal by reason of the Man of eternal substance. He is immortal, and has all things in his power ; yet he suffers the lot of a mortal, being subject to Destiny. He is exalted above the structure of the heavens ; yet he is born a slave of Destiny. He is bisexual, as his Father is bisexual, and sleepless, as his Father is sleepless ; yet he is mastered by carnal desire and by oblivion.'

Thereafter I said, 'Tell me the rest, O Mind ; for I too am 16 mastered by desire to hear your teaching.' And Poimandres said, 'This is the secret which has been kept hidden until this day. Nature, mingled in marriage with Man, brought forth a marvel most marvellous. Inasmuch as Man had got from the structure of the heavens the character of the seven Administrators, who were made, as I told you, of fire and air, Nature tarried not, but forthwith gave birth to seven Men, according to the characters of the seven Administrators ; and these seven Men were bisexual and . . .'¹ And thereupon I said, 'Now indeed, Poimandres, my desire is strong, and I long to hear ; do not swerve aside.' 'Nay, be silent,' said Poimandres ; 'I have not yet finished explaining this first thing.' 'See, I am silent,' said I. 'These seven Men then,' said he, 'were generated in 17 this wise. Nature brought forth their bodies ; earth was the female element,² and water the male element ; and from the aether³ they received their vital spirit. (But their incorporeal part was made) after the form of Man ;⁴ and the Man in them changed from Life and Light into soul and mind, soul from Life,

¹ Perhaps, 'and stood erect (upon the earth)', in contrast to the beasts.

² *Sic.* in the generating of their bodies.

³ 'Aether' seems to mean here either air, or air and fire together.

⁴ I.e. in the likeness of the first Man, their father.

add. B^a

24 ἀνεπλήρωσα Turn. : ἀνήπλωσα codd.

25 ἐφη scripti :

ἀνέφην codd., Turn. 26-27 θηλυκὴ γάρ ἦν ἡ γῆ scripti : θηλυκὴ γάρ ἦν codd.,

Turn. : θηλυκὴ γῆ ἦν B^a Flussas : 'denkbar wäre : θηλυκὸν γάρ ἡ γῆ' Reitz.

28 ἔλαθον scripti : ἔλαβε codd., Turn.

29 Fortasse (τό δὲ ἀσώματον

αὐτῶν ἐγενήθη)

πάντα [τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου] μέχρι περιόδου τέλους [ἀρχων γενῶν].

18 ἀκούει λοιπὸν δὲ ποθεῖς λόγον ἀκοῦσαι. τῆς περιόδου πεπληρωμένης, ἐλύθη δὲ πάντων σύνδεσμος ἐκ βουλῆς θεοῦ πάντα γὰρ τὰ ζῷα, ἀρρενοθήλεα δύτα, διελύετο ἀμα τῷ 5 ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ἔγένετο τὰ μὲν ἀρρενικὰ ἐν μέρει, τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ δύοις. δὲ θεὸς εὐθὺς εἶπεν ἀγίῳ λόγῳ. “Αὐξάνεσθε ἐν αὐξήσει καὶ πληθύνεσθε ἐν πλήθει πάντα τὰ κτίσματα καὶ δημιουργήματα, καὶ ἀναγνωρισάτω ὁ ἔννοος (ἄνθρωπος) ἑαυτὸν δύτα ἀθάνατον, καὶ τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου 10 ἔρωτα [καὶ πάντα τὰ] δύτα. (δὲ ἀναγνωρίσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν χωρεῖ.)” τοῦτο εἶπόντος, ή πρόνοια διὰ τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ ἀρμονίας τὰς μίξεις ἐποίησατο καὶ τὰς γενέσεις κατέστησε· καὶ ἐπληθύνθη κατὰ γένος τὰ πάντα. καὶ δὲ ἀναγνωρίσας ἑαυτὸν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸ (ὑ)περ[ι]ούσιον 15 ἀγαθόν· δὲ ἀγαπήσας [[τὸ]] ἐκ πλάνης ἔρωτος (τὸ) σῶμα, οὗτος μένει ἐν τῷ σκότει πλανώμενος Γαῖσθητῶς¹, πάσχων τὰ τοῦ θανάτου.—

20 Τί τοσοῦτον ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες, ἵνα στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀθανασίας;—“Εοικασ, ὃ οὐτος, [τοῦ] μὴ 20 πεφροντικέναι διν ἥκουσας. οὐκ ἔφην σοι νοεῖν;—Νοῶ καὶ μιμνήσκομαι, εὐχαριστῶ δὲ ἀμα.—Ἐλ ἐνόησας, εἰπέ μοι, διὰ τί ἀξιοί εἰσι τοῦ θανάτου οἱ ἐν [τῷ θανάτῳ] (ἀγνοίᾳ) δύτες;—“Οτι προκατάρχεται τοῦ Γοίκειον² σώματος τὸ στυγνὸν σκέτος, ἐξ οὐ η ὑγρὰ φύσις, ἐξ ἡς τὸ σῶμα συνέστηκεν (. . .) ἐν 25 21 τῷ αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ, ἐξ οὐ θάνατος ἀρ[δε]ύεται.”—Ἐνόησας ὄρθως, ὃ οὐτος. κατὰ τί δὲ “δ [νοήσας] (ἀναγνωρίσας) ἑαυτὸν εἰς (τὸ) ἀγαθὸν χωρεῖ,” ὡ(σ)περ ἔχει δ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος; —φημὶ ἐγώ. “Οτι ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ ζωῆς συνέστηκεν δ πατήρ

1-2 ἀρχων γενῶν OQ : om. Turn. 5 ἀρρενοθήλεα B²: ἀρρενοθήλην OQ Turn. 7 Post δύοις add. M ἔοικεν δ γόνης... πολλοῖς ἀποδέδεικται (i. e. Pselli scholion : vide Psellum in *Testim.*) Θ δ Turn. : om. codd. | ἀνθρωπος addidit Reitz. (ἀντος pro ἔννοος B²) 11-12 Vide § 21 iusit. 12 ὑπόντος Q : εἰπόντος cett. 13 Nescio an delendum sit aut εἱμαρμένης καὶ aut καὶ ἀρμονίας 15 ὑπερούσιον scripsi: περιούσιον codd., Turn. 16 τὸ trans- posuit Reitz. 17 πλανώμενος, αἰσθητῶς πάσχων Reitz. 20 τοῦ OQ Turn.: om. B² 20-21 μη πεφορτικέναι BC : μη . . . τικέναι A, vacuo relichto v litterarum spatio 24 προκατάρχεται Reitz.: προκατέρχεται ABCMQ Turn.: προκατάρχεται D | οἰκεῖον OQ Turn.: οἰλικοῦ Reitz.: fortasse ἐπιγέιον 25 ἐξ ης τὸ σῶμα Reitz.: ἐξ οὐ τὸ σῶμα OQ Turn. 26 ἀρύνεται Reitz.: ἀρδένεται OQ Turn.: ἀρτύνεται Keil 27 δ ἀναγνωρίσας scripsi: δ νοήσας Keitz.: ἐνόησας OQ Turn. 28 εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν scripsi: εἰς αὐτὸν codd., Turn. | χωρεῖν Turn.: χωρεῖ cett. | ὕσπερ scripsi: ὕσπερ codd., Turn.

and mind from Light. And all things remained so until the end of a period.

And now I will tell you that which you have been longing to 18 hear. When the period was completed, the bond by which all things were held together was loosed, by God's design; all living creatures, having till then been bisexual, were parted asunder, and man with the rest; and so there came to be males on the one part, and likewise females on the other part. And thereon God spoke thus in holy speech: "Increase and multiply abundantly, all ye that have been created and made. And let the man that has mind in him recognize that he is immortal, and that the cause of death is carnal desire.¹ And he who has recognized himself² enters into the Good." And when God had 19 thus spoken, his Providence, by means of Destiny and the structure of the heavens,³ brought about the unions of male and female, and set the births going; and all creatures multiplied after their kinds. And he who has recognized himself has entered into that Good which is above all being; but he who, being led astray by carnal desire, has set his affection on the body, continues wandering in the darkness of the sense-world, suffering the lot of death.

'But what great sin,' said I, 'do those who are in ignorance 20 commit, that they should be deprived of immortality?' 'O man,' said he, 'it seems you have not heeded what you heard. Did I not bid you mark my words?' 'I do so,' said I, 'and I keep in memory what you have told me, and moreover I am thankful for it.' 'If then you have marked my words,' said he, 'tell me why those who are in ignorance deserve death.' I answered, 'It is because the source from which the material body has issued is that grim darkness, whence came the watery substance of which the body is composed; . . . in the sensible world,⁴ from which is drawn the draught of death.' 'O man,' said he, 'you have 21 understood aright. But why is it that "he who has recognized himself enters into the Good", as it was said in God's speech?' I answered, 'It is because the Father of all consists of Light and

¹ Carnal desire causes souls to be incarnated in mortal bodies, and thereby causes death.

² I.e. he who has become aware that one part of him is incorporeal and immortal, and has recognized that this part of him is his true self.

³ Perhaps, 'by means of [] the structure of the heavens' (i.e. by the working of astral influences).

⁴ Perhaps, '(and therefore those who have set their affection on the body are deservedly held captive) in the sensible world', &c.

τῶν ὅλων, ἔξ οὐ γέγονεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος.—Εὖ φῆς [λαλῶν <ὅτι> φῶς καὶ ζωή ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ἔξ οὐ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος]. ἔὰν οὖν, [[μάθης ἑαυτὸν]] ἐκ ζωῆς καὶ φωτὸς ὡν, [τα καὶ] <μάθης ἑαυτὸν> διτι ἐκ τούτων τυγχάνεις, εἰς ζωὴν <καὶ φῶς> πάλιν χωρήσεις.—ταῦτα ὁ Ποιμάνδρης εἶπεν.

'Αλλ' ἔτι μοι εἴπε, [[πῶς εἰς ζωὴν χωρήσω]] <ἔφην> ἔγω· [[ἔφην ω νοῦς ἐμός]] φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς "ὁ ἔννους ἄνθρωπος ἀναγνωρισάτω ἑαυτόν". οὐ πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι νοῦν 22 ἔχουσιν ;—<ἔφην ω νοῦς ἐμοί·> Εὐφῆμ(ε)ι, ω οὗτος [λαλῶν]. παραγίνομαι ἔγὼ ὁ νοῦς τοῖς δσίοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ καθαροῖς 10 καὶ ἐλεήμοσι [τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι], καὶ ἡ παρουσία μου γίνεται (αὐτοῖς) βοήθεια, καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ πάντα γνωρίζουσι, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἱλάσκονται ἀγαπητικῶς, καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσιν εὐλογοῦντες καὶ ὑμνοῦντες, τετα[γ]μένοι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ στοργῇ. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ παραδοῦναι τὸ σῶμα <τῷ> ἴδιῳ θανάτῳ μυσάται· 15 τονται τὰς αἰσθήσεις, εἰδότες αὐτῶν τὰ ἐνεργήματα. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἔάσω αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς τὰ προσπίπτοντα ἐνεργήματα τοῦ σώματος ἐκτελεσθῆναι· πυλωρὸς <γὰρ> όν ἀποκλείσω τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἐνεργημάτων, τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις 23 ἔκκοπτων. τοῖς δὲ ἀνοήτοις καὶ κακοῖς καὶ πονηροῖς καὶ 20 φθονεροῖς καὶ πλεονέκταις καὶ φονεῦσι καὶ ἀσεβέσι πόρρωθέν εἰμι, τῷ τιμωρῷ ἐκχωρήσας δαίμονι, δστις τὴν δέντητα τοῦ πυρὸς προσβάλλων <τὸν> <(τοι)οῦτον βασανίζει>, θράσων αὐτὸν αἰσθητικῶς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτὸν ὀπλίζει, ἵνα τύχῃ μείζονος τιμωρίας. καὶ οὐ παύεται <(σκοτομαχῶν)>, 25 ἐπ' ὀρέξεις ἀπλέτους < . . . >, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων ἀκόρεστον, [[σκοτομαχῶν]] [καὶ] [[τοῦτον βασανίζει]] καὶ ἐφ' αὐτὸν <τὸ> πῦρ ἐπὶ πλείον αὐξάνει.—

24 Εὖ με πάντα, ως ἐβουλόμην, ἐδίδαξας, ω νοῦς. ἔτι δέ μοι εἴπε <περι> τῆς ἀνδρὸς τῆς γινομένης, <πῶς εἰς ζωὴν 30 χωρήσω.>—πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ποιμάνδρης εἶπε· Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναλύσει τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ὑλικοῦ παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν τὸ

1 φῆς Reitz.: φῆμι OQ Turn. 2 καὶ πατήρ A: καὶ ὁ πατήρ CDMQ Turn. 3 ὁν scripsi: ὄντα καὶ codd., Turn. 5 χωρήσης BCM 6 πῶς εἰς ζωὴν χωρήσω hinc ad § 24 transposui 9 Εὐφῆμει B³ Reitz.: εῦ φῆμι OQ Turn. 10 ἔγὼ ὁ νοῦς Q Turn.: ἔγὼ αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς A: αὐτὸς ἔγὼ ὁ νοῦς cett. | δσίοις DQ: δσίοις cett. 11 τοῖς εὐσεβῶν βιοῦσι Q Turn.: τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι cett. 12 τὰ πάντα codd.: fortasse τὰ ὄντα 14 καὶ ὑμνοῦντες om. Q: καὶ ὑμνοῦσι A | τεταμένοι Reitz.: τεταγμένως OQ Turn. 15 παραδοῦναι τὸ D Turn.: παραδοῦναι τῷ Q: παραδοῦν τὸ A: παραδῶ τὸ BCM 15-16 μυσάττοντες Turn.: μυσάσσοντες A: μυσάσσοντες B: μυσάσσοντες CDMQ 18 γὰρ add. B³ 20 καὶ (post κακοῖς) om. CDMQ

Life, and from him Man has sprung.' 'You are right,' said he 'If then, being made of Life and Light, you learn to know that you are made of them, you will go back into Life and Light.' Thus spoke Poimandres.

'But tell me this too,' said I. 'God said, "Let the man who has mind in him recognize himself;" but have not all men mind?' 'O man,' said Mind to me, 'speak not so. I, even 22 Mind, come to those men who are holy and good and pure and merciful; and my coming is a succour to them, and forthwith they recognize all things,¹ and win the Father's grace by loving worship, and give thanks to him, praising and hymning him with hearts uplifted to him in filial affection. And before they give up the body to the death which is proper to it, they loathe the bodily senses, knowing what manner of work the senses do. Nay, rather I myself, even Mind, will not suffer the workings of the body by which they are assailed to take effect; I will keep guard at the gates, and bar the entrance of the base and evil workings of the senses, cutting off all thoughts of them. But from men 23 that are foolish and evil and wicked and envious and covetous and murderous and impious I keep far aloof, and give place to the avenging daemon. And he brings to bear on such a man the fierce heat of fire, and tortures him, tossing him about in the tumult of the senses; and he equips the man more fully for his lawless deeds, that so he may incur the greater punishment. And that man ceases not to struggle blindly; he gives way to boundless appetites, his desire being insatiable; and so by his own doing he makes the fire yet hotter for his torment.'

'Full well have you taught me all, O Mind,' said I, 'even as 24 I wished. But tell me furthermore of the ascent by which men mount; tell me how I shall enter into Life.' Poimandres answered, 'At the dissolution of your material body, you first

¹ Perhaps, 'they come to know the things that are'.

23 τὸν τοῦτον βασανίζει addidi (vide καὶ τοῦτον βασανίζει infra): τοῦτον βασανίζει καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον αἰθέρνει huc transposuit Reitz. | θράσων scripsi: θράσσει Keil: θρώσκει OQ Turn.: *(καὶ)* θρώσκει Reitz. 26 ἀπλάτους BC: ἀπλέτους cett. | ἀκόρεστον scripsi: ἀκορέστως OQ Turn. 27 καὶ τοῦτον βασανίζει ABCM: καὶ τοῦτον ἀφανίζει καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον βασανίζει DQ Turn.: seclusi | ἐφ' αὐτὸν scripsi: ἐπ' αὐτὸν O Turn.: ἐπὸν Q | τὸ add. B² 28 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον DQ Turn.: ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ABCM. Fortasse ἔτι πλεῖστον 29 εὖ με Turn.: εὖ μοι codd. 30 περὶ add. B² Turn. 30-31 πᾶς εἰς Σωὴν χωρῆσω huc a § 21 transposui 32 παραδίδως Tiedemann: παραδίδωσιν OQ Turn.

σῶμα εἰς ἄλλοισιν, καὶ τὸ ἔδος δὲ εἶχες ἀφανὲς γίνεται.
καὶ τὸ ἡθοῦ τῷ δαίμονι ἀνενέργητον παραδίδωσιν
αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πηγὰς ἐπανέρχονται,
μέρη τοῦ κόσμου γινόμεναι, καὶ πάλιν συνιστάμεναι εἰς
[τὰς] ἔτερας ἐνεργείας. [καὶ δὲ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία 5
25 εἰς τὴν ἀλογον φύσιν χωρεῖ.] καὶ οὐτως δρμᾶ λοιπὸν ἀνω
(δὲ ἀνθρωπος) διὰ τῆς ἀρμονίας. καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἁώνῃ δίδωσι
τὴν αὐξητικὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν μειωτικήν, καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ
τὴν μηχανὴν τῶν κακῶν δόλων [ἀνενέργητον], καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ
τὴν ἐπιθυμητικὴν ἀπατὴν [ἀνενέργητον], καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ τὴν 10
ἀρχοντικὴν (ὑπερφανίαν [ἀπλεονέκτητον], καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ
τὸ θράσος τὸ ἀνθεσιον καὶ τῆς τόλμης τὴν προπέτειαν, καὶ τῇ
ἔκτῃ τὰς ἐφορμὰς τὰς κακὰς τοῦ πλούτου [ἀνενεργήτους], καὶ
26 a τῇ ἐβδόμῃ [ζώνῃ] τὸ ἐνεδρεύον ψεῦδος. καὶ τότε, γυμνωθεὶς
ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀρμονίας ἐνέργημάτων, γίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ὄγδοαδικὴν 15
φύσιν, τὴν ἴδιαν δύναμιν ἔχων, καὶ ὑμεῖς σὺν τοῖς (ἐκεῖ) οὖσι
τὸν πατέρα· συγχαίρουσι δὲ οἱ παρόντες τῇ τούτου παρουσίᾳ.
καὶ δρμοιωθεὶς τοῖς συνοῦσιν, ἀκούει καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων, ὑπὲρ
τὴν ὄγδοαδικὴν φύσιν οὐσῶν, φωνῇ τινι ἴδιᾳ ὑμνουσῶν τὸν
θεόν. καὶ τότε τάξει ἀνέρχονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· [[καὶ 20
αὐτοὶ]] εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις ἑαυτοὺς παραδίδασι, καὶ
δυνάμεις (καὶ αὐτοὶ) γινόμενοι, ἐν θεῷ γίνονται. τοῦτο ἔστι
τὸ ἀγαθόν, (τοῦτο τὸ) τέλος τοῖς γνῶσιν ἐσχηκός [θεωρῆναι].
26 b λοιπόν, τί μέλλεις; οὐχ ὡς πάντα παραλαβὼν καθοδηγὸς
γίνῃ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ὅπως τὸ γένος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος διὰ σου 25
ὑπὸ θεοῦ σωθῇ;—ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐμοὶ δὲ Ποιμάνδρης ἐμίγη ταῖς
δυνάμεσιν.

[[27-29 ἐγὼ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας . . . τὴν ἴδιαν κοίτην.]]

1 Fortasse πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἄλλοισι [] παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα (τῇ φύσει)
εἰς ἀνάλυσιν 2 Fortasse τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ δέρι | παραδίδωσιν codd.: παραδίδωσι
Turn. 4 συνιστάμεναι DQ Turn.: συνανιστάμεναι codd. cett. 6 καὶ (ante
οὔτως) om. Q Turn. | οὔτως BM: οὔτως cett. 7 δ ἀνθρώπος addidit Keil
9 δόλων M: δόλον codd. cett., Turn. 11 ὄγδοηφανίας B²: προφανίας OQ Turn.
13 ἐφορμὰς scripsi: ἀφορμὰς codd., Turn. | ἀνενεργήτους Turn.: ἀνενέργη-
τον OQ 15 ὄγδοαδικὴν Reitz.: δύδοαδικὴν OQ Turn. 17-20 συγχαί-
ρουσι δέ . . . ἀνέρχονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα om. A 18 τῶν DQ Turn.: τηνῶν
M: τινῶν codd. cett. 19 ὄγδοαδικὴν Reitz.: δύδοαδικὴν BCDMQ Turn.
| ἴδια DQ Turn.: ἥδεια BCM 21 παραδίδωσι ADMQ Turn.: παραπέμ-
πουσι BC 22 γινόμενοι DQ: γενόμενοι codd. cett., Turn. 23 ἐσχη-
κέναι A: ἐσχηκός cett. 26 εἰπὼν ἐμοὶ δὲ Ποιμάνδρης DMQ Turn.: εἰπὼν δὲ
Ποιμάνδρης ἐμοὶ codd. cett. 28 §§ 27-29 (ἐγὼ δὲ . . . ἴδιαν κοίτην) hinc
transposui: vide post § 32

yield up the body itself to be changed,¹ and the visible form you bore is no longer seen. And your . . . you yield up to the . . .,² so that it no longer works in you ; and the bodily senses go back to their own sources, becoming parts of the universe, and entering into fresh combinations to do other work. And thereupon the **25** man mounts upward through the structure of the heavens. And to the first zone of heaven³ he gives up the force which works increase and that which works decrease ; to the second zone,⁴ the machinations of evil cunning ; to the third zone,⁵ the lust whereby men are deceived ; to the fourth zone,⁶ domineering arrogance ; to the fifth zone,⁷ unholy daring and rash audacity ; to the sixth zone,⁸ evil strivings after wealth ; and to the seventh zone,⁹ the falsehood which lies in wait to work harm. And **26a** thereupon, having been stripped of all that was wrought upon him by the structure of the heavens, he ascends to the substance of the eighth sphere,¹⁰ being now possessed of his own proper power ; and he sings, together with those who dwell there, hymning the Father ; and they that are there rejoice with him at his coming. And being made like to those with whom he dwells, he hears the Powers, who are above the substance of the eighth sphere, singing praise to God with a voice that is theirs alone. And thereafter, each in his turn, they¹¹ mount upward to the Father ; they give themselves up to the Powers, and becoming Powers themselves, they enter into God. This is the Good ; this is the consummation, for those who have got *gnosis*.¹²

And now, why do you delay ? Seeing that you have received **26b** all, why do you not make yourself a guide to those who are worthy of the boon, that so mankind may through you be saved by God ?' And when Poimandres had thus spoken to me, he mingled with the Powers.¹³

¹ Perhaps, 'When the time comes for you to be changed, you first yield up the body itself to nature for dissolution.'

² MSS. : 'your moral character you yield up to the daemon.' But it ought rather to be, 'your vital spirit you yield up to the atmosphere'.

³ I.e. the sphere of the Moon.

⁴ That of the planet Mercury.

⁵ That of the planet Venus.

⁶ That of the Sun.

⁷ That of the planet Mars.

⁸ That of the planet Jupiter.

⁹ That of the planet Saturn.

¹⁰ I.e. the sphere of the fixed stars, the highest or outermost of the spheres of heaven.

¹¹ I.e. the men who have ascended to the eighth sphere.

¹² I.e. knowledge of God, and of the relation between man's true self and God.

¹³ I.e. he departed to the incorporeal world, in which the Powers reside.

30 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τοῦ Ποιμάνδρου ἀνεγραψάμην εἰς ἔμαυτόν, καὶ πληρωθεὶς ὡν ἥθελον ἔξηνφράνθην. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σώματος ὑπνος τῆς ψυχῆς νῆψις, καὶ ἡ κάμμυσιστῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀληθινὴ δραστις, καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ μον ἐγκύμων τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ λόγου ἀφορ(ᾶ)α γέννημα[τα] ἅγαθων⁵. τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη μοι λαβόντι ἀπὸ [τοῦ νοός μου] [[τουτέστι]] τοῦ Ποιμάνδρου, <τουτέστι> τοῦ τῆς αὐθεντίας (νοός, τὸν ...) λόγον, <ὅθεν> θεόπνους γενόμενος <...> τῆς ἀληθείας ἥλθον.

διὸ δίδωμι ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ ἰσχύος ὅλης εὐλογίαν τῷ ιο πατρὶ θεῷ.

31 Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων, (ὁ πρὸ) ἀρχῆ(s ὧν). Ἅγιος ὁ θεός, οὐ η βουλὴ τελεῖται ἀπὸ τῶν Γίδίων¹ δυνάμεων. Ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὃς γνωσθῆναι βούλεται, καὶ γινώσκεται τοῖς ιδίοις.¹⁵

Ἄγιος εἶ, δ λόγῳ συστησάμενος τὰ ὄντα.

Ἄγιος εἶ, δν η φύσις οὐκ ἡμαύρωσεν.

Ἄγιος εἶ, οὐ πᾶσα φύσις εἰκὼν ἔφυ.

Ἄγιος εἶ, δ πάσης δυναστείας ἴσχυρότερος.

Ἄγιος εἶ, δ πάσης ὑπεροχῆς μείζων.²⁰

Ἄγιος εἶ, δ κρείττων <πάν>των ἐπαίνων.

δέξαι λογικὰς θυσίας ἄγνας ἀπὸ ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας πρὸς σὲ ἀνατεταμένης, ἀνεκλάλητε, ἅρρητε, σιωπῇ φωνούμενε.

32 αἰτουμένιψ τὸ μὴ σφαλῆναι τῆς γνώσεως τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἡμῶν ἐπίνευσόν μοι· καὶ ἐνδυνάμωσόν με, <ῦνα> [καὶ] τῆς²⁵ χάριτος ταύτης <τυχῶν> φωτίσω τὸν ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ γένους μον, ἀδελφοὺς <ἐμούς>, υἱὸς δὲ σοῦ.

§§ 31, 32 (ἄγιος ὁ θεὸς ... τὴν πᾶσαν ἑκούσιαν): Papyrus Berol. 9764; Berliner Klassikertexte, Heft VI (1910), Altchristliche Texte (C. Schmidt und W. Schubart), pp. 110 ff.

2 ἔξηνφράθην A 5 ἀφορία scripsi: ἐκφορὰ codd., Turn. | γεννήματα ἀγαθῶν codd., Turn.: fortasse γέννημα ἄγιον <νοητῶν> 6 μοι λαβόντι μοι BCDMQ 7-8 τοῦ τῆς αὐθεντίας λόγου ΟΟ Turn.: τὸν τῆς αὐθεντίας λόγον Reitz. 8 ὅθεν add. Flussas | ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τῆς Ἀλληθείας Reitz. Fortasse <ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον> τῆς ἀληθείας: cf. Pl. Ρhaedr. 248 B 10 Fortasse ἔβωκα 12 Ante ἄγιος add. Pap. ἄγιος (ὁ θεός, δ ὑποδείξας μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νιος ζωὴν καὶ φῶς) | θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τῶν Pap.: θεὸς δ πατὴρ τῶν codd. Corp. | Post ὅλων add. Pap. ἄγιος εἶ | . . . αρχη . . . Pap.: om. codd. Corp.: (δ πρὸ) ἀρχῆ(s ὧν) scripsi: (δ ἀπ') ἀρχῆ(s ὧν) Schmidt et Schubart 13 ιδίων codd.: fortasse εἰδικῶν | οὗ ἐπιτελεῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ιδίων(ν δυνάμεων η βουλή) Pap. (Reitz.) 14 γινώσκεται τοῖς ιδίοις codd. Corp.: γινώσκεται τοῖς εἰδίοις Pap. (Reitz.) 16 ἄγιος εἶ (ante δ λόγῳ) codd. Corp.: om. Pap. 17-18 ἄγιος εἶ, δ(ν) η φύσις οὐκ ἡμαύρωσεν. ἄγιος εἶ, οὐ πᾶσα φύσις

And I inscribed in my memory the benefaction of Poimandres ; 30
and I was exceeding glad, for I was fed full with that for which
I craved. My bodily sleep had come to be sober wakefulness
of soul ; and the closing of my eyes, true vision ; and my silence,
pregnant with good ; and my barrenness of speech, a brood of . . .¹
And this befell me, in that I received from Poimandres, that is,
from the Mind of the Sovereignty, the teaching of . . . ; whereby,
becoming God-inspired, I attained to the abode of Truth.

Therefore with all my soul and with all my strength did I give
praise to God the Father, saying :

'Holy is God the Father of all, who is before the first 31
beginning ;'
holy is God, whose purpose is accomplished by his several Powers ;
holy is God, who wills to be known, and is known by them that
are his own.

Holy art Thou, who by thy word hast constructed all that is ;
holy art Thou, whose brightness nature³ has not darkened ;
holy art Thou, of whom all nature is an image.

Holy art Thou, who art stronger than all domination ;
holy art Thou, who art greater than all pre-eminence ;
holy art Thou, who surpassest all praises.

Accept pure offerings of speech from a soul and heart uplifted
to thee, Thou of whom no words can tell, no tongue can speak,
whom silence only can declare.

I pray that I may never fall away from that knowledge of thee 32
which matches with our being ; grant Thou this my prayer. And
put power into me, that so, having obtained this boon, I may
enlighten those of my race who are in ignorance, my brothers
and thy sons.

¹ Perhaps, 'a brood of holy thoughts'.

³ I.e. who was before the world began to be.

³ 'Nature' here means the material world, which issued from the 'grim darkness' spoken of in § 4.

εἰκὼν ἔ)φυ Pap. : ἄγιος εἶ, οὐ πᾶσα φύσις εἰκὼν ἔφυ (ἔφη A). ἄγιος εἶ, δν ἡ φύσις (φύσις A) οὐκ ἐμόρφωσεν codd. Corp. 19 δυνάστειας scripsi : δυνάστειος Pap. : δυνάμεως codd. Corp. 20 δ πάσης ὑπεροχῆς μείζων codd. Corp. : δ (τῆς ? ὑπεροχῆς) μείζων Pap. 21 πάντων Plasberg : τῶν codd. Corp. et Pap. 22 δέξαι λογικὰς θυσίας ἀγνάς codd. Corp. : δέξαι λογικὰς ἀγνάς Pap. (Reitz.) ἀγνάς secludendum ? An scribendum ἀγνῆς ? 23 ἀνατεταμένη codd. Corp. (ἀνατεταμένας Q Turn.); ἀνατεταγμένας Pap. 24-25 τῆς κατ' οὐδίαν ἡμῶν codd. Corp. : τῆς κατά ὑψος ἡμῶν αἰθρῶν (fortasse τῆς κατά τὸ ὕψος ἡμῶν) Pap. 25 μοι (post ἐπινευσόν) codd. Corp. (om. A) : με Pap. | ἐνδυνάμωσόν μοι C 26 φύσισον Q Turn. : φωτίσω codd. Corp. cett., Pap. | ἀγνοίᾳ codd. Corp. : εύνοιᾳ Pap. 27 Post νιοὺς δὲ σοῦ add. Pap. τὸ γάρ πνεῦμα μου τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι

⟨...⟩ διὸ πιστεύω καὶ μαρτυρῶ ⟨ὅτι⟩ εἰς ζωὴν καὶ φῶς χωρῶ.

εὐλογητὸς εἶ, πάτερ· ὁ σὸς ἀνθρωπὸς συναγιάζειν σοι βούλεται, καθὼς παρέδωκας αὐτῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἔξουσίαν.—

27 ⟨έγὼ δέ, εὐχαριστήσας καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν πατέρα τῶν δὲ λων, ἀνείθην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δυναμωθεῖς, καὶ διδαχθεὶς τοῦ παντὸς τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ⟨θεασάμενος⟩ θέαν. καὶ ἡργμαὶ κηρύσσειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ γνώσεως κάλλος· “^Ω Λαοί, ἀνδρες γηγενεῖς, οἱ μέθη καὶ ὑπιφέ ¹⁰ ἔαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες [[καὶ]] τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ¹⁵ ιήψατε, παύσασθε δὲ κραιπαλῶντες ⟨καὶ⟩ θελγόμενοι ὑπνῷ ἀλόγῳ.” οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες παρεγένοντο διοθυμαδόν. ἔγὼ δέ φημι· “Τί ἔαυτούς, ὡς ἀνδρες [γηγενεῖς], εἰς θάνατον ἐκδεδώκατε, ἔχοντες ἔξουσίαν τῆς ἀθανασίας μεταλαβεῖν; μετανοήσατε, οἱ συνοδεύσαντες τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ συγκοιωνή- ¹⁵ σαντες τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ· ἀπαλλάγητε τοῦ σκότ[ει]ους, ἄψασθε τοῦ φωτός· μεταλαβετε τῆς ἀθανασίας, καταλείψαντες τὴν φθοράν.”

29 καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καταφλυαρήσαντες ἀπέστησαν, τῇ τοῦ θανάτου ὅδῷ ἔαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες· οἱ δὲ παρεκάλουν διδαχ- ²⁰ θηναι, ἔαυτούς πρὸ ποδῶν μου ρίψαντες· ἔγὼ δέ, ἀναστήσας αὐτούς, καθοδηγὸς ἐγενόμην τοῦ γένους, τοὺς λόγους διδάσκων, πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ σωθήσονται. καὶ ἔσπειρα ⟨ἐι⟩ αὐτοῖς τοὺς τῆς σοφίας λόγους, καὶ ἐτράφη[σαν] ⟨τὸ σπαρὲν⟩ ἐκ τοῦ ἀμβροσίου ὑδατος. ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ²⁵ αὐγῆς ἀρχομένης δύεσθαι, δῆλοις ἐκέλευσα αὐτοῖς εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ἀναπληρώσαντες τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἔκαστος ἐτράπη εἰς τὴν ίδιαν κοίτην.⟩

1 εἰς codd. Corp.: η Pap.

| Post ἔξουσίαν αὐτῷ add. Pap. εἰς η σοι δύξα καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀρέτη καὶ εἰς τοὺς

σύμπαντας αἴωνας τὰς αἰώνων.

ἰδίας κοίτην) huc transposui

ἐνδυναμωθεῖς

πλάνη cett.

3 Fortasse δ σὸς νίδες

| παρέδωκας

τὴν πᾶσαν ἔξουσίαν αὐτῷ Pap.

(ἀρέτην

5-28 §§ 27-29 (ἔγὼ δέ . . .

ἰδίας κοίτην)

θ κάλλος A: κλέος BCDMQ Turn.

16-17 ἀπαλλάγητε τοῦ σκότους, ἄψασθε τοῦ φωτός scripsi

4 παρέδωκας

τὸν πατέρα

ἀνέστην OQ: ἀνέστην Turn.

15 σπάνη A:

τοῦ φωτός

. . . Wherefore I believe and bear witness that I enter into Life and Light.

Blessed art thou, Father ; thy Man¹ seeks to share thy holiness, even as Thou hast given him all authority.'

And when I had given thanks and praise to the Father of all, ²⁷
I was sent forth by him, having had power given me, and having been taught the nature of all that is, and seen the supreme vision. And I began to preach to men the beauty of piety and of the knowledge of God, saying : 'Hearken, ye folk, men born of earth, who have given yourselves up to drunkenness and sleep in your ignorance of God ; awake to soberness, cease to be sodden with strong drink and lulled in sleep devoid of reason.' And ²⁸ when they heard, they gathered round me with one accord. And I said, 'O men, why have you given yourselves up to death, when you have been granted power to partake of immortality ? Repent, ye who have journeyed with Error, and joined company with Ignorance ; rid yourselves of darkness, and lay hold on the Light ; partake of immortality, forsaking corruption.'

And some of them mocked at my words, and stood aloof ; for ²⁹ they had given themselves up to the way of death. But others besought me that they might be taught, and cast themselves down at my feet. And I bade them stand up ; and I made myself a guide to mankind, teaching them the doctrine, how and in what wise they might be saved. And I sowed in them the teachings of wisdom ; and that which I sowed was watered with the water of immortal life. And when evening was come, and the light of the sun was beginning to go down, I bade them all with one accord give thanks to God. And when they had accomplished their thanksgiving, they betook them every man to his own bed.

¹ Perhaps, 'thy son' or 'Man, (who is) thy son'.

ἀπαλλάγητε τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ φωτός codd., Turn.	22	ἐγνόμην M	24 ἐτρόφη
τὸ σπαρέν scripsi : ἐτράφησαν codd., Turn.	25 ἀβρωσίου Q		26 ὅλοις
scripsi : ὅλης codd., Turn.			

LIBELLVS II

⟨'Ερμοῖ τρισμεγιστου πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν.⟩

- 1 Πᾶν τὸ κινούμενον, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, οὐκ ἐν τινὶ κινεῖται, καὶ ὑπό τινος;—Μάλιστα.—Οὐκ ἀνάγκη δὲ μεῖζον εἶναι ⟨τὸ⟩ ἐν φι κινεῖται ⟨ἡ⟩ τὸ κινούμενον;—Ἀνάγκη.—[Ἴσχυρότερον ἄρα τὸ κινοῦν τοῦ κινουμένου.—Ἴσχυρότερον γάρ.—] Ἐναντίαν δὲ ἔχειν φύσιν ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐν φι κινεῖται τῇ τοῦ κινουμένου.—Καὶ πάνν.—
- 2 Μέγας οὖν οὗτος ⟨ὁ⟩ κόσμος, οὐ μεῖζον οὐκ ἔστι σῶμα.—Ωμολόγηται.—Καὶ στιβαρός· πεπλήρωται γὰρ ἀλλων σωμάτων μεγάλων πολλῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων ὅσα ἔστι ισωμάτων.—Οὔτως ἔχει.—Σῶμα δὲ ὁ κόσμος;—Σῶμα.
- 3 Καὶ κινούμενον;—Μάλιστα.—Πηλίκον οὖν δεῖ τὸν τόπον εἶναι ἐν φι κινεῖται, καὶ ποταπὸν τὴν φύσιν; οὐ πολὺ μεῖζονα, ἵνα δυνηθῇ δέξασθαι τῆς φορᾶς τὴν συνέχειαν, καὶ μὴ θλιβόμενον τὸ κινούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς στενότητος ἐπίσχῃ τὴν 15
- 4 α κίνησιν;—Παμμέγεθές τι χρῆμα, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε.—Ποταπῆς δὲ φύσεως; ⟨ἄρα⟩ ⟨οὐ⟩ τῆς ἐναντίας [[ἄρα]], ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ; σῶματι δὲ ἐναντία φύσις τὸ ἀσώματον.—Ωμολόγηται.—Ἀσώματος οὖν ὁ τόπος.
- 4 b τὸ δὲ ἀσώματον ἡ θεῖον ἔστιν || ἡ δὲ θεός. τὸ δὲ θεῖον 20 λέγω νῦν οὐ τὸ γεννητόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγένητον. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἡ θεῖον, οὐσιῶδές ἔστιν ἐὰν δὲ ἡ ⟨ὅ⟩ θεός, καὶ ἀνουσίαστον 5 γίνεται ⟨ . . . ⟩. ἀλλως δὲ νοητὸς ὁ τοπος νοητὸς γάρ

In Libellis II-IX, codicum AQS et Turneli lectiones adhibui.

II. 1-4b: Stobaci *Anthologium* I. 18. 2, vol. i, p. 157 Wachsmuth (*Ecl.* I. 384 Heeren): 'Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν. Πᾶν τὸ κινούμενον, ὁ Ἀσκλ. . . . ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγένητον.

II. 6b-9: Stob. I. 19. 2, vol. i, p. 163 W (*Ecl.* I. 398 H): 'Ερμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν. Πᾶν τὸ κινούμενον οὐκ ἐν . . . δύο σώματα φέρει.'

II. 10-13: Stob. I. 18. 3, vol. i, p. 158 W (*Ecl.* I. 386 H): 'Ἐν ταύτῳ (sc. 'Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν). Οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν ὄντων . . . ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων πάντων.'

Codices Stob.: F (Farnesinus, saec. xiv), P (Parisinus, saec. xv).

Tit.: 'Ερμοῦ πρὸς τῶν λόγος καθολικός A: 'Ερμοῦ τοῦ (om. τοῦ Turn.) τρισμεγιστου πρὸς Τὰτ λόγος καθολικός QS Turn. In codicibus Corp. Herm. desunt §§ 1-4b inīt. (Πᾶν τὸ κινούμενον . . . ἡ θεῖον ἔστιν), ita ut incipiat dialogus a verbis ἡ θεός τὸ θεῖον λέγω

8 τὸ add. Patritius 4 ἡ add. Patr. 8 τὸ Wachsmuth: τὴν FP 8 δ add. Patr. 11 σωμάτων scripsi: σώματα codd. 17 τῆς ἐναντίας ἄρα Wachsm.: τῆς ἐναντίας ἄρα FP 20 ἡ θεῖον FP: ἡ τὸ θεῖον Meineke | ἡ δὲ θεός Stob. F: ἡ θεός Stob. P: ἡ θεός AQ: η θεός S Turn. | τὸ δὲ

LIBELLVS II

A discourse of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius.

Hermes. Is it not true of everything which is moved, Asclepius, **I** that it is moved *in* something, and is moved *by* something?—*Asclepius.* Assuredly.—*Herm.* And is not that in which the thing is moved necessarily greater than the thing moved?—*Ascl.* Yes.—*Herm.* And that in which the thing is moved must be of opposite nature to the thing moved.—*Ascl.* Certainly it must.—

Herm. Now this Kosmos is great; there is no body greater **2** than the Kosmos.—*Ascl.* Agreed.—*Herm.* And it is massive; for it is filled with many other great bodies, or rather, with all the bodies that exist.—*Ascl.* It is so.—*Herm.* And the Kosmos is a body, is it not?—*Ascl.* Yes.—*Herm.* And a thing that is moved?—*Ascl.* Assuredly.—*Herm.* Of what magnitude then **3** must be the space in which the Kosmos is moved? And of what nature? Must not that space be far greater, that it may be able to contain the continuous motion of the Kosmos, and that the thing moved may not be cramped through want of room, and cease to move?—*Ascl.* Great indeed must be that space, Trismegistus.—*Herm.* And of what nature must it be, **4a** Asclepius? Must it not be of opposite nature to the Kosmos? And of opposite nature to body is the incorporeal.—*Ascl.* Agreed.—*Herm.* That space then is incorporeal.

Now that which is incorporeal is either something that apper- **4b** tains to God, or else it is God himself. (By 'a thing that appertains to God' I mean, not a thing that comes into being, but a thing without beginning.) If then the incorporeal thing is something that appertains to God, it is of the nature of eternal substance; but if it is God himself, it must be distinct from substance, < . . . >¹. Space is an object of thought, but not in the **5**

¹ The text of §§ 4b-6a is badly corrupted, and the restoration of it that is here proposed is very doubtful. What the author meant might perhaps be expressed by writing as follows: 'It must be distinct from substance, & distinct from objects of thought. It is true that God is, in one sense, an object of thought, for he is not an object of sense-perception; but Space is an object of thought in a different sense', &c.

Θεῖον codd. Stob. : τὸ θεῖον AQS Turn. 22 καὶ (post θεός) AQS : om. Turn.
 22-23 Fortasse hoc fere modo supplendum: καὶ ἀνονοίστον (an ἀνούσιον?) γίνεται (καὶ ἀνόητον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλα πῆ μὲν νοητὸς δὲ θεός οὐ γὰρ (αἰσθήσει ὑποκίνει δὲ θεός)). ἄλλως δὲ νοητὸς ὁ τόπος 23 νοητὸς ὁ τόπος εἰρίψι: νοητῷ οὕτω A: νοητὸν οὕτως QS: νοητὸς οὕτω Turn.

πρώτως ὁ θεός ἐστιν ⟨έαυτῷ, ὁ δὲ τόπος⟩ ἡμῖν, οὐχ ἔαυτῷ.
τὸ γὰρ νοητὸν τῷ νοοῦντι ⟨νοητὸν ἐστιν⟩· [αισθήσει ὑποπίπτει
ὁ θεός] οὐκοῦν οὐχ ἔαυτῷ νοητός ⟨ὁ τόπος⟩,—οὐ γάρ [ἄλλο τι
ῶν τοῦ νοούμενου] ὑφ' ἔαυτοῦ νοεῖται,—ἡμῖν δέ. [[ἄλλο τί
6a ἐστι]] [διὰ τοῦτο ημῖν νοεῖται] εἰ δὲ νοητὸς ὁ τόπος οὐχ ⟨ώς⟩⁵
ὁ θεός, [ἄλλ' ὁ τόπος] [εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ως τόπος] ἄλλ'
ώς ἐνέργεια χωρητική, ⟨⟨ἄλλο τί ἐστι⟩⟩ ⟨τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ τόπος⟩.

6b πᾶν δὲ τὸ κινούμενον οὐκ ἐν κινουμένῳ κινεῖται, ἄλλ' ἐν
ἐστῶτι. καὶ τὸ κινοῦν δὲ ἐστήκεν ἀδύνατον γὰρ αὐτὸ
συγκινεῖσθαι.

10

—Πῶσ; οὖν, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε, τὰ ἐνθάδε ⟨κινοῦντα⟩ συγκινεῖται τοῖς
κινουμένοις; τὰς γὰρ σφαίρας ἔφη τὰς πλανωμένας κινεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς
ἀπλωνοῦς σφαίρας.—Οὐκ ἐστιν αὕτη, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, συγκίνησις, ἄλλ'
ἀντικίνησις⁶ οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως κινοῦνται, ἄλλ' ἐναντίως ἀλλήλαις. ἡ δὲ
ἐναντίωσις ⟨⟨τῆς κινήσεως⟩⟩ τὴν ἀντέρεισιν [[τῆς κινήσεως]] ἔχει ἐστῶσαν¹⁵
7 ἡ γὰρ ἀντιτυπία στάσις φορᾶς. αἱ οὖν πλανώμεναι σφαῖραι, ἐναντίως
κινούμεναι τῇ ἀπλωνῇ, ὅπ' ἀλλήλων τῇ ἐναντίᾳ ὑπαντήσει περὶ τὴν
ἐναντιότητα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐστώσης κινοῦνται.⁷ καὶ ἀλλως ἔχειν ἀδύνατον.
τὰς γὰρ ἄρκτους ταύτας, ἃς ὥρᾶς μῆτε δυνούσας μῆτε ἀνατελλούσας,
[περὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ στρεφομένας,] οἵτινες κινεῖσθαι ἡ ἐστάναι;—Κινεῖσθαι, ²⁰
οὐ ω Τρισμέγιστε.—Κίνησιν ποιάν, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ;—Τὴν περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ στρεφο-
μένην.—Ἡ δὲ περιφορὰ ἡ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κίνησίς ἐστιν ὑπὸ στάσεως
κιτεχομένη⁸ τὸ γὰρ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κωλύει τὸ ὑπέρ αὐτό, κωλύμενον δὲ
τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ γε ἐστη⁹ εἰς τὸ περὶ τὸ αὐτό. οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐναντία φορὰ
8a ἐστήκεν ἄδραιά, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναντιότητος στηριζομένη. παράδειγμα δέ σοι τὸν²⁵
τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐμπίπτον φράσω, τὰ ἐπίγεια ⟨⟨λέγω⟩⟩ ζῶα. οἷον τὸν

1 πρώτως scripsi: πρώτος codd. 3-4 τι ὡν τοῦ S: τι ὡν τοῦ cett. 4 ὑφ' ἔαυτῆς S: ιψ' ἔαυτοῦ cett. 4-5 ἡμῖν δέ... ἡμῖν νοεῖται om. S | ἄλλο τί ἐστι hinc ad § 6a transposui 5-6 εἰ δὲ νοητὸς... ἄλλ' ὁ τόπος om. Q εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς QS: εἰ δὲ καὶ ως θεὸς Turn. 8 δὲ codd. Corp.: om. codd. Stob. 9-10 ἀδύνατον γὰρ αὐτὸ συγκ. scripsi: ἀδύνατον γὰρ αὐτῷ συγκ. codd. Corp.: ἀδύνατον συγκ. codd. Stob. 11 συγκινεῖσθαι S: συγκινεῖται cett. 11-12 τοῖς κινουμένοις codd. Corp.: τοῖς κινοῦσιν codd. Stob. 12 ὑπὸ τοῦ S: ὑπὸ τῆς cett. 13 συγκίνησις codd. Stob.: κίνησις codd. Corp. 13-14 ἄλλ'
ἀντικίνησις codd. Corp. et Stob. F: om. Stob. P 14 ἄλλ' ἐναντίως codd. Stob.: ἄλλ' ἐναντίαι codd. Corp. 14-15 ἡ δὲ ἐναντίωσις codd. Corp.: ἡ δὲ ἐναν-
τίωσις codd. Stob. 15 ἔχει ἐστῶσαν Turn.: ἔχει (om. ἐστῶσαν) QS: ἐστῶσαν
ἔχει (codd. Stob.?) Wachsm. 16 στάσις φορᾶς codd. Stob.: στάσεως ἐστη
φορᾶ (φωρᾶ S) codd. Corp. | αἱ οὖν πλανώμεναι codd. Corp.: διδ καὶ πλανώ-
μεναι Stob. FP¹: διδ καὶ αἱ πλανώμεναι Stob. P² 17 τῇ ἀπλωνῇ S
17-18 περὶ τὴν ἐναντιότητα QS: 18 αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐστώσης κινοῦσιν codd.
Corp.: ἐστῶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς ἔχει codd. Stob. | καὶ ἀλλως ἔχειν ἀδύνατον
om. codd. Stob. 20 περὶ... στρεφομένας seclusi: περὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ στρεφομένας
A et codd. Stob.: περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ στρεφομένας QS: περὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀντιστρεφομένας

same sense that God is ; for God is an object of thought primarily to himself, but Space is an object of thought to us, not to itself. That which is an object of thought is such to him who contemplates it in thought ; Space therefore is an object of thought, not to itself (for it is not contemplated by itself), but to us. And if 6a Space is an object of thought, not as God is, but as the working of a power by which things are contained, then Space is something other than God.

Moreover, everything that is moved is moved, not in something 6b that is itself moved, but in something that stands fast. And the mover too stands fast ; it is impossible that that which moves a thing should be moved together with the thing it moves.

Ascl. How is it¹ then, Trismegistus, that the things which in our world move other things are moved together with the things they move ? For I have heard you say that the planet-spheres are moved by the sphere of the fixed stars ; (and surely that sphere is itself moved.)—*Herm.* In that instance, Asclepius, the two things are not moved together. Their movements are contrary ; for the sphere of the fixed stars is not moved in the same way as the planet-spheres, but in the opposite direction. And the contrariety of the two movements keeps the fulcrum stationary ; for motion is stayed by resistance. The planet-spheres 7 then, being moved in the opposite direction to the sphere of the fixed stars, . . . It cannot be otherwise. Look at the Great Bear and the Little Bear. As you see, they neither set nor rise ; are they moved, think you, or do they stand fast ? —*Ascl.* They are moved, Trismegistus.—*Herm.* And of what kind is their movement ?—*Ascl.* It is a movement which circles round one point.—*Herm.* Yes, and their revolution round one point is a movement that is held fast by immobility. For revolution round one point prevents departure from the orbit ; and the prevention of departure from the orbit results in revolution round one point. And even so it is that movement in contrary directions is steadfast and stable, being kept stationary by the contrariety. I will give you 8a an example which you can see with your own eyes. Take the case of some

¹ This passage ('How is it . . . makes the matter clear, Trismegistus', §§ 6b-8a) is obscure, and appears to have been inserted by some one who misunderstood the meaning of the *libellus*.

Turn. | οἵας Stob. P² : ἡ οἵας codd. Corp. : ποιεῖ Stob. FP¹ | κινεῖσθαι ἡ ἐστάται codd. Corp. (om. S) et Stob. P² : κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἐστάται Stob. FP¹ 21 τὴν περὶ τὸ αὐτὸν Parthey : τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν codd. Corp. : τὴν περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ codd. Stob. 21-22 στρεφομένην codd. Corp. : ἀναστρεφομένην codd. Stob. 22 περιφορὰ ἡ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸν codd. Stob. : περιφορὰ τὸ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτὸν codd. Corp. | κίνησις τότιν ὑπὸ codd. Stob. : κίνησις ὑπὸ codd. Corp. 23 καλύπτει τὸ περὶ (ὑπὲρ suprascr.) αὐτόν A : καλύπτει τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτόν cett. 23-24 καλύπτειν . . . περὶ (τὸ) αὐτόν om. codd. Stob. | δὲ τὸ Turn. : δὲ τοὺς τὸ A : δὲ τοὺς τὸ QS (καλύπτειν δὲ τοὺς τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν bis scriptum S). Fortasse καλύπτειν δὲ τοῦ 24 εἰ ἔστη codd. : 'fortasse ἔνισταται' Wachsm. 25 ἔστηκεν codd. Stob. : ἔστη ἡ AQ Turn. : ἔστην ἡ S | Post δὲ τοι add. ἐπίγειον codd. Stob. 26 ἐμπίπτων Patr. : ἐπιπίπτων codd. Stob. : πίπτων codd. Corp. | ἐπίγεια codd. Corp. : ἐπίγειρα codd. Stob.

ἀνθρωπον [[λέγω]] θεώρει τηχόμενον· φερομένου γάρ τοῦ ὄδατος ἡ ἀντιτυπία τῶν ποδῶν καὶ τῶν χειρῶν στάσις γίνεται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ μὴ συγκατενεχθῆναι τῷ ὄδατι.—Σαφὲς τὸ παράδειγμα, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε.—

πᾶσα οὖν κίνησις ἐν στάσει καὶ ὑπὸ στάσεως κινεῖται.

- 8 b < . . . > η οὖν κίνησις τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ παντὸς δὲ ἔφου 5 ὄλικοῦ, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν κατεκτὸς τοῦ σώματος συμβάνει γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς εἰς τὸ κατεκτός, ἣτοι ψυχῆς [ἢ πνεύματος] η ἀλλοι τινὸς ἀσωμάτου. σῶμα γάρ ἔμψυχον οὐχ ὑπὸ σώματος) κινεῖ(ται): ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ σύνολον σῶμα, κάν η 9 ἄψυχον.—Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε; τὰ οὖν ἔύλα 10 καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἄψυχα οὐ σώματά ἔστι τὰ κινοῦντα;—Οὐδαμῶς, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔνδον τοῦ σώματος, τὸ κινοῦν τὸ ἄψυχον, οὐ σῶμά *(ἐστιν)*. ἐκεῖνό ἔστι τὸ ἀμφότερα κινοῦν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ βαστάζοντος *(σῶμα)* καὶ τὸ τοῦ βασταζομένου *(ἐπει)* *[διόπερ]* *(τὸ)* ἄψυχον *(αὐ)*τὸ καθ' 15 *(αὐτὸ)* οὐδὲν [[ἐπει]] κινεῖ. ὁρᾶς γοῦν καταβαρυνομένην τὴν ψυχήν, ὅταν μόνη δύο σώματα φέρῃ. *(ώστε)* καὶ [ὅτι μὲν] έν τίνι κινεῖται τὰ κινούμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος, δῆλον.—
- 10 'Ἐν κενῷ δὲ *(οὐ)* δεῖ κινεῖσθαι τὰ κινούμενα, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε; —Ἐύφήμ*(ει)*, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ. οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν ὄντων ἔστι κενόν· 20 μόνον δὲ τὸ μὴ δν κενόν ἔστι. *((τὸ γὰρ ὑπάρχον))* τῷ τῆς ὑπάρχεως λόγῳ *((κενὸν οὐδέποτε γενέσθαι δύναται·))* τὸ δὲ δν οὐκ ἀν ἡδύνατο εἶναι δν, εἰ μὴ μεστὸν τῆς ὑπάρχεως ἦν. *[[τὸ γὰρ ὑπάρχον]]* *[[κενὸν οὐδέποτε γενέσθαι δύναται.]]*— Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν κενά τινα, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε, τοιαῦτα, οἷον κάδος 25

1 θεώρει *(θεωρία A)* τηχόμενον *(τηχόμενον S)* codd. Corp.: τηχόμενον θεώρησον codd. Stob. | φερομένον γάρ τοῦ codd. Corp.: φερόμενον τοῦ γάρ codd. Stob. 2 τοῦ μὴ codd. Stob.: μὴ (om. τοῦ) codd. Corp. 3 συγκατανεχθῆναι S | Post ὄδατο add. Patr. (ex codice aliquo?) μήτε δῦναι ὧν αὐτὸ | σαφὲς τὸ παράδειγμα codd. Stob.: σαφέστατον παράδειγμα ἄπεις codd. Corp. 4 ὑπὸ στάσεως Turn.: ὑποστάσαι A: ὑπὸ στάσει QS: ὑποστάσεως codd. Stob. | κινεῖται codd.: fortasse γίνεται 5 κόσμου codd. Stob. et QS: ἔων A Turn. | δὲ codd. Corp.: om. codd. Stob. 6 σώματος codd. Stob.: κόσμον Turn. 6-7 τοῦ σώματος συμβάνει . . . εἰς τὸ κατεκτός om. QS 7 εἰς τὸ κατεκτός secludit Wachsm. | ἣτοι codd. Corp.: τῶν νοητῶν codd. Stob. | ἡ πνεύματος seclusi: ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος Stob. F: ἡ σώματος QS 8-9 σῶμα γάρ ἔμψυχον οὐχ ὑπὸ σώματος κινεῖται scripsi: σῶμα γάρ σῶμα ἔμψυχον οὐ κινεῖ codd. Corp.: σῶμα γάρ ἔμψυχον οὐ κινεῖ codd. Stob. 9 η̄ codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp. 11 ἀλλα codd. Corp.: om. codd. Stob. | ἄψυχα codd. Stob.: ἔμψυχα codd. Corp. 12 τὰ κινοῦντα codd. Corp.: om. codd. Stob. | οὐδαμῶς ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ QS Turn.: οὐδαμῶς om. A: ὁ om. codd. Stob. 13 τὸ κινοῦν Turn.: τοῦ κινοῦντος QS et codd. Stob. 14 βαστάζοντος codd. Corp.: βαστάζοντα Stob. F: βαστάζοντος (os in a corr.) Stob. P 15-16 ἐπει τὸ ἄψυχον αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ οὐδὲν κινεῖ scripsi: διόπερ ἔμψυχον (ex ἄψυχον corr. ἔμψυχον S) τὸ καθεύδον

animal on earth ; look at a man, for instance, swimming. The water flows ; but the resistance made by the swimmer's hands and feet keeps him stationary, so that he is not borne away down stream.—*Ascl.* That example makes the matter clear, Trismegistus.—

All movement then takes place *within* something that stands fast, and is caused *by* something that stands fast. . . .

The movement of the Kosmos then, and of every living being 8 b that is material, is caused, not by things outside the body, but by things within it, which operate outwards from within ; that is to say, either by soul or by something else that is incorporeal. For the body which contains a soul is not moved by a body ; indeed, body cannot move body at all, even if the body moved be soulless.—*Ascl.* What mean you, Trismegistus ? When logs and 9 stones and all other soulless things are moved, are they not moved by bodies?—*Herm.* Certainly not, Asclepius. That which is within the body, and which moves the soulless thing, is not a body ; and that is what moves both the body of him who carries a thing and the body of the thing carried ; for a soulless thing cannot of itself move anything. Thus it is that you see the soul distressed by the weight of its burden, when it bears two bodies at once.

I have now explained to you what is that *by* which things are moved, as well as what is that *in* which things are moved.—

Ascl. But surely, Trismegistus, it must be in void that things 10 are moved.—*Herm.* You ought not to say that, Asclepius. Nothing that is, is void ; it is only that which is not, that is void. That which exists can never come to be void ; (this is implied in the very meaning of the word 'existence') ; and that which is could not be a thing which is, if it were not filled with something existent.—*Ascl.* But what would you say, Trismegistus,

ἴνει κανέι codd. Corp. (pro καθέδδον coni. καθαυρόν Flussas) : δύνεται ἀψυχον
οὐκ ἀψυχον κανήσει codd. Stob. 16 γοῦν (codd. Stob.?) Wachsm. : οὐν codd.
Corp. | καταβαρνομένην Patr. : καταβαρομένην codd. Corp. : καὶ βαρυνο-
μένην codd. Stob. 17 μόνη codd. Corp. : om. codd. Stob. | σώματα
codd. Stob. et AS: σώματε Q Turn. | φέρη vel φέρη codd. Corp. et
Stob. P²: φέρει Stob. F¹ 17-18 ὥστε καὶ ἐν τίνι . . . καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος scripsi :
καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἐν τίνι . . . καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος codd. (καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος . . . κινεῖσθαι τὰ κινού-
μενα om. QS) 19 ἐν κενῷ Flussas : ἐν ἔκεινῳ A Turn. 20 εὗ φῆς
codd., Turn. : 'legendum videtur Εὐφρητε' Parthey 20-23 οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν ὄντων
τοτὶ κενὸν τῷ τῆς ὑπάρχειας λόγῳ' τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἀν ἡδύνατο εἶναι οὐν, εἰ μὴ μετὸν
τῆς ὑπάρχειας ήν codd. Stob. : οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ὄντων τοτὶ κενὸν μόνον δὲ τὸ μὴ ὁν
κενὸν ἔστι ξένον τῆς ὑπάρχειας codd. Corp. (ante ξένον add. καὶ Turn. : ὑπάρχεια
ex ὑπεράρχεια, ut videtur, corr. man. pr. A) 25 οὐν κενά τίνα codd. Stob. :
οὐν τινὰ codd. Corp. | τοιάντα scripsi : ἔστι τοιάντα codd. Corp. : om.
codd. Stob.

κενὸς καὶ κέραμος καὶ ἁπταμὸς ὅλος¹ καὶ ληνὸς καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα πάντα τὰ παραπλήσια;—Φεῦ τῆς πολλῆς πλάνης,
δὲ Ἀσκληπιέ. τὰ μᾶλλον πληρέστατα καὶ μεστότατα ὄντα,
11 ταῦτα κενὰ ἡγῆ εἶναι;—Πῶς λέγεις, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε;—Οὐ
σῶμά ἔστιν ὁ ἀήρ;—Σῶμα.—Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σῶμα οὐ διὰ πάντων 5
δίκει τῶν ὄντων, καὶ πάντα δῆκον πληροῖ; σῶμα δὲ οὐκ ἐκ
τῶν τεσσάρων σωμάτων κεκραμένον συνέστηκε; μεστὰ οὖν
πάντα ἔστιν, ἀ σὺ φῆς κενά, τοῦ ἀέρος, εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ
τῶν τεσσάρων σωμάτων καὶ συμβαίνει ὁ ἔναντίος λόγος
ἐκφαίνεσθαι, ὅτι ἀ σὺ φῆς μεστά, ταῦτα πάντα κενά ἔστι 10
τοῦ ἀέρος, ἐκείνων ὑπ’ ἄλλων σωμάτων στενοχωρουμένων, καὶ
μη ἔχοντων τόπον δέξασθαι τὸν ἀέρα. ταῦτα οὖν, ἀ σὺ φῆς
εἶναι κενά, κοῦλα δὲ οὐνομάζειν, οὐ κενά· ὑπάρξεις γὰρ
μεστά ἔστιν [ἀέρος καὶ πνεύματος].—Ἀναντίρρητος ὁ λόγος,
δὲ Τρισμέγιστε.—

15

- 12 a Τὸν οὖν τόπον τὸν ἐν φῷ τὸ πᾶν κινεῖται τί εἴπομεν;
ἀσώματον, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ.—Τὸ οὖν ἀσώματον (τοῦτο) τί ἔστι;—
Νοῦς δλος ἔξ ὅλου ἔαυτὸν ἐμπειριέχων, ἐλεύθερος σωματικῆς
[α]πλάνης, ἀπαθῆς, ἀναφής, αὐτὸς ἐν ἔαυτῷ ἔστως, [[συγ]]-
χωρητικὸς (συμ)πάντων καὶ σωτήριος τῶν ὄντων, (τὸ) (τῆς 20
ψυχῆς) (φῶς).—
- 12 b «Τί οὖν φῆς» «(τὸ ἀγαθόν)»;—«(Τὸ ἀρχέτυπον φῶς)», οὐ
ῶσπερ ἀκτίνες εἰσιν[[τὸ ἀγαθὸν]] (ὅ τε νοῦς καὶ) ἡ ἀλήθεια.
[[τὸ ἀρχέτυπον φῶς]] [τὸ ἀρχέτυπον] [[τῆς ψυχῆς]]—

1 κάδος κενὸς καὶ κέραμος scripsi: κάδος κενὸς καὶ κέραμος codd. Corp. (ante κέραμος om. καὶ A): κάδος καὶ κέραμος κενὸς Stob. F: κάδος καὶ κέραμος Stob. P | καὶ ποταμὸς ὅλος AQS Turn. (etiam MC teste Reitz.): om. codd. Stob.: καὶ ποτήριον Reitz. | καὶ ληνὸς codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp. 2 πάντα codd. Corp.: om. codd. Stob. | σπάνης Stob. F: πλάνης cett. 3 ὁ om. codd. Stob. | καὶ μᾶλλον QS: τὰ μᾶλλον cett. 4 μεστότατα ὄντα, ταῦτα scripsi: μεστότατα ταῦτα codd. Stob.: μεγιστὰ ὄντα ταῦτα codd. Corp. 4-5 οὐ σῶμά ἔστιν codd. Stob.: σῶμά ἔστιν (om. οὐ) codd. Corp. 5 σῶμα (post ἀήρ) codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp. 6 δὲ om. A 7 τῶν τεσσάρων σωμάτων scripsi: τῶν τεσσάρων codd. Stob.: τῶν σωμάτων codd. Corp. | κεκραμένον S | συνέστηκε codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp. | μεστὰ codd. Corp., Stob. F: δὲ μετὰ Stob. P 8 ἔστι πάντα, ἀ φῆς A: πάντα ἔστιν, ἀ σὺ φῆς cett. | εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ codd. Stob.: εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος (om. καὶ) QS: om. Turn.: εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος . . . δέσασθαι τὸν ἀέρα om. A 10 μεστὰ QS Turn.: μετὰ codd. Stob. 11 ἐκείνων codd. Stob.: om. QS Turn. | στενοχωρουμένον S 12 τόπον (ex B marg.) Wachsm.: τοῦτον codd. Stob.: om. QS Turn. | Post dépa add. ἐν τόπῳ αὐτῶν QS Turn. 13 εἶναι κενὰ AQS Turn.: om. codd. Stob. 13-14 ὑπάρξεως γάρ μεστά scripsi: ὑπάρξει γάρ μεστά codd. Stob.: ὑπάρξει γάρ καὶ μεστά AQS Turn. 14 ἔναντίρρητος Pl: ἀναντίρρητος A | δὲ om. A 15 Post τρισμέγιστε add. AQ Turn. verba σῶμά ἔστιν ὁ ἀήρ τοῦτο δὲ . . . πάντα δῆκον πληροῖ ε § 11 init. repetita. (S habet verba ὁ ἀήρ τοῦτο δὲ . . . πάντα δῆκον πληροῖ, omissis

of an empty jar, or pot, or . . .,¹ or trough, and the like? Are not such things void?—*Herm.* How far you are in error, Asclepius! Do you suppose these things to be void? The truth is rather that they are completely full.—*Ascl.* What do **ii** you mean, Trismegistus?—*Herm.* Is not air a body?—*Ascl.* Yes.—*Herm.* And does not that body permeate all things that are, and fill them by its permeation? And are not bodies composed of a mixture of the four elements? All things that you call void then are filled with air; and if with air, they are filled with all four elements. Thus we are led to a conclusion opposite to what you said; we must say that all those things which you call full are void of air, because the presence of other bodies in them leaves no space unoccupied, and so they have no room to admit the air. Hence the things which you call void ought to be called hollow, not void; for they are full of something that exists.—*Ascl.* There is no gainsaying that, Trismegistus.—

Herm. Now what was it that we said² of that Space in which **12a** the universe is moved? We said, Asclepius, that it is incorporeal.—*Ascl.* What then is that incorporeal thing?—*Herm.* It is Mind, entire and wholly self-encompassing, free from the erratic movement of things corporeal; it is imperturbable, intangible, standing firm-fixed in itself, containing all things, and maintaining in being all things that are; and it is the light whereby soul is illuminated.—

Ascl. Tell me then, what is the Good?—*Herm.* The Good is **12b** the archetypal Light; and Mind and Truth³ are, so to speak, rays emitted by that Light.—

¹ Perhaps, 'mortar' (*βλαυσ*).

² See § 4a.

³ Or 'Reality'.

verbis δέρος καὶ πνεύματος . . . σῶμά ἔστιν quae in ceteris Corp. Herm. codicibus praecedunt) 16 τόπον τὸν ἐν φυκεῖται codd. Corp. : τόπον ἐν φυκεῖται τὸ πάντα codd. Stob. | εἴπομεν codd. Stob. : εἴπαμεν codd. Corp. 17 ὁ om. codd. Stob. | τὸ codd. Corp. : om. codd. Stob. 18 νῦν δῆλος codd. Stob. : νῦν, λόγος codd. Corp. 18-19 ἐλεύθερος σωματικῆς πλάνης scripsi: ἐλεύθερος σώματος πάντος, ἀπλανῆς codd. Stob.: ἐλεύθερον σώματος πάντος ἀπλανῆς codd. Corp. 19 Post ἀπαθής add. σώματα καὶ codd. Corp. | ἀναφῆς codd. Corp.: ἀφανῆς codd. Stob. | ἐν om. codd. Corp. 20 χωρητικὸς συμπάντων scripsi: χωρητικὸς τῶν πάντων codd. Corp. : συγχωρητικὸς πάντων Stob. F: χωρητικὸς πάντων Stob. P 20-21 τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς φῶς addidi (vide § 12 b fin.) 22 τί οὖν φῆς huc a § 13 fin. transposui 22-23 οὐ ὥσπερ codd. Stob. : οὐπερ codd. Corp. 23 ἑκτίνες S: ἀκτίνες cett. 24 τὸ ἀρχέτυπον φῶς codd. Corp. : τὸ ἀρχέτυπον πνεύματος codd. Stob. | τῆς ψυχῆς (τῆς om. Stob. F) hinc ad § 12 a fin. transposui

- 13 Ὁ οὖν θεὸς τί ἔστιν; — Ὁ μηδέ(τερ)ον τούτων ὑπάρχων,
ὃν δὲ καὶ ⟨⟨τούτοις⟩⟩ τοῦ εἶναι [[τούτοις]] αἴτιος, καὶ πᾶσι καὶ
ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν δυτῶν πάντων· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπέλιπε, πλὴν
τὸ μὴ ὄν. πάντα δέ ἔστι τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν δυτῶν γινόμενα,
οὐκ[ι] μὴ ἐκ τῶν μὴ δυτῶν τὰ γὰρ μὴ δυτα οὐ φύσιν ἔχει;
τοῦ δύνασθαι γενέσθαι ⟨τι⟩, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τι [τὸ]
γενέσθαι· καὶ πάλιν τὰ δυτα εὐ φύσιν ἔχει [τοῦ μηδέποτ'
εἶναι] [[τί οὖν φῆσθαι]] τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ποτε. ὁ οὖν θεὸς οὐ κοῦς
ἔστιν, αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ ⟨νοῦν⟩ εἶναι. [οὐδὲ πνεῦμα, αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ
εἶναι πνεῦμα,] [οὐδὲ φῶς, αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ φῶς εἶναι.] 10
- 14 ὅθεν τὸν θεὸν δυσὶ ταῖταις ταῖς προσηγορίαις σέβεσθαι
δεῖ, ταῖς μόνῳ αὐτῷ προσφκειωμέναις καὶ ἄλλῳ οὐδενί. οὔτε
γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων λεγομένων θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε δαιμόνων
τις δύναται κάνειν καθ' ὅποσονοῦν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ή μόνος οὐ θεός.
[[καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι μόνον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο.]] τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα 15
⟨ἀ⟩χώρητά ἔστι τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσεως. σῶμα γάρ ἔστι καὶ
ψυχὴ τόπον οὐκ ἔχοντα χωρῆσαι δυνάμενον τὸ ἀγαθόν·
15 τοσοῦτον γάρ ἔστι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ μέγεθος, δυσὶν ἔστιν ⟨ἢ⟩
ὑπαρξίας πάντων τῶν δυτῶν, καὶ σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων,
καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν. ⟨⟨καὶ⟩⟩ τοῦτο ἔστι ⟨⟨μόνον⟩⟩ οὐ θεός, 20
⟨⟨καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο⟩⟩. μὴ οὖν εἰπῆς ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν ⟨ἢ μόνον
τὸν θεόν⟩, ἐπεὶ ἀσεβήσθαις ή ἄλλο τι ποτε τὸν θεὸν ή
16 μόνον τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἐπεὶ πάλιν ἀσεβήσθαις. λόγω μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ¹
πάντων λέγεται τὸ ἀγαθόν, οὐ νοεῖται δὲ τί ποτέ ἔστιν ὑπὸ²
πάντων διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ⟨ὅ⟩ θεὸς νοεῖται ὑπὸ πάντων· ἀλλ' 25
ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τινας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθοὺς
δομάζουσι, μηδέποτε δυναμένους μήτε εἶναι μήτε γενέσθαι ἄν.

1 δ οὖν θεός τί ἔστιν AQS: δ οὖν θεός ἔστιν Turn.: ταῦτ' οὖν τί ἔστιν codd.
Stob. | μηδέπερον scripsi: μηδὲν S: μηδὲ ἐν codd. cett. 1-2 ὑπάρχων,
ἄν δὲ codd. Corp.: ἄν, ἄν δὲ codd. Stob. 2 τούτοις αἴτιος codd. Stob.:
τούτων αἴτιος codd. Corp. | Post αἴτιος add. ἄν codd. Stob. | καὶ πάσι om.
QS 3 ἐν Patr.: ἐν codd. Stob.: ἐπὶ codd. Corp. | Post ἕκαστῷ add.
μέρει ἐφ' ἐκαπτον τούτων codd. Corp. | ὑπέλιπε, πλὴν scripsi: ὑπέλιπε πλέον
QS Turn.: ὑπέλιπε πλεῖον A 4 δυτῶν γενόμενα S: δυτῶν γενόμενα cett.
5 οὖν scripsi: οὐχὶ μὴ codd., Turn. | φροὶ (ν suprascr.) ἔχειν S: φύσιν ἔχει cett.
6 τὸ δύνασθαι QS: τὸν δύνασθαι cett. | γενέσθαι ἄλλα τὸν μὴ δύνασθαι om. S
6-7 τι γενέσθαι Parthey: τι τὸ γενέσθαι codd. 8 τί οὖν φῶς hinc ad § 12 b
transposui | οὐ νοῦς QS Turn.: ὁ νοῦς A 9-10 αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ εἶναι
πνεύμα AQS: om. Turn. 12 αὐτῷ om. S | καὶ ἄλλο S: καὶ ἄλλῳ cett.
13 ἄλλων λεγομένων codd.: fortasse ἀγαθῶν λεγομένων | θεῶν οὐτε secludendū?
Sed vide § 16 14 καθ' ὅποσονοῦν scripsi: καταπονοῦν codd.,
Turn. 15 μόνον om. S | καὶ τοῦτο . . . ἄλλο seclusi (vide § 15) | Fortasse ή μόνος οὐ θεός. ⟨⟨δ γὰρ θεὸς ἀγαθός ἔστιν, οὐ ἀπαντα διδοὺς καὶ μηδὲν
λαμβάνων⟩⟩ τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κ.τ.λ. (vide § 16 fin.) 16 ἀχώρητά scripsi: χώρητά

Ascl. What then is God?—*Herm.* God is He that is neither 13 Mind nor Truth,¹ but is the cause to which Mind and Truth,¹ and all things, and each several thing that is, owe their existence. Nothing is left over, except that which is not. And all things that come into being come out of things that are, not out of things that are not. For not such is the nature of things which are not, that they can come to be something ; their nature is such that they cannot come to be anything. And not such is the nature of things which are, that they can ever cease to be. God is not Mind then, but the cause to which Mind owes its being.

And so, in our worship of God, we ought to call him by 14 these two names ;² they belong to Him alone, and to none beside him. None of the other beings called ‘gods’, nor any man or daemon,³ can be good in any degree. God alone is good ; all other things⁴ are incapable of containing such a thing as the Good. Neither body nor soul has room enough in it to contain the Good ; for such is the greatness of the Good, that it is 15 coextensive with the existence of all things that are, things corporeal and things incorporeal, objects of sense and objects of thought together. And God is the Good, and nothing but the Good.⁵ Call nothing else good then, nothing but God ; it would be impious. And never call God anything but the Good ; that also would be impious. All men speak of the good, but some 16 do not understand what the Good is ; and hence it is that some do not understand what God is. And in their ignorance they call the gods good, and they call certain men good ; whereas gods and men can never be good, and cannot possibly become good.

¹ Or ‘Reality’.

² Viz. ‘God’ and ‘the Good’. But the writer of § 17 a took the two names to be ‘the Good’ and ‘the Father’.

³ Perhaps, ‘None of the other beings, whether men or daemons, that are called good’.

⁴ Perhaps, ‘can be good in any degree, but God alone. (⟨⟨God is good, inasmuch as he gives all things and receives nothing ;⟩⟩ but all other things’, &c.

⁵ Or perhaps, ‘And God alone (*μόνος*), and nothing but God, is the Good’.

codd., Turn. | γάρ εἰσι QS : γάρ ἔστι cett. 20-21 καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι μόνον ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο scripsi (vide § 14) : τοῦτο ἔστιν ὁ θεός Turn. : τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθόν· τοῦτο ἔστιν ὁ θεός AQS 21 εἴτεis QS 22-23 δεεβήσεις (bis) scripsi : δεεβῆς codd., Turn. 25 διὰ τοῦτο . . . ὥπλα πάντων fortasse secludendum 26 καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς secludendum ? | Post ἀγαθοὺς add. et eras. εἶναι man. pr. A 27 μήτε εἶναι om. QS

ἀλλοτριώτατον γάρ ἔστι *(τούτων τὸ ἀγαθόν)*, *(καὶ)* τοῦ θεοῦ *[καὶ]* ἀχώριστον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ὅν. θεοὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες *[ἀθάνατοι]* *(ἀγαθοὶ λέγονται)*, τετιμημένοι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίᾳ· ὃ δὲ θεὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν *(λέγεται)* οὐ κατὰ τιμήν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν· μία γὰρ ἡ φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ *(τῇ) τοῦ*⁵ ἀγαθοῦ *[καὶ ἐν γένος ἀμφοτέρων, ἐξ οὗ τὰ γένη πάντα].* *[δὲ γὰρ θεὸς ἀγαθός *(έστιν)*, ὡς ἀπαντα *[έστι]* διδοὺς καὶ μηδὲν λαμβάνων.]* *[δὲ οὖν θεὸς πάντα δίδωσι καὶ οὐδὲν λαμβάνει.]* ὃ οὖν θεὸς *(τὸ) ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὁ θεός.*

17a ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα προσηγορία ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς πάλιν, διὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν *τούτων* πατρὸς γὰρ τὸ ποιεῖν. διὸ καὶ μεγίστη *(τῶν)* ἐν τῷ βίῳ σπουδὴ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτη τούς εὐ φρονοῦσίν ἔστιν ἡ παιδοποία· καὶ μέγιστον ἀτύχημα καὶ ἀσέβημά ἔστιν ἀτεκνόν τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπαλλαγῆναι· *(ὅπερ ἔστι κατηραμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου.)* καὶ δίκην οὐτος δίδωσι μετὰ θάνατον τοῖς δαίμοσιν. ἡ δὲ τιμωρία ἔστιν ἡδε, τὴν τοῦ ἀτέκνου ψυχὴν *εἰς σῶμα καταδικασθῆναι μήτε ἀνδρὸς μήτε γυναικὸς φύσιν ἔχον.* *[ὅπερ ἔστι κατηραμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου.]* τοιγαροῦν, δὲ Ασκληπιέ, μηδενὶ ὅντι ἀτέκνῳ συνησθῆσαι, τούναντίον δὲ ἐλέγουσον τὴν συμφοράν, ἐπιστάμενος οἴα αὐτὸν μένει τιμωρία.

17b τοσαῦτά σοι καὶ τοιαῦτα λελέχθω, δὲ Ασκληπιέ, προγνωσία *τις τῆς πάντων φύσεως.*

LIBELLVS III

Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου λόγος ἱερός.

*(ὅτι) πρῶτος ἀπάντων ὁ θεός, καὶ θεῖον *(τὸ πᾶν)*, καὶ *(ἥ)* φύσις θεία.*

1a Ἀρχὴ τῶν ὄντων ὁ θεός, καὶ νοῦς⁶ καὶ φύσεως καὶ ὕλης⁷, *τοφίας⁸* εἰς δεῖξιν *(ποιήσας πάντα)*, πάντων ὥν ἀρχή· *(καὶ)* τοῦ⁹ θεοῦ¹⁰ *[καὶ]* *(ένέργεια)* ἡ φύσις *[καὶ]* *[ένέργεια]*, κατ' ἀνάγκην¹¹ καὶ τέλος καὶ ἀνανέωσιν *(ένεργοῦσα).*

2 ὦν Reitz. : ὦν AQS (etiam MC teste Reitz.) Turn. | οὖν om. Q : καὶ S pro οὖν 4 τεμὴν S : τιμὴν cett. 5-6 τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ scripsi: τὸ ἀγαθὸν codd., Turn. 6 γένος QS Turn. : γενόμενος A. Θ τὸ addidi (τάγαθὸν Patr.) 16 φύσιν om. QS | ἔχον QS Turn. : ἔχοντες A 23 πρῶτος ἀπάντων scripsi: δόξα πάντων codd., Turn.; quod ex aīo (= πρῶτος) ἀπάντων factum esse conicio 24-25 θεία ἀρχὴ A: θεία· καὶ ἀρχὴ QS Turn. 25 νοῦ καὶ φύσεως καὶ ὕλης scripsi: νοῦς καὶ φύσις καὶ ὕλη codd., Turn. 26 σοφίας εἰς δεῖξιν ποιήσας πάντα, πάντων ὥν ἀρχὴ scripsi: σοφία εἰς δεῖξιν ἀπάντων ὥν ἀρχὴ codd., Turn. 26-27 καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια ἡ φύσις scripsi: τὸ θεῖον καὶ

For the Good is utterly alien to gods and men;¹ but it is inseparable from God, for it is God himself. All the other gods are called good merely because men have sought to honour them by giving them a title which belongs to God; but God is called the Good not by way of honouring him, but because that is his nature; for the nature of God is one and the same with the nature of the Good. God then is the Good, and the Good is God.

And² the other name of God is 'Father'. He is called the Father, because he is the maker or begetter of all things; for it is the part of a father to beget. And for this reason the begetting of children is held by those who think aright to be the most weighty concern in human life, and the most pious of deeds. That a man should depart from life and leave no child is a great misfortune, and a great sin; it is a thing accursed in the sight of the Sun. Such a one is punished by the daemons after death; and the punishment is this, that the soul of the man who has no child is condemned to enter a body that is neither that of a man nor that of a woman. Therefore, Asclepius, never be glad on behalf of any man that he is childless, but pity his misfortune, knowing what manner of punishment awaits him.

Let this suffice. What I have taught you to-day, Asclepius,^{17 b} is a beginning of knowledge of the nature of all things.

LIBELLVS III

A holy discourse of Hermes Trismegistus.³

That God is the first of all things, and the universe is divine,⁴ and nature is divine.⁴

God is the source of all that is; He is the source of mind, and ^{1 a} of nature, and of matter. To show forth his wisdom has He made all things; for He is the source of all. And nature is a force by which God works; nature operates in subjection to necessity, and her work is the extinction and renewal of things.

¹ Perhaps, 'they call [] certain men good; whereas [] men can never', &c., and 'is utterly alien to [] men'.

² § 17 a was probably added by another person.

³ The text of Libellus III, as given in the MSS., is almost entirely meaningless, and sense can be made of it only by altering it largely.

⁴ I.e. derived from God, or dependent on God.

ἢ (ἢ om. A) φύσις καὶ ἐνέργεια codd., Turn. 27-28 κατ' ἀνάγκην scripsi : καὶ ἀνάγκη codd., Turn. 28 ἀναρέωσιν ἐνεργοῦσα scripsi : ἀναρέωσις codd., Turn.

- 1 b ήν γάρ σκότος [[ἀπειρον]] ἐν ἀβύσσῳ, καὶ ὑδωρ ⟨ἀπειρον⟩, καὶ πνεῦμα λεπτὸν νοερόν, δυνάμει θείᾳ ⟨....⟩ον τὰ ἐν χάει. ⟨ἀδιορίστων δὲ ὄντων ἀπάντων καὶ ἀκατασκευάστων,⟩ ἀνείθη δὴ φῶς ἄγιον. [[καὶ ἐπάγη ὑπ' ἄμμῳ ἐξ ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας]] ⟨καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ⟩ στοιχεῖα [καὶ θεοὶ πάντες]. [[καταδιαιροῦσι φύσεως 5 ἐνσπόρου]] [[ἀδιορίστων δὲ ὄντων ἀπάντων καὶ ἀκατασκευάστων]] ⟨τῶν γάρ⟩ ὅλων διορισθέντων⟩ ἀπεχωρίσθη τὰ ἐλαφρὰ εἰς ὕψος, ⟨ἀνακρεμασθέντος τοῦ πυρὸς τῷ πνεύματι ὁχεῖσθαι·⟩ καὶ τὰ βαρέα ⟨κατηνέχθη, καὶ⟩ ἐθεμελιώθη ὡφ' ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας ἄμμος, ⟨καὶ ἐπάγη ἡ ἔηρά> [ὑπ' ἄμμῳ] ἐξ 10 ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας.⟩ [πυρὶ] [[τῶν ὅλων διορισθέντων]] [καὶ] [[ἀνακρεμασθέντων πνεύματι ὁχεῖσθαι]].
- 2 b ⟨καὶ διηρθρώθη ἡ πυρίνη οὐσία σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ θεοῖς.⟩ καὶ ὥφθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐν κύκλῳ ἐπτά, καὶ θεοὶ [ταῖς] ἐν ἀστρων ἰδέαις ὀπτανόμενοι σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν σημείοις ἀπασι. [[καὶ 15 διηρθρώθη σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ θεοῖς]] καὶ περιειλίχθη τὸ [περικύκλιον] αἱθέριον κυκλίῳ δρομήματι, πνεύματι θείῳ ὁχούμενον.
- 3 a ἀνῆκε δὲ ἔκαστος θεὸς διὰ τῆς ἴδιας δυνάμεως τὸ προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐγένετο θηρία τετράποδα καὶ ἔρπετα καὶ ἔνυδρα 20 καὶ πτηνά, [καὶ πάσα σπορὰ ἐνσπορος] καὶ χόρτος καὶ ἀνθούς παντὸς χλόης, ⟨κατὰ διαίρεσιν φύσεων ἐνσπορα,⟩ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς [εἰς] περιμορούντα[ς].
- 3 b ⟨...⟩ τε γειέσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, [εἰς ἔργων θείων γνῶσιν, καὶ φύσεως ἐνεργούσης μαρτυρίαν, [καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων] 25 καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν δεσποτείαν, καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπίγνωσιν] εἰς τὸ αὐξάνεσθαι ἐν αὐξήσει καὶ πληθύνεσθαι ἐν πλήθει. καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνσαρκοῦσι ψυχὴν διὰ δρομήματος θεῶν ἐγκυκλίων, παρασκεγάσας εἰς κατοπτρέαν οὐρανοῦ [καὶ δρομήματος οὐρανίων θεῶν] ⟨καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν δεσποτείαν], 30 καὶ ⟨εἰς γνῶσιν θείας δυνάμεως⟩ [ἔργων θείων] καὶ φύσεως

1 ἐν codd., Turn. : fortasse ἐπ' | ἀφυσσω Κ: ἀβύσσῳ cett. 2 θείᾳ ὄντα ἐν codd., Turn. : fortasse θείᾳ δηκον τὰ ἐν | 3 ἀδιορίστων . . . ἀκατασκευάστων huc a § 2 a init. transposui 4 καὶ ἐπάγη . . . οὐσίας hinc ad § 2 a fin. transposui | ὡφ' ἄμμῳ ΚΣ | ὑγρὰ S: ὑγρᾶς cett. 5 καταδιαιροῦσι Turn. : καταδιερόσι A: καταδιαιρῶσι QS: καταδ. . . ἐνσπόρου hinc ad § 3 a transposui 7 ἀπεχωρίσθη scripsi: ἀποδιωρίσθη codd., Turn. Θ ἐφ QS: ὡφ' cett. 10 ὑγρὰ οὐσίᾳ ἄμμος scripsi: ὑγρὰ (ὑγρὰ S) ἄμμῳ codd., Turn. 10–11 καὶ ἐπάγη . . . οὐσίας huc a § 1 b transposui 14 ἐν (ante ἀστρων) om. S 18 περιειλίχθη scripsi: περιελήγη Α: περιελήγη QS: περιλήγει Turn. 17 αἰθέριον scripsi: ἀέρι codd., Turn. | κυκλί S: κυκλίς cett. 20 θηρία om. S | καὶ ἔρπετα om. S 21 καὶ . . . ἐνσπορος seclusi: fortasse κατὰ πᾶσαν σπορὰν ἐνσπορα 22 κατὰ κ.τ.λ. huc a § 1 b fin.

There was darkness in the deep,¹ and water without form ; and there was a subtle breath,² intelligent, which permeated³ the things in Chaos with divine power. Then, when all was yet undistinguished and unwrought, there was shed forth holy light ; and the elements came into being. All things were divided one from another, and the lighter things were parted off on high, the fire being suspended aloft, so that it rode upon the air ; and the heavier things sank down, and sand was deposited beneath the watery substance, and the dry land was separated out from the watery substance, and became solid.

And the fiery substance was articulated,⁴ with the gods therein ; and heaven appeared, with its seven spheres, and the gods, visible in starry forms, with all their constellations. And heaven revolved,⁵ and began to run its circling course, riding upon the divine air.

And each god,⁶ by his several power, put forth that which he was bidden to put forth. And there came forth four-footed beasts and creeping things and fishes and winged birds, and grass and every flowering herb, all having seed in them according to their diverse natures ; for they generated within themselves the seed by which their races should be renewed.

. . .⁷ And God ordained the) births of men, and bade mankind increase and multiply abundantly. And He implants each soul in flesh by means of the gods who circle in the heavens. And to this end did He make men, that they might contemplate heaven, and have dominion over all things under heaven, and that they might come to know God's power, and witness nature's workings,

¹ Or perhaps, 'upon the deep'.

² Or 'a fine airy substance', or 'a subtle spirit'.

³ Or perhaps, 'which was moving upon'.

⁴ Or 'was organized' ; that is, the mass of fire was fashioned into an ordered whole made up of distinct and interdependent parts.

⁵ Or 'was wrapped round (the world)'.

⁶ The 'gods' here spoken of are earth, water, and air, i.e. three of the four elements. (Fire, the fourth element, has already been dealt with.)

⁷ The making of man must have been here described in a passage now lost.

transposui | κατὰ διάρεσιν φύσεων ἐνσπορα scripsi : καταδιαιρόσι (-διαιρῶσι QS, -διερῶσι A) φύσεως ἐνσπόρου codd., Turn. 23 έαυτοίς A : αὐτοῖς QS Turn. | σπερμογονώντα scripsi : ἐσπερμολέγοντν τὰς codd., Turn. 24-26 εἰς ἔργων . . . ἀγαθῶν ἐπίγραψαν seclusi : hac duplicantur infra, vv. 31-2 inf. 24 θείων γράψων QS Turn. : γράψων θείων A 25 ἐνεργούσης scripsi : ἐνεργούσας codd., Turn. 27 εἰς τὸ codd., Turn. : fortasse ⟨ἐκέλ⟩ενσέ τε vel εἴπε τε 28 ἐνσπαρκοῦ scripsi : ἐν σπαρκὶ codd., Turn. 29 παρασκευάσας scripsi : περασπορίας codd., Turn. 30 καὶ πάντων . . . δεσποτείαν addidi (vide supra) 31 φύσεως QS Turn. : φύσεων A

ἐνεργείας «μαρτυρίαν», εἰς τε σημείω^(σιν) ἀγαθῶν [[εἰς γνῶσιν θείας δυνάμεως]], μοίρας ὁχλουμένης¹ γνῶναι ἀγαθῶν καὶ φαύλων, καὶ πᾶσαν [ἀγαθῶν] δαιδαλουργίαν εὑρεῖν.

4. *(ὑπάρχει) τε αὐτοῖς βιώσαί τε καὶ δοφ(αν)ισθῆναι πρὸς μοῖραν δρομήματος (έγ)κυκλίων θεῶν, καὶ ἀναλυθῆναι εἰς ὅλον (. . . καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνομαστοι) ἔσονται, μεγάλα ἀπομημονεύματα τεχνουργημάτων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταλιπόντες· (τῶν δὲ πολλῶν (τὰ) ὄνόματα (ό) χρόνος ἀμαυρώσει. καὶ πᾶσαν γένεσιν ἐμψύχου σαρκὸς καὶ καρποῦ σπορᾶς [καὶ πάσας τεχνουργίας] (διαδέξεται φθορά). τὰ (δὲ) ἐλαττούμενα ἀνατεωθῆσεται [άναγκῃ] [καὶ ἀγανεώσει] θεῶν [καὶ φύσεως] (έγ)κυκλίων ἐναριθμίῳ δρομήματι. το(ύ) γάρ θε[ι]ογύ (έκκρεμαται) ή πᾶσα κοσμικὴ σύγκρασις, φύσει ἀγανεούμενη· ἐν γάρ τῷ θε[ι]ῷ καὶ η φύσις καθέστηκεν.*

LIBELLVS IV

Ἐρμοῦ πρὸς Τάτ.

15

ο κρατήρ. [ἡ μονάς.]

* * * *

ia [[έπειδὴ τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς]] [οὐ χερσὶν ἀλλὰ λόγῳ] [[ώστε οὕτως ὑπολάμβανε, ως τοῦ παρόντος καὶ ἀεὶ δυτος καὶ πάντα ποιήσαντος καὶ ἐνὸς μόνου, τῇ δὲ αὐτοῦ θελήσει δημιουργήσαντος τὰ δύτα.]]

20

ib < . . . > τοιοῦτο γάρ ἔστι τὸ (ἀ)σώμα^(τον) [[έκείνου]], οὐχ ἀπτόν, οὐδὲ δρατόν, οὐδὲ μετρητόν, οὐδὲ διαστατόν, οὐδὲ ἄλλω τινὶ δόμοιον. οὕτε γάρ πῦρ ἔστιν (έκείνος), οὕτε ὑδωρ, οὕτε ἀήρ, οὕτε πνεῦμα· ἀλλα πάντα (ταῦ)τα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (γέγονεν).

1 μαρτυρίαν ad�idli (vide supra) | σημείωσιν scripsi: σημεῖα codd., Turn.
 2 μοίρας S Turn.: μοίρης AQ | ὁχλουμένης AQS Turn.: fortasse κεχωρισμένας | Foisasse (δια)γνῶναι 4 ὑπάρχει τε αὐτοῖς scripsi: ἀρχεται αὐτῶν AQ Turn. | βιώσητε καὶ S | ἀφανισθῆναι scripsi: σοφισθῆναι codd., Turn. 5 εἰς δὲ codd., Turn.: fortasse εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα 6 ἔσονται Turn.: ἔσται AQS 7-8 τὸν δὲ πολλῶν τὰ ὄνόματα δὲ χρόνος ἀμαυρώσει scripsi: ἐν ὄνόματι χρόνων ἀμαύρωσιν codd., Turn. 9 ἐμψύχου QS Turn.: ἐμψυχον A | πάσας scripsi: πάσης codd., Turn. 11-12 θεῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἐναριθμίῳ δρομήματι scripsi: θεῶν καὶ φύσεως κύκλου ἐναριθμίου δρομήματι codd.. Turn. 12-13 τὸν γάρ θεον ἐκκρέμαται ή scripsi: τὸ γάρ θεῖον ή codd., Turn. 31 ἀγανεούμενη Α: ἀναθεαρουμένη QS Turn. 14 θεῷ scripsi: θείῳ codd., Turn. | καθέστηκεν QS: συνέστηκεν (suprascr. καθ pr. man.) A: συγκαθέστηκεν Turn.

and that they might mark what things are good, and discern the diverse natures of things good and bad, and invent all manner of cunning arts.

And it is the lot of men to live their lives¹ and pass away according to the destiny determined by the gods who circle in the heavens, and to be resolved into the elements. And some there are whose names will live on, because they have left upon the earth mighty memorials of their handiwork ; but the names of the many time will hide in darkness. And every birth of living flesh, even as every growth of crop from seed, will be followed by destruction ; but all that decays will be renewed by the measured courses of the gods who circle in the heavens. For the whole composition of the universe is dependent on God, being ever renewed by nature's working ; for it is in God that nature has her being.

LIBELLVS IV

*A discourse of Hermes to Tat.**The Basin.*

* * * * *

Hermes. . . .² For the incorporeal is not a thing perceptible by touch or sight ; it cannot be measured ; it is not extended in space ; it is like nothing else. God is not fire, nor water, nor air, nor breath ; but all these things have been made by him.

¹ Perhaps, ‘to (be born and) live their lives’.

² It must have been said in the lost passage which preceded, that God is invisible to us, because he is incorporeal.

IV. 1 b, 2 init. : Stob. I. 1. 30, vol. i, p. 38 Wachsmuth (deest lemma) : τοῦτο γάρ ἔστι . . . γῆ γε κοσμήσαι.

IV. 10-11 b init. : Stob. I. 10. 15, vol. i, p. 127 W. : Ἐρμοῦ. ή γάρ μονάς . . . ὑπογέγραπται τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκών. Codices Stob. : FP.

15 Ερμον προς τατ Α : Ερμον του τρισμεγιστου προς τον εαυτου νιον τατ λογος S Turn. 16 ή μονάς scripsi : ή μονάς AQS : η μονας Turn. 17 ἐπειδὴ . . . δημονοργὸς hinc ad § 2 init. transposui 18-20 ὥστε . . . τὰ ὄντα hinc ad § 1b transposui 19 ex ξῶντος corr. ὄντος S 21 τοιοῦτο Heeren : τοῦτο codd. | δσώματον scripsi : σῶμα ἐκείνου codd. 22 οὐτε δρατόν Stob. I. 22-23 ἀλλο τινὶ QS 23 τινὶ ὅμοιον codd. Corp. : τινὶ σώματι ὅμοιον codd. Stob. 24 πάντα ταῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν scripsi : πάντα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ codd. Corp. : πάντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ codd. Stob.

⟨⟨ώστε οὕτως ὑπολάμβανε, ώς ⟨αὐ⟩τοῦ προόντος, καὶ ἀεὶ ὄντος,
καὶ πάντα ποιήσαντος [[καὶ]] ἐνδε ⟨⟨καὶ⟩⟩ μόνου, τῇ δὲ αὐτοῦ
θελήσει δημιουργήσαντος τὰ ὄντα.⟩⟩ ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁν, Γρόνῳ
έαυτῷ τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι¹.

2 ⟨⟨έπει δὲ τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργός,⟩⟩ 5
ἡθέλησε καὶ τὴν γῆν κοσμῆσαι· κόσμον δὲ θείου σώματος
κατέπεμψε τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, ⟨εἰκόνα⟩ ζῷου ἀθανάτου ζῶν
Θνητόν. [[καὶ ὁ μὲν κόσμος τῶν ζῶν ἐπλεονέκτει τοῦ ζῶν
καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν νοῦν.]] < . . . > θεατὴς
γὰρ [[έγένετο]] τῶν ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἀνθρωπός· καὶ <ἐπὶ τοῦ
τοῦτο ⟨⟨έγένετο⟩⟩, τὸ τὸν κόσμον> [ε]θαυμάσαι, καὶ [ε]γνωρίσαι
τὸν ποιήσαντα.

3 ⟨⟨καὶ ὁ μὲν κόσμος <. . . ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπός> τῶν ⟨ἄλλων⟩
ζῶν [ε]πλεονεκτεῖ [τοῦ ζῶν καὶ τοῦ κόσμου] τὸν λόγον καὶ
τὸν νοῦν.⟩⟩ τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον, ὁ Τάτ., [έν] πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 15
ἔμερισε, τὸν δὲ νοῦν οὐκέτι, οὐ φθορῶν τισιν· ὁ γὰρ φθόνος
οὐκ οὔρανόθεν ἀρχεται, κάτω δὲ συνίσταται ταῖς τῶν νοῦν
μὴ ἔχοντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς.—Διὰ τί οὖν, ὁ πάτερ, οὐ
πᾶσιν ἔμερισε τὸν νοῦν ὁ θεός;—Ἡθέλησεν, ὁ τέκνουν, τοῦτον
4 ἐν μέσῳ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥσπερ ἀθλον ἰδρύσθαι.—Καὶ ποῦ αὐτὸν 20
ἰδρύσατο;—Κρατῆρα μέγαν πληρώσας τούτου κατέπεμψε,
δοὺς κήρυκα, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κηρύξαι ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
καρδίαις τάδε: “Βάπτισον σεαυτὴν ἡ δυναμένη εἰς τοῦτον
τὸν κρατῆρα, ⟨⟨γνωρίζουσα ἐπὶ τί γέγονας,⟩⟩ <καὶ> [ή] πιστεύ-
ονσα δτι ἀνελεύσῃ πρὸς τὸν καταπέμφαντα τὸν κρατῆρα 25
[ή] [[γνωρίζουσα ἐπὶ τί γέγονας]].” ὅσοι μὲν οὖν συνῆκαν
τοῦ κηρύγματος, καὶ ἐβαπτίσαντο τοῦ νοός, οὗτοι μετέσχον
τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ τέλειοι ἐγένοντο ἀνθρωποι, τὸν νοῦν δεξά-

1-3 ὥστε . . . τὰ ὄντα hinc a § 1 transposui 1 αὐτοῦ πρόδοτος scripsi: τοῦ
παρόντος codd. 3-4 ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁν, μόνῳ οὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι (ἀναθῆναι F)
codd. Stob.: ἀγαθὸς ὁν, μόνῳ γάρ τούτῳ ἀνατέθειναι codd. Corp. Fortasse
ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁν (μόνος αὐτός!), (ἡθυσυνήθη πάντα) ἀγαθ(ά) εἴται (cf. Pl. 7im.
30 A) 5 ἐπει . . . δημιουργός hinc a § 1 transposui 6 κοσμήσας QS:
κοσμήσας cett. 7 κατέπεμψε QS Turn.: καὶ κατέπεμψε Α | ἀθανάτον,
καὶ ζῶν S 8-9 καὶ ὁ μὲν . . . τὸν νοῦν hinc aδ § 3 init. transposui
8 κόσμος τοῦ ζῶν QS 10 τῶν ἔργων QS Turn.: τοῦ ἔργου Λ 11 θαυμά-
σαι καὶ γνωρίσαι scripsi: θαύμασε καὶ ἐγνώρισε codd., Turn. 13 Fortasse
δ μὲν κόσμος ⟨⟨ζῶν θεῖον⟩⟩ 14 πλεονεκτεῖ scripsi: ἐπλεονέκτει codd., Turn.
16 οὐ φθονῶν τισιν· δὲ γὰρ φθόνος Turn.: οὐ φθονῶν τισι γὰρ δ φθόνος AQS
17 οὐρανόθεν scripsi: ἐνθον S: ἐνθεν codd. cett., Turn. | Fortasse (iv)
ταῖς | τῶν Q Turn.: τὸν AS 19 τοῦτον Α: τούτων QS Turn.
21 μέγαν Α: μὲν γὰρ QS Turn. | κατέπεμψε codd.: fortasse κατέστησε
23 κήρυκα Q: κήρυκα cett. | ex αὐτῷ corr. αὐτὸν S | κηρύξαι om. QS

You must understand then that God is pre-existent, and ever-existent, and that He, and He alone, made all things, and created by his will the things that are. For inasmuch as He is good,

...¹ And when the Creator had made the ordered universe, he ² willed to set in order ³ the earth also ; and so he sent down man, a mortal creature made in the image of an immortal being,⁴ to be an embellishment of the divine body.⁵ . . . For it is man's function to contemplate the works of God ; and for this purpose was he made, that he might view the universe with wondering awe, and come to know its Maker.

The Kosmos . . . ;⁶ but man has this advantage over all other ³ living beings, that he possesses speech and mind. Now speech, my son, God imparted to all men ; but mind he did not impart to all. Not that he grudged it to any ; for the grudging temper does not start from heaven above, but comes into being here below, in the souls of those men who are devoid of mind.—*Tat*. Tell me then, father, why did not God impart mind to all men ?—*Hermes*. It was his will, my son, that mind should be placed in the midst as a prize that human souls may win.—*Tat*. And where did he place it ?—*Hermes*. He filled a great ⁴ basin with mind, and sent it down to earth ;⁷ and he appointed a herald, and bade him make proclamation to the hearts of men : 'Hearken, each human heart ; dip yourself in this basin, if you can,⁸ recognizing for what purpose you have been made, and believing that you shall ascend to Him who sent the basin down.'⁹ Now those who gave heed to the proclamation, and dipped themselves in the bath of mind, these men got a share of *gnosis* ;⁹ they received mind, and so became complete men. But

¹ Perhaps, 'inasmuch as He is good, He willed that all things should be good'.

² Or, 'to embellish'.

³ The 'immortal being' is the Kosmos.

⁴ This 'divine body' is the earth.

⁵ Perhaps, 'is a divine being'.

⁶ Or perhaps, 'and set it among men'.

⁷ Perhaps, 'if you will'.

⁸ Perhaps, 'Him who sent you down (to earth)'.

⁹ I. e. knowledge of God.

23 δυναμένη codd. : fortasse Βουλομένη 24-25 ἡ πιστεύουσα . . . τὸν κρατῆρα om. QS 25 Fortasse πρὸς τὸν (σε) καταπέμφαντα [τὸν κρατῆρα] 27 μετέχον S : μετίσχον cett.

μενοι· δσοι δὲ ἡμαρτον τοῦ κηρύγματος, οὗτοι ⟨⟨οἱ⟩⟩ ⟨τὸν⟩ μὲν [[οἱ]] λόγ[ικ]ον ⟨ἔχοντες⟩, τὸν (δὲ) νοῦν μὴ προσειληφότες.
 5 [καὶ οὐτοι μέν], ἀγνοοῦντες ἐπὶ τί γεγόνασι καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος, [αἱ δὲ αἰσθήσεις τούτων ταῖς τῶν ἀλόγων ἔφων παραπλήσιαι]
 [καὶ ἐν θυμῷ καὶ ἐν] ὄργῃ [τὴν] (καὶ ἀ)κρασίᾳ ⟨συν⟩ἔχονται, 5 [οὐ] θαυμάζοντες ⟨τὰ⟩ οὐ [[τὰ]] θέας ἀξια, ταῖς [δὲ] τῶν σωμάτων ἡδοναῖς καὶ ὄρέξει προσέχοντες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν γεγονέναι πιστεύοντες. δσοι δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεᾶς μετέσχον, οὗτοι, ὁ Τάτ, κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν ἑτέρων ἀθάνατοι ἀντὶ θιντῶν εἰσί· πάντα (γὰρ) ἐμπειριλαβόντες τῷ 10 ἑαυτῶν νοῦ, τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ εἴ τι ἔστιν ὑπὲρ οὐρανόν, τοσοῦτον ἑαυτοὺς ὑψώσαντες εἶδον τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἰδόντες, συμφορὰν ἡγήσαντο τὴν ἐγκάθιδε διατριβήν, (καὶ) καταφρονήσατες πάντων τῶν σωματικῶν [καὶ ἀσωμάτων],
 6a ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ μόνον (ἀγαθὸν) σπεύδουσιν. αὔγη, ὁ Τάτ, 15 ή τοῦ νοῦ ἔστιν (ἐνέργεια), ἐπιστήμῃς τῶν θείων εὐπορίᾳ καὶ [ἥ] τοῦ θεοῦ κατανοήσεως [θείου ὄντος] [[τοῦ κρατῆρος]].—

6b Κάγὼ ⟨⟨τοῦ κρατῆρος⟩⟩ βαπτισθῆναι βουλομαι, ὁ πάτερ.—
 'Εὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸ σῶμα μισήσῃς, ὁ τέκνον, σεαυτὸν φιλήσαι 20 οὐ δύνασαι· φιλήσας δὲ σεαυτόν, νοῦν ἔξεις, καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχων, καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης μεταλήψη.—Πῶς ταῦτα λέγεις, ὁ πάτερ;—Ἄδυνατον γάρ ἔστιν, ὁ τέκνον, περὶ ἀμφότερα γίνεσθαι, τὰ θυητὰ δηλαδὴ καὶ τὰ θεῖα. δύο γὰρ ὅταν τῶν ὄντων, σώματος καὶ ἀσωμάτου, ἐν οἷς τὸ θυητὸν καὶ τὸ θεῖον, 25 ἡ αἵρεσις θατέρου καταλείπεται τῷ ἐλέσθαι βουλομένῳ. οὐ γὰρ [ἔστιν] ἀμφότερα [ἐν] οἰδί^ν τε [ἥ ἔξαιρεσις] καταλαβεῖν· τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἐλαττωθὲν τὴν τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐφανέρωσεν 7 ἐνέργειαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν [ἐνέργεια] τοῦ κρείττονος αἵρεσις [[οὐ μόνον]] τῷ ἐλομένῳ καλλίστη τυγχάνει, ⟨⟨οὐ μόνον⟩⟩ τὸν 30 ἀνθρωπὸν ἀποσώζογε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρὸς (τὸν) θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιδεικνῦσα. ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐλάττονος τὸν μὲν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀπώλεσεν,

1–3 οὗτοι οἱ τὸν μὲν λόγον ἔχοντες, τὸν δὲ νοῦν scripsi (αὐτοὶ μὲν τὸν λόγον, τὸν δὲ νοῦν Flussas): αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ λογικὸν τὸν νοῦν Turn.: αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ λογικοὶ τὸν νοῦν AQs 3 τίνος scripsi: τίνων codd., Turn. 4 ταῖς om. QS 5 ὄργῃ καὶ ὄκρασις συνέχονται scripsi: καὶ ἐν θυμῷ καὶ ἐν ὄργῃ (κ. ἐ. θ. καὶ ὄργῃ QS) τὴν κράσιν ἔχοντες codd., Turn. 8 τὸν QS Turn.: om. A Θ μετέσχοις S | τούτῳ QS: οὗτοι cett. | σύγκρησις QS | ἑτέρων scripsi: ἔργον codd., Turn. 11 ἑαυτῶν S | ἐπὶ γῆς A: ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς QS Turn. 13 καὶ (ante καταφρον.) addidit Reitz. 14 τῶν om S 16–17 ἐπιστήμης τῶν θείων εὐπορίᾳ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κατανοήσεως scripsi: ἐπιστήμη, τῶν θείων ἐντορίᾳ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ κατανόησις codd., Turn. 17 τοῦ (ante

those who failed to heed the proclamation, these are they who possess speech indeed, but have not received mind also. And 5 these, inasmuch as they know not for what purpose they have been made, nor by whom they have been made, are held under constraint by anger and incontinence ; they admire the things that are not worth looking at ;¹ they give heed only to their bodily pleasures and desires, and believe that man has been made for such things as these. But as many as have partaken of the gift which God has sent,² these, my son, in comparison with the others, are as immortal gods to mortal men. They embrace in their own mind all things that are, the things on earth and the things in heaven, and even what is above heaven, if there is aught above heaven ; and raising themselves to that height, they see the Good. And having seen the Good, they deem their sojourn here on earth a thing to be deplored ; and scorning all things corporeal, they press on to reach that which alone is good. Such, my son, is the work that mind does ; it throws open the 6a way to knowledge of things divine, and enables us to apprehend God.—

Tat. I too, father, would fain be dipped in that basin.— 6b *Hermes.* If you do not first hate your body, my son, you cannot love yourself ;³ but if you love yourself, you will have mind ; and having mind, you will partake of knowledge also.—*Tat.* What mean you, father ?—*Hermes.* It is not possible, my son, to attach yourself both to things mortal and to things divine. There are two sorts of things, the corporeal and the incorporeal ; that which is mortal is of the one sort, and that which is divine is of the other sort ; and he who wills to make his choice is left free to choose the one or the other. It is not possible to take both ; and when the one is slighted, then the working of the other becomes manifest. The choice of the better is glorious for the 7 chooser ; for it not only saves the man from perdition, but also shows him to be pious towards God. The choice of the worse is

¹ I. e. material things.

² This 'gift' is mind.

³ That is, your true self, which is incorporeal.

κρατήρος) om. QS 20 σῶμα μυῆσης Q: σῶμα μυῆσας S: σῶμά σου μυῆσης cett. 22 μεταλήψη QS Turn.: καταλήψη A | λέγης S: λέγεις cett. 24 γίνεσθαι, τὰ θυητὰ δηλαδὴ καὶ Turn.: γίνεσθαι, περὶ τὰ θυητὰ καὶ AQ S 25 τὸ (ante θεῖον) om. S 27-28 οἶν τε καταλαβεῖν scripsi : ἐν οἷς τε ἡ (ἐν οἷς ή S) ἔξαιρεται καταλείπεται codd., Turn. 28 τὴν τοῦ om. QS 31 ἀποσάνσοντα scripsi : ἀποθεῶσαι codd., Turn. 32 ἐπι-δικυνσα scripsi : ἐπιδικυνσιν codd., Turn.

- οὐδὲν δὲ *(ἥττοι)* εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐπλημμέλησεν [*ἢ τοῦτο μόνον*]: ὅτι καθάπερ αἱ πομπαὶ μέσον παρέρχονται, μήτε αὐταὶ ἐνεργῆσαι τι δυνάμεναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐμποδίζουσαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι μόνον πομπεύουσιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, παραγ[εν]ό-
- 8 a** μενοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν [*ἥδονῶν*]. τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων, 5 ὁ Τάτ, τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῖν [τε] ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὑπάρξει, τὰ δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀκολουθησάτω, καὶ μὴ ὑστερησάτω· ἐπεὶ δὲ μὲν θεὸς ἀναίτιος, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἴτιοι τῶν κακῶν, ταῦτα προκρίνοντες τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
- 8 b** *(...)* ὁρᾶσ, ὁ τέκνον, πόσα ἡμᾶς δεῖ σώματα *((κατὰ 10 συνέχειαν))* διεξελθεῖν, καὶ πόσους χοροὺς δαιμόνων [[καὶ συνέχειαν]] καὶ δρόμους ἀστέρων, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον θεὸν σπεύσωμεν. *(...)* ἀδιάβατον γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἀπέραντον, καὶ ἀτελές, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἀναρχον, ἡμῖν δὲ δοκοῦν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τὴν γνῶσιν. οὐκ αὐτοῦ *(γ)οῦν ((τοῦ γνωσθῆ- 15 σομένου))* ἀρχὴ γίνεται ἡ γνῶσις, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέχεται [[τοῦ γνωσθησομένου]]. λαβώμεθα οὖν τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ὁδεύσωμεν τάχει ἀπαντί. πάνυ γάρ ἐστι *(δύ)σκολ[ι]ον* τὸ τὰ συνήθη καὶ παρόντα καταλιπόντα ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ ἀρχαῖα ἀνακάμπτειν τὰ μὲν γὰρ φαινόμενα τέρπει, τὰ δὲ 20 ἀφανῆ δυσπιστίαν ποιεῖ. φανερώτερα δέ ἐστι τὰ κακά· τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἀφανὲς τοῖς φανεροῖς· οὐ γὰρ μορφὴ οὕτε τύπος ἐστιν αὐτῷ. *((ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀσώματον σώματι φανῆναι))* διὰ τοῦτο, *(ὅτι)* αὐτῷ μέν ἐστιν δρόμοιον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἀνόμοιον. [[ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀσώματον σώματι φανῆναι.]] [αὐτῇ 25 διαφορὰ τοῦ δρόμου πρὸς τὸ ἀνόμοιον, καὶ τῷ ἀνομοίῳ ὑστέρημα πρὸς τὸ δρόμοιον.]
- 10** *(...)* [[*ἢ γὰρ μονάς, πάντων οὖσα ἀρχὴ καὶ φίλα*]] *(οὐ γὰρ θεὸς)* ἐν πᾶσιν ἐστιν ὡς ἀν φίλα καὶ ἀρχὴ. ἀνευ δὲ ἀρχῆς οὐδέν· αἵτη δὲ *(ἢ ἀρχὴ)* ἐξ οὐδενὸς ἀλλ' ἢ [ἔξ] αὐτῆς, εἰ γε 30

1 δὲ *(post οὐδὲν)* om. S | ἐπλημμέλησεν S 2 αὐταὶ Reitz.: αὐται AQS (etiam MC teste Reitz.) et Turn. 4 πομπεύουσιν S 4-5 παρ- γόμενοι Patr.: παραγένομενοι AQS (etiam MC teste Reitz.) et Turn. 7 ἡμῶν QS Turn.: ἡμῶν A 10 ἡμεῖς S: ἡμᾶς cett. 11 χωροὺς S: χοροὺς cett. 12 δρόμους QS Turn.: δρόμον A 13 θεὸν om. QS | Fortasse τὸ ἐν καὶ μόνον ἀγαθὸν (vide § 5, fin.) 15 ἔχειν QS Turn.: ἔχει Λ | αὐτοῦ A: αὐτῷ QS Turn. | γοῦν scripsi: οὖν codd., Turn. 17 λαβό- μεθα QS: λαβώμεθα cett. 18 ἀπαντί scripsi: ἀπαντί codd., Turn. | δισ- κολον scripsi: σκολιὸν AQS Turn. 20 ἀνακάπτω S: ἀνακάμπτειν cett. 21 δυσπιστίαν scripsi: δυσπιστεῖν codd., Turn. | φανερώτερα QS Turn.: φανερώτατα A 23 αὐτῷ QS Turn.: αὐτοῦ A 26 ἀνομίων S: ἀνο- μοίῳ cett. 28 πάντων οὖσα QS Turn.: οὖσα πάντων A, codd. Stob.

perdition to the man, and is likewise an offence against God ; for as processions pass through the midst of the people, but can do nothing themselves, and obstruct the way for others, even so these men merely pass in procession in the Kosmos, led along by things corporeal. This being so, my son, God has done his 8 a part towards us, and will do it ; it is for us to do our part accordingly, and not to fall short. For God is blameless ; it is we that are to blame for our evils, if we choose the evils in preference to the goods.

. . . You see, my son, through how many bodily things in 8 b succession we have to make our way, and through how many troops of daemons and courses of stars, that we may press on to the one and only God.¹ . . .² For we can never reach the farther boundary of the Good ; it is limitless, and without end ; and in itself, it is without beginning, though to us it seems to begin when we get knowledge of it. For the thing to be known 9 does not itself begin to be when we get knowledge of it ; it is only for us that our knowledge makes it begin. Let us then lay hold on this beginning, and make our way thither with all speed ; for it is hard for us to forsake the familiar things around us, and turn back to the old home whence we came.³ Things seen delight us, and things unseen give rise to disbelief. Now the things that are evil are more manifest to sight ; but the Good cannot be seen by things manifest ;⁴ for it has no form or shape. It is impossible that an incorporeal thing should be manifested to a thing that is corporeal ; because the incorporeal is like to itself, but unlike to all else.⁵

. . . God is in all things, as their root and the source of 10 their being. There is nothing that has not a source ; but the source itself springs from nothing but itself, if it is the source

¹ Perhaps, ‘to Him who alone is good’, or ‘to that which alone is good’.

² Perhaps, ‘(But when we have once attained to the Good, it will never fail us)’.

³ I.e. to the world of the ‘incorporeal’ and ‘divine’, whence we were ‘sent down’ to earth.

⁴ I.e. by our bodily eyes.

⁵ The writer assumes that a thing can be seen or known only by that which is like it.

29 ἐν πᾶσιν ἔστιν ὁς ἀν φίλα codd. Stob. : om. codd. Corp. | καὶ ἀρχή
ἀνεψ δὲ codd. Stob. : καὶ ἀρχὴ οὐσα· ἀνεψ δὲ codd. Corp. 30 αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ⁶
scripsi: ἀρχὴ δὲ codd. | οὐδενὸς ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτῆς scripsi: οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς
codd. Stob. : οὐδενὸς ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς codd. Corp. | εἰ γέ codd. Stob.: ἐπει codd.
Corp.

ἀρχή ἔστι τῶν ἑτέρων. [αὐτὴ γὰρ *(αὐτῆς)* ἔστιν *((ἀρχῆ))*, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἔτυχεν] [οὗσα]. μονάδι οὖν *(ἔοικεν δὲ θεός) [ἀρχῆ]]*. *((ἢ γὰρ μοιάς, πάντων οὗσα *(ἀριθμῶν)* ἀρχὴ καὶ ρίζα,))* πάντα ἀριθμὸν ἐμπεριέχει, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐμπεριεχομένη, καὶ πάντα ἀριθμὸν γεννᾷ, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς γεννω- 5

II a μένη ἑτέρου ἀριθμοῦ. πᾶν δὲ τὸ γεννώμενον ἀτελές, καὶ διαιρετόν, καὶ αὐξητὸν καὶ μειωτόν· τῷ δὲ τελείῳ οὐδὲν τούτων γίνεται. [καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐξητὸν αὐξάνεται ἀπὸ τῆς μονάδος, ἀλίσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας, μηκέτι δυνάμενον τὴν μονάδα χωρῆσαι.]¹⁰

II b αὐτῇ σοι, ὦ Τάτ., κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ὑπογέγραπται τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκὼν· ἡν̄ ἀκριβῶς εἰ θεάσῃ [καὶ νοήσεις] τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς, πίστευσόν μοι, τέκνον, εὑρήσεις τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἄνω ὅδον· μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὴ σε ἡ [εἰκὼν] *(θέα)* ὁδηγήσει. ἔχει γάρ τι ἕδιον *Γὴ θέα*¹¹. τὸν φθάσαντας θεάσασθαι κατέχει, καὶ ἀνέλκει καθάπερ φασὶν ἡ *Μαγνῆτις λίθος* τὸν σίδηρον.

LIBELLVS V

Ἐρμοῦ πρὸς Τὰτ. νιόν.

ὅτι ἀφανῆς *(...)* θεὸς φανερώτατός ἔστι.

I a Καὶ τόνδε σοι τὸν λόγον, ὦ Τάτ., διεξελεύσομαι, ὅπως μὴ ἀμύητος ἡς τοῦ κρείττονος θεοῦ ὀνόματος. σὺ δὲ νόει πῶς ²⁰ *(λέγων* νοοῦντι γὰρ) τὸ δοκοῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀφανὲς φανερώτατόν σοι γενήσεται.

I b *(...)* Γού γὰρ ἀν ἡν̄ εὶ ἀφανὲς ἡν̄.¹ πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον γεννητόν ἐφάνη γάρ. τὸ δὲ ἀφανὲς ἀεὶ ἔστι· τοῦ γὰρ φανῆναι οὐ χρήσει. *(...)* ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔστι· καὶ τὰ ²⁵ ἀλλα πάντα φανερὰ ποιεῖ, αὐτὸς ἀφανῆς ὁν, ὡς ἀεὶ ὁν.

1-2 αὕτη γάρ ἔστιν, ἵνει μὴ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἔτυχεν οὖσα codd. Corp. : om. codd. Stob. 2-3 μονάδι οὖν ἔοικεν δὲ θεός scripsi : μονὰς οὖν ἀρχὴ A : μονάδι οὖν ἡ ἀρχὴ QS Turn. : μονὰς οὖσα οὖν ἀρχὴ codd. Stob. 4 πάντα ἀριθμὸν ἐμπ. codd. Stob. : καὶ πάντα ἀριθμὸν ἐμπ. codd. Corp. 5-6 γεννομένη A : γεννωμένη cett. 7 διαιρετόν codd. Stob. : ἀδιαιρέτον AQS Turn. | τῷ δὲ τελείῳ codd. : fortasse τῷ δὲ ἀγενήτῳ 8-10 καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐξητὸν . . . χωρῆσαι codd. Corp. : om. codd. Stob. 11 σοι codd. Corp. : οὖν codd. Stob. | δυνατὸν codd. Corp. : δυνατὸν σοι codd. Stob. 14 ἔχει δέ QS : ἔχει γάρ cett. 15 ἡ θέα (post. ἕδιον) codd. : fortasse τὸ θεῖον vel τὸ ἀγαθόν 16 λίθος om. QS

of all else. God then is like the unit of number. For the unit, being the source of all numbers, and the root of them all, contains every number within itself, and is contained by none of them ; it generates every number, and is generated by no other number. Now everything that is generated is **11a** incomplete, and divisible, and subject to increase and decrease ; but that which is complete¹ is subject to none of these things.

In these outlines, my son, I have drawn a likeness of God for **11b** you, so far as that is possible ; and if you gaze upon this likeness with the eyes of your heart, then, my son, believe me, you will find the upward path ; or rather, the sight itself will guide you on your way. For the . . .² has a power peculiar to itself ; it takes possession of those who have attained to the sight of it, and draws them upward, even as men say the loadstone draws the iron.

LIBELLVS V

*A discourse of Hermes to his son Tat.
That God is hidden from sight, and yet is most manifest.*

This doctrine also, Tat, I will expound to you, that you may **1a** not remain uninitiated in the mysteries of Him who is too mighty to be named God. Grasp the meaning of my words ; for if you grasp it, that which seems to the many to be hidden will become most manifest to you.

. . .³ For all that is manifest has been brought into being ; **1b** for it has been manifested. But that which is hidden is ever-existent ; for it has no need to be manifested. . . ; for God is ever-existent ; and He makes manifest all else, but He himself is hidden, because He is ever-existent. He manifests all

¹ Perhaps, 'that which is not generated'.

² Perhaps, 'that which is divine', or 'the Good'.

³ Perhaps, 'for it would not have been ever-existent, if it had not been hidden'.

17 'Ερμοῦ πρὸς Τάτ τινα Α : 'Ερμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου πρὸς τὰν ἔαντοῦ τιὸν Τάτ
QS Turn. 18 Fortasse ὅτι $\langle\pi\eta\ \mu\eta\rangle$ ἀφανῆς $\langle\bar{\omega}\rangle$ θεός, $\langle\pi\eta\ \delta\delta\rangle$ φανερώτατος
ἔστι. 20 ἀμύνητος S : ἀμύνητος cett. 22 γένηται QS 23 Fortasse
οὐ γάρ ἐν $\langle\delta\epsilon\iota\rangle$ ἦν εἰ $\langle\mu\eta\rangle$ ἀφανὲς ἦν 24 ἀφίει S : ἀφανὲς cett.

(πάντα οὖν) φανερῶν, αὐτὸς οὐ φανεροῦται, οὐκ αὐτὸς γενιώμενος ἐν φαντασίᾳ, [[δὲ]] πάντα ⟨⟨δὲ⟩⟩ φαντασιῶν. ἡ γὰρ φαντασία μόνων τῶν γεννητῶν ἔστιν· οὐδὲν γάρ ἔστιν ἡ φαντασία ἡ γένεσις. ὁ δὲ εἰς ἀγέννητος ⟨⟨ῶν⟩⟩ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἀφαντασίαστος· ⟨εἰ δὲ ἀφαντασίαστος,⟩ καὶ ἀφανής.

5

2 τὰ δὲ πάντα φαντασιῶν, διὰ πάντων φαίνεται, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι· καὶ μάλιστα οἷς ἀν αὐτὸς βουληθῇ φανηναι. σὺ οὖν, ὁ Τάτ· τέκνον, εὑρέσαι πρῶτον τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ πατρί, [καὶ] ⟨τῷ⟩ μόνῳ καὶ [οὐχ] ἐν ⟨ἀγαθῷ⟩ [ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ οὐδὲν ἐστι], ἵλεω τυχεῖν, [[ἴνα δυνηθῆς τὸν τηλικοῦτον θεὸν νοῆσαι,]] καὶ ἀκτῖνά σοι το κάνει μίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ σῇ διανοίᾳ Ἑλλάμψαι, ⟨⟨ἴνα δυνηθῆς τὸν τηλικοῦτον [θεὸν] νοῆσαι.⟩⟩ νόησις γὰρ μόνη δρᾶ τὸ ἀφανές, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀφανής οὖσα· ⟨εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν σοὶ ἀφανές ἔστι σοι, πῶς αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ⟨ῶν⟩ διὰ τῶν διφθαλμῶν σοι φανήσεται;⟩⟩ εἰ ⟨δὲ⟩ δύνασαι τοῖς τοῦ νοῦ διφθαλμοῖς ⟨⟨ἰδεῖν⟩⟩, 15 φανήσεται, ὁ Τάτ· ἀφθόνως γὰρ ὁ κύριος φαίνεται διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κέσμου [νόησιν] [[ἰδεῖν]]. ⟨καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ θεάσασθαι⟩⟩ καὶ λαβέσθαι αὐτῆς ταῖς χερσὶ δύνασαι [[καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ θεάσασθαι]]. [[εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν σοὶ ἀφανές ἔστι σοι, πῶς αὐτὸς ἐν σαυτῷ διὰ τῶν διφθαλμῶν σοι 20 φανήσεται;]]

3 εἰ δὲ θέλεις αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, νόησον τὸν ἥλιον, νόησον τὸν σελήνης δρόμον, νόησον τῶν ἀστέρων τὴν τάξιν. τίς δὲ τὴν τάξιν τηρῶν; [τάξις γὰρ πᾶσα] [[περιώρισται ἀριθμῷ καὶ τόπῳ]] ὁ ἥλιος [[θεὸς]] μέγιστος τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν θεῶν, 25 φάνταστος εἰκουσιν οἱ οὐρανοὶ θεοὶ ὡσανεὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ δυνάστῃ· καὶ οὗτος δ τηλικοῦτος ⟨⟨θεός⟩⟩, δ μείζων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ἀνέχεται ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν ἔχων ἑαυτοῦ μικροτέρους πολεύοντας ἀστέρας· τίνα αἰδούμενος, ἡ τίνα φοβούμενος, ὁ τέκνον; ἔκαστος τούτων τῶν ἀστέρων ⟨περιώρισται ἀριθμῷ 30 καὶ τόπῳ⟩· διὰ τί οὐχ [[τὸν]] δμοιον ἡ ἴσον ⟨⟨τὸν⟩⟩ δρόμον ποιοῦνται ⟨πάντες οἱ⟩ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὄντες; τίς δ ἐκάστῳ τὸν 4 τρόπον καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ δρόμου δρίσας; ⟨ἡ⟩ ἄρκτος, ⟨ἡ⟩ αὐτὴ [[ἡ]] περὶ αὐτὴν στρεφομένη, καὶ τὸν πάντα

3-4 ἡ φαντασία ἡ scripsi : ἡ φαντασία ἡ codd., Turn. 4 δὴ scripsi : δὲ codd., Turn. 6 φαίνονται S: φαίνεται cett. 7 φαίνειν A: φανεῖται QS Turn. 8 ὁ Τάτ· τέκνον QS Turn.: τέκνον τάτ A 10 τῶν S: τὸν cett. | καὶ scripsi : κάνειν codd., Turn. 11 μία S: μίαν cett. | Ἑλλάμψαι scripsi : Ἑλλάμψαι codd., Turn. 14 αὐτὸς Turn.: αὐτὸν A: ἑαυτὸν QS | ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὡν scripsi : ἐν σαυτῷ codd., Turn. 16 ἀφθόνως scripsi : ἀφθόνως codd., Turn. 17 ἰδεῖν AQS: λαβεῖν Turn. 18 αὐτῆς scripsi :

things, but is not manifested ; He is not himself brought into being in images presented through our senses, but He presents all things to us in such images. It is only things which are brought into being that are presented through sense ; coming into being is nothing else than presentation through sense.¹ It is evident then that He who alone has not come into being cannot be presented through sense ; and that being so, He is hidden from our sight.

But He presents all things to us through our senses, and thereby manifests himself through all things, and in all things ; and especially, to those to whom He wills to manifest himself. Begin then, my son Tat, with a prayer to the Lord and Father, who alone is good ; pray that you may find favour with him, and that one ray of him, if only one, may flash into your mind, that so you may have power to grasp in thought that mighty Being. For thought alone can see that which is hidden, inasmuch as thought itself is hidden from sight ; and if even the thought which is within you is hidden from your sight, how can He, being in himself, be manifested to you through your bodily eyes ? But if you have power to see with the eyes of the mind, then, my son, He will manifest himself to you. For the Lord manifests himself ungrudgingly through all the universe ; and you can behold God's image² with your eyes, and lay hold on it with your hands.

If you wish to see Him, think on the Sun, think on the course of the Moon, think on the order of the stars. Who is it that maintains that order ? The Sun is the greatest of the gods in heaven ; to him, as to their king and over-lord, all the gods of heaven yield place ; and yet this mighty god, greater than earth and sea, submits to have smaller stars circling above him. Who is it then, my son, that he obeys with reverence and awe ? Each of these stars too is confined by measured limits, and has an appointed space to range in. Why do not all the stars in heaven run like and equal courses ? Who is it that has assigned to each its place, and marked out for each the extent of its course ? The Bear, who revolves upon herself, and carries round with her the whole

¹ Or, ' presentation through sense is nothing else than coming into being '.

² I e. the Kosmos.

αὐτᾶς codd., Turn. 22 αὐτὸν S : αὐτὸν cett. 24 τυρῶν QS : τηρῶν
cett. 25 τύπω S : τύπω cett. 29 πολεύοντας A Turn. : πολιτεύοντας
QS Flussas 30 Fortasse τούτων ἐκαστος τῶν δατ. 31 οὐδὲ δμοιον
ἡ ἵσον τὸν δρόμον scripsi : οὐ τὸν δμοιον ἡ ἵσον δρόμον codd., Turn.
32 παιώντα S : παιώνται cett. 33 τόπον scripsi : τρόπων codd., Turn.
34 στρεφομένην S : στρεφομένη cett.

κόσμον συμπεριφέρουσα, *(... τίς δ . . . ; δ ἀλήρ . . .)* τίς δ τούτο κεκτημένος τὸ δργανον; τίς δ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοὺς δρους περιβαλών; τίς δ τὴν γῆν ἐδράσας; ἔστι γάρ τις, ὁ Τάτ, ὁ τούτων πάντων ποιητὴς καὶ δεσπότης· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἡ τόπον ἡ ἀριθμὸν ἡ μέτρον φυλαχθῆναι χαρὶς τοῦ ποιήσαντος. πᾶσα γὰρ τάξις *(ποιητή, μόνη δὲ ἡ)* ἀτοπία καὶ ἀμετρία ἀποίητος. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδέσποτος οὐδὲ αὐτη, ὁ τέκνον καὶ γὰρ εἰ τι ἀτακτόν ἐστιν, ἑνδεὲς δτε κατέχει τούτον ἐστι τὸν τρόπον τῆς τάξεως.⁷ καὶ *(γὰρ ἡ ἀταξία)* ὑπὸ τὸν δεσπότην ἐστί, τὸν μηδέπω αὐτῇ τὴν τάξιν τάξαντα.

10

5 εἴθε δυνατόν σοι ἦν πτηνῷ γενομένῳ ἀγαπητῆναι εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ μέσον ἀρθέντα [τῆς] γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ ιδεῖν γῆς μὲν τὸ στερεόν, θαλάσσης δὲ τὸ κεχυμένον, ποταμῶν δὲ τὰ φεύματα, ἀέρος τὸ ἀνειμένον, πυρὸς τὴν δέντητα, ἀστρων τὸν δρόμον, οὐρανοῦ τὴν ταχύτητα τῆς περὶ ταῦτα περιβάσεως.¹⁵ ὁ θεας ἐκείνης, τέκνον, εύτυχεστάτης, ὑπὸ μίαν φοπὴν πάντα ταῦτα *(φερόμενα ιδόντα)* θεάσασθαι τὸν ἀκίνητον διὰ *(τῶν κινητῶν)* κινούμενον, καὶ τὸν ἀφανῆ φαινόμενον δι' ὃν ποιεῖ.

6 αὐτῇ ἡ τάξις τοῦ κόσμου [καὶ οὐτος ὁ κόσμος τῆς τάξεως]. εἰ *(δὲ)* θέλεις καὶ διὰ τῶν θνητῶν *(αὐτὸν)* θεάσασθαι τῶν ἐπὶ²⁰ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν βυθῷ, *(. . .)*. νόησον, ὁ τέκνον, δημιουργούμενον ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, καὶ τοῦ δημιουργήματος ἀκριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐξέτασον, καὶ μάθε τίς δημιουργῶν τὴν καλὴν ταύτην καὶ θείαν *[τοῦ ἀνθρώπου]* εἰκόνα. τίς δ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς περιγράψας; τίς δ τὰς ρίνας καὶ τὰ ὀτα²⁵ τρυπήσας; τίς δ τὸ στόμα διανοίξας; τίς δ τὰ νεῦρα ἐκτείνας καὶ δεσμεύσας; τίς δ ὀχετεύσας τὰς φλέβας; τίς δ τὰ ὀστέα στερροποιήσας; τίς δ *(τὸ)* δέρμα τῇ σαρκὶ περιβαλών; τίς δ τοὺς δακτύλους διελών; τίς δ τοῖς ποσὶ *(τὴν)* βάσιν πλατύνας; τίς δ διορύξας τοὺς πόρους; [[τίς δ τὸν σπλῆνα³⁰ ἐκτείνας;]] τίς δ τὴν καρδίαν πυραμοειδῆ ποιήσας, *(καὶ)* *[τίς δ]* τὰ νεῦρα *(αὐτῇ)* συνθείς; τίς δ τὸ ἥπαρ πλατύνας;

2 δ τῇ θαλάσσῃ Turn.: δ θαλάσση QS: ὁ τῆς θαλάσσης A 8 τάξις QS Turn.: τάξις ἀμετρία (sed ἀμετρία eras. man. pr.) A 8-7 ἀτοπία καὶ ἀμετρίᾳ A: ἀτοπίᾳ, καὶ ἀμετρίᾳ Turn. 7 οὐδὲν S: οὐδὲ cett. 8 εἰ τι scripsi: εἰ τὸ codd., Turn. 8-9 Fortasse *(οὐκ)* ἑνδεές *(ἐστι)* *(τοῦ τάχοντος)* εἰ τι κατέχεται τοῦτον [[]] τὸν τρόπον τῇ ἀταξίᾳ 10 τὸν *(ante δεσπότην)* QS Turn.: om. A 15 τῆς . . . περιβάσεως scripsi: τὴν . . . περιβασιν codd., Turn. 17-18 διὰ τῶν κινητῶν κινούμενον scripsi: διακινούμενον codd., Turn. 19 αὐτῇ codd.: fortasse τοιαντη 20-21 ἐπὶ γῆς A: ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς QS Turn. 24 τὴν καλὴν

Kosmos, . . . ; who is it that has . . . ? The air . . . ;¹ who is it that owns this instrument? Who is it that has confined the sea within its bounds, and fixed the earth firm in its seat? Some one there must be, my son, who is the Maker and the Master of all these; it could not be that place and limit and measure should be observed by all, if there were not one who has made them. For all order must have been made; it is only that which is out of place and out of measure that has not been made. And yet, my son, even that which is out of place and out of measure is not without a master. If there is aught that is in disorder, . . . ;² for disorder also is subject to the Master, but he has not yet imposed order upon it.

Would that it were possible for you to grow wings, and soar 5 into the air! Poised between earth and heaven, you might see the solid earth, the fluid sea and the streaming rivers, the wandering air, the penetrating fire, the courses of the stars, and the swiftness of the movement with which heaven encompasses all. What happiness were that, my son, to see all these borne along with one impulse,³ and to behold Him who is unmoved moving in all that moves, and Him who is hidden made manifest through his works!

Such is the order of the universe. But if you wish to see Him 6 through mortal creatures also, both those on earth and those in the depths of the sea, Think, my son, how man is fashioned in the womb; investigate with care the skill shown in that work, and find out what craftsman it is that makes this fair and godlike image. Who is it that has traced the circles of the eyes, that has pierced the orifices of the nostrils and the ears, and made the opening of the mouth? Who is it that has stretched the sinews out and tied them fast, and dug out the channels of the veins? Who is it that has made the bones hard, and covered the flesh with skin? Who is it that has separated the fingers, and shaped the broad surface of the soles of the feet? Who is it that has bored the ducts? Who is it that has shaped the heart into a cone, and joined the sinews to it, that has made the liver broad,

¹ Perhaps, ‘. . . ; who is it that has imposed this task upon her? The air is the instrument by which life is conveyed to all creatures upon earth;’.

² Perhaps, ‘it is not without one who will bring it to order, if there is anything that is thus possessed by disorder’.

³ Or, ‘to see all these in one moment of time’.

ταύτην QS Turn.: ταύτην τὴν καλὴν Α 26 δροῖς S: διαροῖς cett.
30 τοὺς (ante πάρους) om. QS | τὴν σπλῆνα QS

⟨τίς ὁ τὸν σπλῆνα ἔκτείνας;⟩ τίς ὁ τὸν πνεύμονα σηραγγώσας;
 τίς ὁ τὴν κοιλίαν εὐρύχωρον ποιήσας; τίς ὁ τὰ τιμιώτατα
 7 εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐκτυπώσας, καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ κρύψας; ἵδε
 πόσαι τέχναι μίας ὥλης, καὶ πόσα ἔργα ⟨ἐν⟩ μιᾷ περιγραφῇ·
 καὶ πάντα περικαλλῆ, καὶ πάντα μεμετρημένα, πάντα δὲ ἐν 5
 διαφορᾷ. τίς πάντα ταῦτα ἐποίησε; πολὺ μήτηρ, ποῖος
 πατήρ, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀφανῆς θεός, ⟨δ⟩ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θελήματι πάντα
 8 δημιουργήσας; καὶ ἀνδριάντα μὲν ἡ εἰκόνα χωρὶς ἀνδριαν-
 τοποιοῦ ἡ σωγράφου οὐδεὶς φησι γεγονέναι· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ
 δημιουργημα χωρὶς δημιουργοῦ γέγονεν; ὁ τῆς πολλῆς 10
 τυφλότητος, ὁ τῆς πολλῆς ἀσεβείας, ὁ τῆς πολλῆς ἀγνω-
 μοσύνης. μηδέποτε, ὁ τέκνον Τάτ, ἀποστερήσῃς τοῦ
 δημιουργοῦ τὰ δημιουργήματα· μᾶλλον δὲ ⟨...⟩.

9 [κρείττων ἐστὶν ὅσος κατὰ θεὸν ὀνόματος τοσοῦτος.¹]
 ⟨τίς γὰρ ἄλλος⟩ ἐστὶν ὁ πάντων πατήρ; ἡ γὰρ ⟨οὐ⟩ μόνος 15
 οὗτος; καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον ἐστί, ⟨τὸ⟩ πατέρα εἶναι.
 εἰ δέ τι με καὶ τολμηρότερον ἀνάγκη[ζεις] εἰπεῖν, τούτου
 ἐστὶν ⟨ἡ⟩ οὐσία τὸ κινεῖν πάντα καὶ ποιεῖν· καὶ ὥσπερ χωρὶς
 τοῦ ποιοῦντος ἀδύνατόν ἐστι γενέσθαι τι, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον
 δεῖ μὴ εἶναι, εἰ μὴ πάντα ἀεὶ ποιοῦντα, ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἐν ἀέρι, 20
 ἐν γῇ, ἐν βυθῷ, ἐν παντὶ τοῦ κόσμου (μέρει), ἐν παντὶ [τοῦ
 παντὸς] τῷ δόντι καὶ τῷ μὴ δόντι. οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐν παντὶ²
 ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτός. ἐστιν αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ δόντα καὶ τὰ
 μὴ δόντα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δόντα ἐφανέρωσε, τὰ δὲ μὴ δόντα ἔχει ἐν
 ἑαυτῷ.

10 a - οὗτος ὁ θεοῦ ὀνόματος κρείττων. οὗτος ὁ ἀφανῆς, οὗτος
 ὁ φανερώτατος. οὗτος ὁ τῷ νοῖ θεωρητός, οὗτος ὁ τοῖς
 ὄφθαλμοῖς ὀρατός. οὗτος ὁ ἀσώματος, (οὗτος) ὁ πολυσώματος,
 μᾶλλον δὲ παντο[s]σώματος. οὐδέν ἐστιν [[οὗτος]] δὲ οὐκ
 ἐστικ[ν] ⟨(οὗτος)⟩· πάντα γὰρ ⟨δ⟩ ἐστι καὶ οὗτος ἐστι. καὶ 30
 διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ὀνόματα ἔχει ἀπαντα, διὰ τοῦτο πάντα
 ἐστὶ πατρός· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ὄνομα οὐκ ἔχει, διὰ τοῦτων
 ἐστὶ πατήρ.

1 σηραγγώσας Flussas: σηραγγώσας Q Turn.: συρραγγώσας S: σιραγγώσας A
 2 τίς τὴν κοιλίαν (om. δ) QS Turn.: ὁ τὴν κοιλίαν (om. τίς) A 5-6 ἐνδιά-
 φορα Q: ἐνδιάφορά S: ἐν διαφορῇ cett. 12 ἀποστερήσῃς Q Turn.: -σεις
 A: ex -σεις corr. -σης S 14 καὶ κρείττων Turn.: καὶ κρείττον Q: κρείττον
 (om. καὶ) AS | δόσος Q Turn.: δόδος S: δόσον A | κρείττον . . . τοσοῦτος
 seclusi. Fortasse [κρείττων ἐστὶν οὗτος καὶ] τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνόματος [τος] οὗτος
 ⟨...⟩: vide § 10 a init. 16 αὐτῷ QS Turn.: αὐτὸς A 17 ἀνάγκη
 scripsi: ἀναγκάζεις codd., Turn. 18 κινεῖν scripsi: κίνειν codd., Turn.

and the spleen long, and hollowed out the cavities of the lungs, and made the belly capacious? Who is it that has so fashioned the most honourable parts that all may see them, and concealed the parts that are unseemly? See how many crafts have been 7 employed on one material, and how many works of art are enclosed within one compass! All are beautiful, all true to measure, yet all are diverse one from another. Who produced all these? What mother, or what father? Who but the hidden God, who has wrought all things by his own will? No one says 8 that a statue or a portrait has come into being without a sculptor or a painter; and has such a work as this come into being without a Maker? How blind men are! How impious, how obtuse! Never, my son, deprive the things made of their Maker; but rather . . .

For who else is the Father of all? Surely, He alone; and it is 9 his work to be father. Nay, if I needs must speak with some boldness, I will even say that it is his very being to set all things in motion,¹ and to make all things; and as it is impossible for anything to come into being without a maker, so too it needs must be that He does not exist, if he is not ever making all things, in heaven, in air, on earth, and in the deep, in every part of the Kosmos, in all that is and in all that is not. For in all this there is nothing that He is not. He is both the things that are and the things that are not; for the things that are He has made manifest, and the things that are not He contains within himself.

Such is He who is too great to be named God. He is hidden, 10 a yet most manifest. He is apprehensible by thought alone, yet we can see Him with our eyes. He is bodiless, and yet has many bodies, or rather, is embodied in all bodies. There is nothing that He is not;² for all things that exist are even He. For this reason all names are names of Him, because all things come from Him, their one Father; and for this reason He has no name, because He is the Father of all.

¹ MSS.: 'to give birth to all things.'

² Or, 'that is not He'.

20 δεῖ scripsi: δεῖ codd., Turn. 20-21 ἐν δέρι ἐν γῇ AQS: ἐν γῇ, ἐν δέρι Turn. 21-22 ἐν παντὶ τοῦ παντὸς om. QS 23 ὄντα καὶ Turn.: ὄντα· αὐτὸς καὶ AQS 24 μὴ ὄντα QS Turn.: μὴ ἔχοντα A 26 θεοῦ QS Turn.: θεὸς A 26-28 ὁ (sexies) secludendum? 29 παντοσώματος scripsi: παντὸς σώματος codd., Turn. 30 ἀ add. Flussas 31 αὐτὸς Turn.: om. AQS

- io b** τίς οὖν σε εὐλογῆσαι ὑπέρ σου ἡ πρός σε δύναιτο;
 ποῦ δὲ καὶ βλέπων εὐλογήσω σε, ἄνω, κάτω, ἔσω, ἔξω;
 cù γὰρ $\langle\delta\rangle$ τ[ρ]όπος ⟨τῶν δυτῶν⟩· οὐ τόπος ἐστὶν ⟨⟨ἄλλος⟩
 οὐδεὶς⟩ παρὰ σέ [οὐδὲ] [[ἄλλο οὐδὲν]] [[τῶν δυτῶν]], πάντα δὲ
 ἐν σοι. 5
- ⟨...⟩ πάντα ἀπὸ σοῦ πάντα δίδωσ, καὶ οὐδὲν λαμβάνεις.
 πάντα γὰρ ἔχεις, καὶ οὐδὲν δὲ οὐκ ἔχεις.
- ii** πότε δέ σε ύμνησω; οὕτε γὰρ ὥραν ⟨χωρίς⟩ σου οὔτε
 χρόνον καταλαβεῖν δυνατόν.
- ὑπὲρ τίνος δὲ καὶ ύμνησω $\langle\sigma\epsilon\rangle$; ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐποίησας, ἡ ὑπὲρ 10
 ων οὐκ ἐποίησας; ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐφανέρωσας, ἡ ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐκρυψας;
- διὰ τίνος δὲ καὶ ύμνησω σε; ὡς ἐμαυτοῦ ὁν; ὡς ἔχων
 τι ἴδιον; ὡς ἄλλος ὁν; σὺ γὰρ εἰ δ [ϵ] ἀν δ, σὺ εἰ δ ἀν ποιῶ,
 σὺ εἰ δ ἀν λέγω. σὺ γὰρ πάντα εἰ, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐστιν
 δ μὴ οὐ εἰ. σὺ εἰ πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον, σὺ τὸ μὴ γενόμενον. 15
 νοῦς μὲν ⟨εἰ⟩, νοούμενος πατήρ δέ, δημιουργῶν θεὸς δέ,
 ἐνεργῶν ἀγαθὸς δέ, [καὶ] πάντα ποιῶν.
- [ὕλης μὲν γὰρ τὸ λεπτομερέστερον ἀήρ, ἀέρος δὲ ψυχή,
 ψυχῆς δὲ νοῦς, νοῦ δὲ θεός.]

LIBELLVS VI

Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου.

20

ὅτι ἐν μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ.

- i a** Τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, [ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐστιν εἰ μὴ ἐν μόνῳ
 τῷ θεῷ. μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸς ἐστιν δὲ θεός [άει].
 εἰ δὲ οὐτως,] οὐσίαν εἶναι δεῖ πάσης κινήσεως καὶ γενέσεως
 ἔρημον [δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν], αὐτὴν ⟨⟨δὲ⟩⟩ περὶ [[δὲ]] αὐτὴν στατι- 25
 κήν ἐνέργειαν ἔχουσαν, ἀνενδεῆ καὶ ⟨παθῶν⟩ ἀπείρητον,

1 τί QS: τίς cett. | δύναιτο Turn.: om. AQS 2 καὶ om. S 3 οὐ
 γὰρ δ τόπος τῶν δυτῶν scripsi: οὐ γὰρ τρόπος codd., Turn. 3-4 ἐστὶν ἄλλος
 οὐδεὶς παρὰ σέ scripsi: ἐστὶ περὶ σέ codd., Turn. 6 Fortasse ⟨τίνα δέ σοι
 πέμψω θυσίαν;⟩ πάντα γὰρ ἀπὸ σοῦ 11 ὁν (ante ἐκρυψας) om. S
 12 τίνος scripsi: τί codd., Turn. 13 ἐὰν AQS (etiam MC teste Reitz.),
 Turn.: ἀν Reitz. | σὺ εἰ δ ἀν ποιῶ om. S 14 εἰ, καὶ ἄλλο AS: εἰ, τὸ
 ἄλλο Q Turn. 15 δ μὴ σὺ εἰ. σὺ εἰ πᾶν scripsi: δ μὴ ἐστι. σὺ εἰ πᾶν
 QS Turn.: δ μὴ ἐστιν σύ εἰ σύ πᾶν Λ 17 καὶ seclusit Reitz. 18-19 ὕλης
 . . . θεός secluserunt edd. recentiores 18 τὸ om. Q 19 δὲ θεός QS: δὲ
 δ θεός cett.

Who then can speak of Thee or to Thee, and tell Thy praise? **10 b**
 Whither shall I look when I praise Thee? Upward or downward, inward or outward? For Thou art the place in which all things are contained; there is no other place beside Thee; all things are in Thee.

(And what offering shall I bring Thee? For) all things are from Thee. Thou givest all, and receivest nothing; for Thou hast all things, and there is nothing that Thou hast not.

And at what time shall I sing hymns to Thee? For it is **11** impossible to find a season or a space of time that is apart from Thee.

And for what shall I praise Thee? For the things Thou hast made, or for the things Thou hast not made? For the things Thou hast made manifest, or for the things Thou hast concealed?

And wherewith shall I sing to Thee? Am I my own, or have I anything of my own? Am I other than Thou? Thou art whatsoever I am; Thou art whatsoever I do, and whatsoever I say. Thou art all things, and there is nothing beside Thee, nothing that Thou art not. Thou art all that has come into being, and all that has not come into being. Thou art Mind, in that Thou thinkest; and Father, in that Thou createst; and God, in that Thou workest; and Good, in that Thou makest all things.

*A discourse of Hermes Trismegistus.
 That the Good is in God alone, and nowhere else.*

The Good, Asclepius, must be a thing that is devoid of all **12 a** movement and all becoming, and has a motionless activity that is centred in itself; a thing that lacks nothing, and is not assailed by perturbations;¹ a thing that is wholly filled with supplies (of all

¹ Or 'passions'.

21 τῷ om. S 24 Pro εἴναι fortasse νοεῖν | δεῖ om. QS 25 αὐτὴν
 δὲ περὶ αὐτῆν scripsi: αὐτῆς· περὶ δὲ αὐτῆν codd., Turn. 26 ἔχονταν
 scripsi: ἔχοντα codd., Turn. | παθῶν ἀπείρητον scripsi: ἀπείριτον A Turn.:
 ἀπέριττον QS Flussas

πληρεστάτην χορηγ(ημάτ)ων. [[έν δὲ ἀρχῇ πάντων]] πᾶν γὰρ τὸ χορηγοῦν ἀγαθὸν [ὕταν] λέγεται. «έν δὲ ἀρχῇ πάντων,» καὶ πάντα καὶ ἀεὶ *(χορηγοῦν, τὸ)* ἀγαθόν ἔστι.

1b τοῦτο δὲ [έν] οὐδενὶ ἀλλῳ πρόσεστιν εἰ μὴ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ. οὔτε γὰρ ἐνδεής ἔστι τίνος, ἵνα ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτὸς κτήσασθαι 5 κακὸς γένηται· οὔτε τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητόν ἔστιν αὐτῷ, δὲ ἀποβαλλὸν λυπηθήσεται· [λύπη γὰρ κακίας μέρος] οὔτε κρείττον αὐτοῦ ἔστιν οὐδέν, ὑφ' οὐ *(«ἀδικηθεῖς»)* πολεμήσει· οὔτε σύζυγόν ἔστιν αὐτῷ, [τὸ *(«ἀδικηθῆναι»)*] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο] [αυτοῦ] οὐ ἐρασθήσεται· οὔτε ἀνήκοον, ὡς ὀργισθήσεται· οὔτε 10 σοφώτερον, δὲ ζηλώσει. τούτων δὲ μὴ *(έν)όντος* τῇ οὐσίᾳ *(αὐτοῦ)* μηδενός, τί οὐπολείπεται η μόνον τὸ ἀγαθόν;

2a ὥσπερ *[γὰρ]* οὐδὲν τῶν *(κακῶν)* ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ οὐσίᾳ, οὗτος ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀλλων τὸ ἀγαθὸν εὑρεθήσεται. ἐν πάσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀλλοις πάντα ἔστι *(κακά)*, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ 15 ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἔισα] καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ *(ψώφῳ* τῷ πάντων μείζοις καὶ δυνατωτάτῳ. παθῶν γὰρ πλήρη τὰ γενητά, αὐτῆς τῆς γενέσεως παθητῆς οὐσης. ὅπου δὲ πάθος, οὐδαμοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν· ὅπου δὲ τὸ ἀγαθόν, οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲ ἐν πάθος. ὅπου γὰρ ἡμέρα, οὐδαμοῦ νῦξ· ὅπου δὲ νῦξ, οὐδαμοῦ 20 ἡμέρα. θεοὶ ἀδύνατον ἐν γενέσει εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἐν μόνῳ δὲ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ.

2b ὥσπερ δὲ μετουσίᾳ πάντων ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ὥλῃ δεδομένη, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀγαθὸς δὲ κόσμος, καθὰ καὶ αὐτὸς πάντα ποιεῖ, *(ώς)* ἐν τῷ μέρει τοῦ ποιεῖν 25 ἀγαθὸς εἶναι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοις πάσιν οὐκ ἀγαθός· καὶ γὰρ παθητός ἔστι *[καὶ κινητὸς]* καὶ παθητῶν ποιητής.

3a [[έν δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ κακὸν τέτακται· τὸ γὰρ μὴ λίαν κακὸν ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν]] *[έστι.]* [[τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν μόριον τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον.]] 30 ἀδύνατον οὖν *[τὸ ἀγαθὸν]* *(τὰ)* ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας.

1 χορηγημάτων scripsi: χορηγόν codd., Turn. | ἐν δὲ ἀρχῇ (ἀρχῇ A) πάντων AQS: ἐν δὲ ἀρχῇ πάντων Turn. 2 γὰρ τὸ χορηγοῦν AQS: γὰρ χορηγοῦ Turn. Fortasse γὰρ τὸ *(ὅτιον)* χορηγοῦν | λέγεται scripsi: λέγω codd., Turn. 3 καὶ πάντα AQS: καὶ πάντως Turn. 4 τοῦτο QS: τοῦτο cert. 5 Fortasse *tīnos* *(ὁ θεός)* 6 κακὸς γένηται Parthey: κακὸς γενέσθαι A: κακῶς κέκτηται QS: κακὸς κέκτηται Turn. | οὔτε τῶν AQS: οὐδὲ τῶν Turn. 7 ίψι οὐδὲν κέκτηται Turn. 8 ίψι οὐδὲν κέκτηται Turn. 9 οὔτε σύζυγόν scripsi: οὐδὲ σύζυγόν codd., Turn. 10 οὐ scripsi: αὐτοῦ codd., Turn. 11 ἐνόντος scripsi: ὄντων codd., Turn. 12 Fortasse δὲ | κακῶν add. Flussas 15 τοῖς ἀλλοις scripsi: τὰ ἀλλα codd., Turn. 16 ἐν scripsi: ἔνα codd., Turn. | αὐτῷ A: ταυτῷ QS Turn. 17 Fortasse δυνατωτέρῳ 18 ὅπο δὲ πάθος S 19-20 οὐδὲ

that is desired). Everything that furnishes any sort of supply is called good ; but the Good is the one thing which is the source of all things, and supplies all things at all times.

And this belongs to none save God alone. There is nothing ^{1 b} that God lacks, so that he should desire to gain it, and should thereby become evil. There is nothing that God can lose, and at the loss of which he might be grieved. There is nothing stronger than God, to do him wrong, and so provoke him to quarrel. God has no consort, to excite in him the passion of love ; no disobedient subject, to rouse anger in him ; there is none wiser than God, to make him jealous. And since his being admits of none of these passions, what remains, save only the Good ?

But as no evil can be found in such a being, even so the Good ^{2 a} cannot be found in any other. In all other things all is evil, in things small and great alike, in each thing severally, and in the one living being that is greater than all, and mightiest of all.¹ For all things that come into being are full of perturbations, seeing that the very process of coming into being involves perturbation. But wherever there is perturbation, there the Good cannot be, and wherever the Good is, there no perturbation at all can be ; even as wherever day is, night cannot be, and wherever night is, day cannot be. Hence the Good cannot be in things that come into being, but only in that which is without beginning.²

Yet as participation in all (the ideal archetypes of things) is ^{2 b} distributed in the world of matter, so also participation in the Good. And in this way the Kosmos too is good, in that the Kosmos also makes all things,³ and so, is good in respect of its function of making things. But in all other respects the Kosmos is not good ; for it is subject to perturbation, and the things which it makes are subject to perturbation. It is impossible then ^{3 a} for things in this world to be pure from evil ; and that which is

¹ Viz. the Kosmos.

² Or, 'only in Him who is without beginning'. In either case, the meaning is 'in God'.

³ The Kosmos 'makes things', i.e. produces living organisms, working in subordination to God, who is the supreme 'Maker'.

Ἐν πάθος Α : οὐδὲν πάθος QS : οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πάθος Turn. 21-24 Didymus *De Trinitate* 2, 3 (*Testim.*) : ὅθεν εἴρηται καὶ τῷ Ἐρμῇ τῷ ἐπίκλητῳ Τρισμεγίστῳ· “ἄδυτοντος ἐν γενέσει . . . οὐτων καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ” 23 ἐν om. Didymus | δέδομένη codd. Corp., Turn., Didymus: fortasse διαδέδομένη 25 ὡς add. Flussas 27 γάρ om. QS 28-29 ἐν δὲ . . . ἐνθάδε τῷ ἀγαθόνι hinc ad § 3 b transposui

«*(τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθόν, ^{φῶς} μόριον τοῦ κακοῦ [τὸ] ἐλάχιστον.)*»
κακοῦται γὰρ ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν. [κακούμενον γὰρ οὐκέτι ἀγαθὸν μένει· μὴ μεῖναν δέ, κακὸν γίνεται.]

3 b ἐν μόνῳ ἄρα τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἀγαθόν ἔστιν [*ἥ αὐτός ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν*]. «*ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν λέλεκται· τὸ γὰρ μὴ λίαν κακὸν ἐνθάδε [τὸ] ἀγαθὸν)*» (*προσείρηται*). μόνον οὖν, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, τὸ δύναμα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὐδαμοῦ· ἀδύνατον γάρ. οὐ γὰρ χωρεῖ σῶμα ὑλικόν, τὸ πάντοθεν ἐσφιγμένον κακίᾳ, καὶ πόνοις καὶ ἀλγήδοσι, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ὥργαις, 10 καὶ ἀπάταις καὶ δόξαις ἀνοήτοις. καὶ τὸ πάντων κάκιστον ἔστιν, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, ὅτι ἔκαστον τούτων τῶν προειρημένων [*εμ*] πεπίστευται ἐνθάδε [τὸ] μέγιστον εἶναι ἀγαθόν, τὸ μᾶλλον ἀνυπέρβλητον κακόν. [*ἥ γαστριμαργία*] [*ἥ*] τῶν κακῶν πάντων χορηγὸς ἡ πλάνη *(ἀύτη)* [*ἥ [[ἀπουσία]]*] ἐνθάδε τοῦ 15 *ἀγαθοῦ*] ἔστι. κάγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ, τῷ εἰς νοῦν μοι βαλόντι κάνω περὶ τῆς *[γνώσεως]* *([[ἀπουσίας]])* τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἔστιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ κόσμος πλήρωμά ἔστι τῆς κακίας, δὲ θεὸς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ [*ἥ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*].

20 4 b *(...)* Γαῖ γὰρ ἔξοχαί τῶν καλῶν περὶ αὐτῆν εἰσι τὴν οὐσίαν φαίνονται καὶ καθαρότεραι καὶ εἰλικρινέσταται τάχα που καὶ αὗται αἱ οὐσίαι ἔκείνου.² τολμητέον γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, ὅτι ἡ οὐσία τοῦ θεοῦ, εἴ γε οὐσίαν ἔχει, τὸ καλόν ἔστι [τὸ δὲ καλὸν] καὶ *(τὸ) ἀγαθόν.* *(ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων)* 25 οὐδὲν ἔστι καταλάμψις πεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. πάντα γάρ τὰ ὄφθαλμῷ ὑποπίπτοντα εἰδωλά ἔστι, καὶ ὥσπερ σκιαγραφίαι· τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑποπίπτοντα *(...)*, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ *(...)*. καὶ ὥσπερ ὄφθαλμὸς οὐ δύναται τὸν θεὸν ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐτοῦ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα γάρ τοῦ μέρη τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστιν, *[[[όλόκληρα,]]]* ἵδια αὐτοῦ μόνου, οἰκεῖα, ἀχώριστα, *([[όλόκληρα,]])* ἐρασμιώτατα, ὃν [*ἥ*] αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς 30 5 ἔρα [*ἥ αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔρα*]. εἰ δύνασαι νοῆσαι τὸν θεόν, νοῆσεις τὸ καλὸν καὶ *(τὸ) ἀγαθόν, [τὸ ὑπέρλαμπρον]* τὸ *ὑπερλαμπόμενον*³ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔκείνο γὰρ τὸ κάλλος 35

2 ἐνθα δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κακούμενον Q | γὰρ ομ. QS 5-8 τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν Flussas: τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ κακὸν AQS Turn. 8 λέλεκται scripsi: τέτακται AQS Turn. 7 προσείρηται addidi. Cf. Didymus l. c.: κατὰ σύγκρισιν δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν . . . τέτακται τὸ γὰρ μὴ λίαν κακὸν . . . ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε προσείρηται 9 ἡ γὰρ S: οὐ γὰρ cert. | Fortasse χωρεῖ *(αὐτὸς)* 13 πεπίστευται scripsi: ἐμπεπίστευται codd., Turn. 14 ἀνυπέρ-

good in this world is that which has the smallest share of evil ; for in this world the good becomes evil.

The Good then is in God alone. In man, that which is called 3 b good is so called in comparison with evil ; for that which is not evil beyond measure is named good. Thus in men, Asclepius, it is only the name of the Good that is present ; the thing itself is nowhere to be found. It is impossible ; for there is not room for the Good in a material body, hemmed in and gripped as such a body is by evil,—by pains and griefs, desires and angry passions, delusions and foolish thoughts. And what is worst of all, Asclepius, each of these things of which I have spoken is in this world believed to be the greatest good, whereas it is rather an evil than which none is greater. This error it is that leads the train of¹ all the evils. And for my part, I thank God for this very 4 a thought that he has put into my mind, even the thought that the Good is absent, and that it is impossible for it to be present in the Kosmos. For the Kosmos is one mass of evil, even as God is one mass of good.

... For we need not fear to say, Asclepius, that the very being 4 b of God, if ‘being’ can be ascribed to God, is the Beautiful and the Good. But it is not possible that the light of the Beautiful and the Good should shine on anything in the Kosmos. For all things which the eye can see are mere phantoms, and unsubstantial outlines ; but the things which the eye cannot see are the realities, and above all, the ideal form of the Beautiful and the Good. And as the eye cannot see God, so it cannot see the Beautiful and the Good. For the Beautiful and the Good are parts of God ; they are properties of God alone ; they belong to God, and are inseparable from him ; they are without blemish, and most lovely, and God himself is in love with them. If you 5 are able to apprehend God, then you will apprehend the Beautiful and the Good, . . .² For that Beauty is incomparable, and that

¹ Or, ‘supplies’ or ‘furnishes’.

² Perhaps, ‘which are the light that God sheds forth around him’.

θλυτον S | τῶν καν̄ S : τῶν κακῶν cett. 17 βαλλόντι S : βαλόντι cett.
 22 εἰλικρινέσταται A : εἰλικρινέστεραι cett. 23 αἱ οὐσαι Q : αἱ οὐσαι S :
 αἱ οὐσίαι cett. 25 ἐστι καὶ τὸ δύαθόν scripsi : ἐστι τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ δύαθόν
 codd., Turn. 26 καταλάμπεσθαι scripsi : καταλαβέσθαι codd., Turn.
 26-27 γάρ τὸ QS : γάρ τῷ cett. : fortasse γάρ τὸ τῷ 27 σκιαγραφίαι S :
 σκιογραφίαι Q Turn. 28 Fortasse (ἀληθῆ) 29 Fortasse (ἰδέα)
 30 οὐδὲ scripsi : οὐτε codd., Turn. 30-31 γάρ μέρη AQ : γάρ μέρει S : γάρ
 τὰ μέρη Turn. 34 τὸ ὑπέρλαμπρον QS Turn. : τὸ ὑπέρλαμπτον A.

ἀσύγκριτον, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀμίμητον, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεός. ὡς οὖν τὸν θεὸν νοεῖς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὐδεὶς. ἀκοινώνητα γὰρ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις [τῶν ἄλλων ζῷων] ἔστι, διὰ τὸ ἀχώριστα εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐὰν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ζητῆς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ζητεῖς. μία γάρ ἔστιν εἰς 5 αὐτὸς ἀποφέρουσα ὁδὸς ἡ μετὰ γνώσεως εὐσέβεια.

6 ὅθεν οἱ ἀγγοοῦντες, καὶ μὴ ὁδεύσαντες τὴν [περὶ] τῆς εὐσέβειας ὁδὸν, καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τολμῶσι λέγειν ἀνθρωπον, μηδὲ ὅναρ θεασάμενον εἴ τι ἔστιν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ παντὶ κακῷ περιειλημένον, καὶ τὸ κακὸν πιστεύσαντα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ 10 οὕτως αὐτῷ χρώμενον ἀκορέστως, καὶ φοβούμενον αὐτοῦ στερηθῆναι, πάντα δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενον ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἔχῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανέξῃ. τοιαῦτα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἀγαθὰ καὶ [τὰ] καλά, ὡς Ἀσκληπιέ, ἀ οὔτε φυγεῖν δυνάμεθα οὔτε μισήσαι· τὸ γὰρ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ὅτι χρέαν αὐτῶν ἔχομεν, καὶ ζῆν 15 τούτων χωρὶς οὐ δυνάμεθα.

LIBELLVS VII

[Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου.]

ὅτι μέγιστον κακὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγνωσία.

1a Ποῖ φέρεσθε, ὃ ἀνθρωποι, μεθύοντες, τὸν τῆς ἀγνωσίας 20 ἀκρατὸν [λόγον] ἐκπιόντες; δν οὐδὲ φέρειν δύνασθε, ἀλλ' ἡδη αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμεῖτε. στῆτε νήψαντες, ἀναβλέψαντες τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ εἰ μὴ πάντες δύνασθε, οἵ γε καὶ δυνάμενοι.

1b ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀγνωσίας κακία ἐπικλύει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, 25 καὶ συσσύρει τὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι κατακεκλεισμένην ψυχήν, μὴ ἐώσα ἐνορμίσασθαι τοῖς τῆς σωτηρίας λιμέσι. μὴ

1 Post ἀσύγκριτον add. S καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ κάλλος ἀσύγκριτον | ἀγαθὸν ἀμίμητον QS Turn.: ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀμίμητον A: fortasse ἀγαθὸν ἀλαλητον 5 ζητῆς Turn.: ζητεῖς QS : ζητῆς ex ζητεῖς corr. man. pr. A | ἔστιν εἰς Α: ἔστιν ἡ εἰς QS Turn. 5-6 Fortasse περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ (καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ) ζητεῖς. μία γάρ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὰ 9-10 μηδὲ ὅναρ . . . κακῷ προειλημένον bis scriptum Q 10 περιειλημένον scripsi: προειλημένον codd., Turn. 14 μισῆσε QS: μισῆσαι cett.

18 ὑπερὶ S: ἡ περὶ cett. 22 ἐκεῖτε S: ἐμεῖτε cett. | νήψαντες S: νήψαντες cett. 22-23 τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς QS Turn.: τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

Good is inimitable,¹ even as God himself is. As then you apprehend God, even so you must apprehend the Beautiful and the Good. For they are incomunicable to all other things, because they are inseparable from God. If you seek knowledge of God, you are also seeking knowledge of the Beautiful.² For there is one road alone that leads to the Beautiful,² and that is piety joined with knowledge of God.

Hence those who have not that knowledge, and have not travelled on the road of piety, are not afraid to call a man 'beautiful and good';³ and that, though the man has never even in dream seen anything that is good, but is encompassed by every kind of evil, and has come to believe that the evil is good, and in this belief, is insatiable in his dealings with evil, and fears to be deprived of it, and strives with all his might not only to keep it, but to increase it. Such, Asclepius, are the things which men deem good and beautiful. And we cannot shun these things nor hate them; for the hardest thing of all is this, that we have need of them, and cannot live without them.

LIBELLVS VII

That ignorance of God is the greatest evil in men.

O men, whither are you being swept away? You are drunken; 1a
you have drunk up the strong drink of ignorance;⁴ it has over-
powered you, and now you are even vomiting it forth. Stand
firm; turn sober; look upward with the eyes of the heart,—if
you cannot all, yet those at least who can.

This evil of ignorance floods all the land; its current sweeps **1b** along the soul which is penned up in the body, and prevents it from coming to anchor in the havens of salvation. Suffer not

¹ Perhaps, 'is unspeakable'.

² Perhaps, 'the Beautiful (and the Good)'.

³ Among the Greeks, the phrase 'beautiful and good', applied to a man, was in frequent use, and meant something like 'a gentleman'.

⁴ I.e. ignorance of God, which implies estrangement from God.

τῆς καρδίας A 23 καὶ εἰ μὴ πάντες δύνασθε secludendum ? | καὶ (post-
οἱ γέ) om. QS 26 συνοῦνται scripsi : συμφέρει codd., Turn. 27 μὴ
(ante ἔτων) QS Turn. : καὶ μὴ A | ἐνορμάσσουται scripsi : ἐνορμίζεσθαι codd., Turn.

2 a συγκατενεχθῆτε τοιγαροῦν τῷ πολλῷ ρεύματι· ἀναρροίᾳ
 δὲ χρησάμενοι, οἱ δυνάμενοι λαβέσθαι τοῦ [τῆς σωτηρίας]
 λιμένος, ἐνορμισάμενοι τούτῳ, ζητήσατε χειραγωγόν, τὸν
 ὀδηγήσοντα ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς τῆς γνώσεως θύρας, ὅπου ἔστι τὸ
 λαμπρὸν φῶς, τὸ καθαρὸν σκότους· ὅπου οὐδὲ εἰς μεθύει, 5
 ἀλλὰ πάντες νήφουσιν, ἀφορῶντες τῇ καρδίᾳ εἰς τὸν (οὗτος)
 ὄραθῆναι θέλοντα· οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἀκουστός, οὐδὲ
 ὄρατὸς ὄφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ νῷ καὶ καρδίᾳ.

2 b πρῶτον δὲ δεῖ σε περιρρήξασθαι δν φορεῖς χιτῶνα, «τὸν
 σκοτεινὸν περίβολον,» τὸ τῆς ἀγνωσίας ὑφασμα, τὸ τῆς 10
 κακίας 'στήριγμα', τὸν τῆς φθορᾶς δεσμόν, [[τὸν σκοτεινὸν
 περίβολον,]] τὸν ζῶντα θάνατον, τὸν αἰσθητ(ικ)ὸν νεκρόν, τὸν
 περιφόρητον τάφον, τὸν ἔνοικον ληστήν, «⟨τὸν⟩ ἔχθρὸν» τὸν
 [δι'] ὃν ⟨ἐ⟩φίεσαι μισοῦντα καὶ [δι'] ὃν ⟨ἔπιθυμ⟩μ(ε)ῖς ⟨σ⟩οι
 3 φθονοῦντα. τοιοῦτός ἔστιν δν ἐνεδύσω [[έχθρὸν]] χιτών[α], 15
 ἀγχων σε κάτω πρὸς αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ θεασά-
 μενος τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸ ἐ[γ]κεῖ μένον ἀγαθόν,
 μισήσῃς τὴν τούτου κακίαν, νοήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἢν
 ἐπεβούλευσέ σοι, τὰ [δοκοῦντα καὶ μὴ] νομιζόμενα αἰσθητήρια
 ἀναίσθητα ποιῶν, τῇ πολλῇ ὥῃ αὐτὰ ἀποφράξας, καὶ 20
 μυσαρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἐμπλήσας, ἵνα μήτε ἀκούγης περὶ ὃν ἀκούειν
 σε δεῖ, μήτε βλέπης [περὶ ὃν] (ἄ) βλέπειν σε δεῖ.

* * * *

1 Ex συγκαταχείτε corr. συγκατεχείτε S: συγκατενεχθῆτε cett. 2-3 ol.
 δυνάμενοι . . . ἐνορμισάμενοι om. S 3 ζητήσετε S: ζητήσατε cett.
 4 ὀδηγήσοντα Turn.: ὀδηγήσαντα AQS 6 τὸν QS Turn.: τὸ A
 7 ὄρασθῆναι S 10-11 τὸ . . . στήριγμα codd.: fortasse τὸν . . . στήμονα
 11 τὸ τῆς φθορᾶς S: τὸν τῆς φθορᾶς cett. 12 αἰσθητὸν QS Turn.,
 man. pr. A: αἰσθητικὸν man. post. A, Flussas | νεαρόν S: νεκρόν
 cett. 13-14 τὸν ὃν ἐφίεσαι μισοῦντα scripsi: τὸν δι' ὃν φιλεῖ μισοῦντα
 codd., Turn. 14-15 καὶ ὃν ἐπιθυμεῖς σοι φθονοῦντα scripsi: καὶ δι' ὃν μισεῖ

yourselves then to be borne along down stream by the strong current, but avail yourselves of a backflow, those of you who are **2 a** able to reach the haven, and cast anchor there, and seek a guide to lead you to the door of the House of Knowledge.¹ There you will find the bright light which is pure from darkness ; there none is drunken, but all are sober, and they look up and see with the heart Him whose will it is that with the heart alone He should be seen. For He cannot be known by hearing, nor made known by speech ; nor can He be seen with bodily eyes, but with mind and heart alone.

But first you must tear off this garment² which you wear,—this **2 b** cloak of darkness, this web of ignorance, this [prop] of evil, this bond of corruption,—this living death, this conscious corpse, this tomb you carry about with you,—this robber in the house, this enemy who hates the things you seek after, and grudges you the things which you desire. Such is the garment in which you have **3** clothed yourself ; and it grips you to itself and holds you down, that you may not look upward and behold the beauty of the Truth,³ and the Good that abides above, and hate the evil of this thing, discovering its ill designs against you. For it makes senseless what men deem to be their organs of sense, stuffing them up with the gross mass of matter, and cramming them with loathly pleasures, so that you may neither hear of the things you ought to hear of, nor see the things you ought to see.

* * * *

¹ I.e. knowledge of God, which implies union with God.

² I.e. the body.

³ Or 'of Reality'.

φθονοῦντα codd., Turn. 15 χιτών scripti : χιτῶνα codd., Turn. 17 ἐκεῖ
μένον scripti : ἔγκείμενον codd., Turn. 19 δοκοῦντα καὶ μὴ A : δοκοῦντα
ἐμοὶ QS : δοκοῦντά μοι καὶ Turn.

LIBELLVS VIII

Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου.

ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἀπόλλυται, ἀλλὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς ἀπωλείας καὶ θανάτους πλανώμενοι λέγουσιν.

- 1 a Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὁ πᾶι, νῦν λεκτέον, τρόπῳ μὲν ποίῳ ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχή, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ ποταπῇ (...) ἔστι 5 συστάσεως σώματος καὶ διαλύσεως.
- 1 b (...) περὶ οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ θάνατος· ἀλλὰ (δ)νο[η]μά ἔστιν ἡ θανάτου προσηγορία[ς ἡ] κενὸν ἔργον. [ἡ κατὰ στέρησιν τοῦ πράτου γράμματος λεγόμενος θάνατος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀθάνατος.] ὁ γὰρ θάνατος ἀπώλειά[ς] ἔστιν, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν 10 ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπόλλυται. εἰ γὰρ δεύτερος θεὸς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ἔφον ἀθάνατον, ἀδύνατόν ἔστι τοῦ ἀθανάτου ἔφον μέρος τι ἀποθανεῖν· πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ μέρη ἔστι τοῦ κόσμου. [μάλιστα δὲ (ἀθάνατος) ὁ ἀνθρώπος, τὸ λογικὸν ἔφον.]
- 2 πρῶτος γὰρ πάντων, «καὶ» ὄντως [[καὶ]] ἀίδιος καὶ ἀγέν- 15 νητος, [καὶ] (δ) δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων θεός· δεύτερος δὲ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεχόμενος καὶ τρεφόμενος, «(ἀείζωος ὁ, ὁς)» ἀθανατιζόμενος [ώς] ὑπὸ ἀιδίου (ὄντος τοῦ) πατρός [[ἀείζωον ὁς]] [ἀθάνατος]. τὸ γὰρ ἀείζωον τοῦ ἀιδίου διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ (πατὴρ) ὑπὸ ἐτέρου 20 οὐκ ἐγένετο· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο, ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ· (μᾶλλον δὲ) οὐποτε ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ δὲ κόσμος αὐτοῦ γίνεται. τὸ γὰρ αἴτιον (τοῦ) ἀίδιον ἔστιν] (εἶναι) τὸ πᾶν (ὁ πατὴρ). δὲ πατὴρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ αἴτιος. ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀιδίου (οντος) [καὶ] ἀθάνατος γέγονε. . . . 25
- 3 καὶ δοσον ἦν τῆς ὑλῆς ὑποκείμενον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ (θελήματι),

3 θανάτου QS Turn. : θανάτον A | λέγουσιν A : λέγουσιν οἱ ἀνθρώποι QS Turn. 5-6 Fortasse ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ ποταπῇ (συνίσταται τὰ σώματα καὶ διαλύεται· γένεσις γὰρ καὶ φθορὰ ὑπόμεντά) εἰσι συστάσεως σώματος καὶ διαλύσεως 7 αὐτὸς δ S : αὐτῶν δ cett. 7-8 ὄνομά ἔστιν ἡ θανάτου προσηγορία κενὸν ἔργον scripsi : νόημά ἔστιν ἀθανάτου προσηγορίας ἡ κενὸν ἔργον codd., Turn. 10 ἀπώλειά ἔστιν scripsi : ἀπώλειάς ἔστιν codd., Turn. | Post τῶν add. μὲν S 11 τῷ (ante κόσμῳ) om. A 18 ἀθανατιζόμενος Turn. : καὶ ἀθανατιζόμενος AQS 19 ἀιδίου Turn. : ἀιδίου codd., Flussas 20 φέρει QS : διαφέρει cett. 23 τὸ γὰρ αἴτιον τοῦ εἶναι τὸ πᾶν δ πατὴρ scripsi : τὸ γὰρ ἀιδίου οὐ

LIBELLVS VIII

A discourse of Hermes Trismegistus.

That nothing that exists perishes, but men are in error when they call the changes which take place 'destructions' and 'deaths'.

Hermes. We have now to speak, my son, of soul and body; ^{1a} I must explain in what way the soul is immortal, and by the working of what sort of force . . . of the composition and dissolution of a body.¹

. . . For death has nothing to do with any of them.² The ^{1b} word 'death' is a mere name, without any corresponding fact. For death means destruction; and nothing in the Kosmos is destroyed. For seeing that the Kosmos is the second God, and an immortal being, it is impossible that a part of that immortal being should die; and all things in the Kosmos are parts of the Kosmos.

First of all things, and in very truth eternal and without ² beginning, is God, who is the Maker of the universe; and second is the Kosmos, which has been made by God in his image, and is kept in being and sustained by God. The Kosmos is ever-living; for it is made immortal by the Father, who is eternal. 'Ever-living' is not the same as 'eternal'. The Father has not been made by another; if he has been made at all, he has been made by himself; but it ought rather to be said that he has never been made, but ever is. But the Kosmos is ever being made. For the cause of the existence of the universe is the Father; but the Father is the cause of his own existence. The Kosmos then has been made immortal by the Father, who is eternal.

The Father took all that part of matter which was subject to his ³

¹ Perhaps, 'by the working of what sort of force (bodies are composed and dissolved; for birth and destruction are names which men give to) the composition and dissolution of a body'.

² I. e. any of the things in the Kosmos.

ἀδιάνυτος ἐστι τὸ πᾶν codd., Turn. 24 αἴτιος scripsi: ἀίδιος codd., Turn.
| δῆ scripsi: δὲ codd., Turn. 25 ἀδιάνυτος scripsi: ἀίδιος καὶ codd.,
Turn. 26 ὑποκείμενον A: ἀποκείμενον QS Turn.

τὸ πᾶν ὁ πατὴρ σωματοποιήσας καὶ δγκώσας ἐποίησε σφαιροειδές, τοῦτο αὐτῷ τὸ ποιὸν περιθείσ, οὖσαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀθάνατον, καὶ ἔχουσαν ἀίδιον τὴν ψλότητα. πλέον δέ, τῶν ζώων τὰ ποιὰ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγκατασπείρας τῇ σφαίρᾳ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀντρῳ κατέκλεισε, πάσῃ ποιότητι κοσμῆσαι βουλόμενος τὸ 5 μετ' αὐτοῦ ⟨ἄ>ποιον. τῇ δὲ ἀθανασίᾳ περι(ἔ)βαλε τὸ πᾶν σῶμα, ἵνα μὴ ⟨ἡ⟩ ὑλη, [καὶ] τῆς τούτου συστάσεως θελήσασα ἀποστῆναι, διαλυθῇ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀταξίαν. ὅτε γὰρ ἦν ἀσώματος ἡ ὑλη, ὡς τέκνου, ἀτακτος ἦν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε ⟨ἀτακτόν> τι περὶ τὰ [ἄλλα] μικρὰ [ποιὰ] ⟨ζῷα> εἰλούμενον, 10 τὸ τῆς αὐξήσεως καὶ [τὸ τῆς] μειώσεως [διν θάνατον οἱ ἀνθρωποι 4 καλοῦσιν]. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀταξία ⟨π>ερὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ζῷα γίνεται. τῶν γὰρ οὐρανίων τὰ σώματα μίαν τάξιν ἔχει, ἥν εἴληχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν· τηρεῖται δὲ αὕτη ὑπὸ τῆς ἑκάστου ἀποκαταστάσεως ἀδιάλυτος. ἡ δὲ ἀποκατάστασις τῶν ἐπιγείων 15 σωμάτων ⟨διαλυθείσης γίνεται τῆς> συστάσεως. ⟨τ>ῇ δὲ διαλύσει ⟨τ>αύτῃ ἀποκαθίσταται εἰς τὰ ἀδιάλυτα σώματα, τουτέστι τὰ ἀθάνατα· καὶ οὕτω στέρησις γίνεται τῆς αἰσθήσεως, οὐκ ἀπώλεια ⟨ζωῆς⟩ [τῶν σωμάτων].

5 τὸ δὲ τρίτον [[ζῷον]] ὁ ἀνθρωπος, κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κόσμου 20 γενόμενος, ⟨ν>οῦ⟨ν> κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχων παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπίγεια ζῷα, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεὸν συμπάθειαν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔννοιαν τοῦ πρώτου. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθάνεται ὡς σώματος, τοῦ δὲ ἔννοιαν λαμβάνει ὡς ἀσωμάτου

2 τοῦτο scripsi: τούτῳ codd., Turn. | αὐτῷ om. S | αὐτῷ om. S : ἀθάνατον cett. 4 ζῷον scripsi: ίδεν codd., Turn. | τῷ om. S | τῷ om. S : ἀποιον scripsi: ποιὸν codd., Turn. | περέβαλε scripsi: περιβαλὼν codd., Turn. 9-10 ἐνθάδε ἀτακτόν τι περὶ τῷ μικρᾷ ζῷᾳ εἰλούμενον scripsi: ἐνθάδε τὴν περὶ τῷ δὲ μικρῷ ποιὰ εἰλούμένην AQS Turn. 12 περὶ Flussas: ἐπὶ codd., Turn. 16-17 τῇ δὲ διαλύσει ταύτῃ scripsi: ἡ δὲ διάλυσις αὕτῃ codd., Turn. 19 ἀπώλεια S: ἀπώλεια cett. 21 νοῖν Flussas: οὐ AQS Turn. 23 πρώτου Q.S Turn.: πρῶτου (id est πατρὸς (αὕτου) prima manu, ut videtur, ex πρώτου corr. A 24 αἰσθάνεται Turn.: αἰσθεται AQS

will, and made it into a body, and gave it bulk, and fashioned it into a sphere.¹ This quality² the Father imposed on the matter; but matter is of itself immortal, and its materiality is eternal. Moreover, the Father implanted within this sphere³ the qualities of all kinds of living creatures, and shut them up in it, as in a cave; for he willed to embellish⁴ with all manner of qualities the matter which existed beside him, but was hitherto devoid of qualities. And he enveloped the whole body with a wrapping of immortality,⁵ that the matter might not seek to break away from the composite structure of the universe, and so dissolve into its primal disorder. For when matter was not yet formed into body, my son, it was in disorder; and even in our world, it retains something of disorder, which besets the small living creatures;⁶ for the process of growth and decay is a remnant of disorder. But it is only the living creatures upon earth that are involved in 4 this disorder. The bodies of the celestial gods⁷ keep without change that order which has been assigned to them by the Father in the beginning; and that order is preserved unbroken by the reinstatement of each of them in its former place.⁸ But the reinstatement of the terrestrial bodies is brought about by the dissolution of their composition; and through this dissolution, they are reinstated by absorption into the bodies which are indissoluble,⁹ that is, immortal. When this takes place, consciousness ceases, but life is not destroyed.

And the third being is man, who has been made in the image 5 of the Kosmos. Man differs from all other living creatures upon earth, in that he possesses mind, for so the Father has willed; and not only does man find himself to be in union with the second God,¹⁰ but he also apprehends by thought the first God. He perceives the second God as a body; he apprehends the first

¹ I.e. out of this part of matter he made the sphere of heaven.

² Viz. spherical shape. ³ I. e. in the sublunar world.

⁴ Or, 'to set in order'.

⁵ That is, he enclosed the world within the immortal sphere of heaven.

⁶ The creatures which live in the sublunar world are here called 'small', in contrast to the Kosmos itself, which is 'the great living creature', and to the heavenly bodies.

⁷ I.e. the heavenly bodies.

⁸ That is, by the cyclic movement of the heavenly bodies, which brings each of them back to the same point again when it has travelled round its orbit.

⁹ 'The indissoluble bodies' are the cosmic elements, earth, water, air, and fire.

¹⁰ I.e. he feels himself to be a part of the Kosmos, and to be organically connected with every other part of it.

[καὶ νοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ].—Τοῦτο οὖν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τὸ ζῷον;—Εὐφήμησον, ὁ τέκνον, καὶ νόησον τί θεός, τί κόσμος, τί ζῷον ἀθάνατον, τί ζῷον διάλυτον. καὶ [νόησον ὅτι] ὁ μὲν κόσμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ὁ δὲ ἀνθρώπος ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀρχὴ δὲ καὶ περιοχὴ καὶ σύστασις πάντων 5 δὲ θεός.

LIBELLVS IX

'Ερμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου.

περὶ νοῆσεως καὶ αἰσθήσεως [καὶ ὅτι ἐν μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν ἔστιν, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ].

- 1a Χθές, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, τὸν τέλειον ἀπ[οδέ]θωκα λόγον· νῦν δὲ 10 ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι ἀκόλουθον ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὸν περὶ αἰσθήσεως λόγον διεξελθεῖν.
- 1b αἰσθησις γάρ καὶ νόησις διαφορὰν μὲν δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν, δοτὶ ἡ μὲν ψική ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ οὐσιώδης· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν ἀμφότεραι ἡνῶσθαι καὶ μὴ διαιρεῖσθαι, ἐν ἀνθρώποις λέγω· 15 ἐν γάρ τοις ἄλλοις ζῷοις ἡ αἰσθησις τῇ φύσει ἡνωται, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρώποις τῷ γε νοῆσει.
- 1c νοῆσεως δὲ ὁ νοῦς διαφέρει τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ θεὸς θειότητος. ἡ μὲν γάρ θειότης ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται, ἡ δὲ νόησις ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, ἀδελφὴ οὖτα τοῦ λόγου. καὶ ὄργανα (ταῦτα) ἀλλήλων· 20 οὕτε γάρ ὁ λόγος [[έκφωνεῖται]] < . . . > χωρὶς νοῆσεως, οὕτε ἡ νόησις [φαίνεται] <έκφωνεῖται> χωρὶς λόγου.
- 2 ἡ οὖν αἰσθησις καὶ ἡ νόησις ἀμφότεραι εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπον συνυπεισρέοντιν ἄλλήλαις, ὥσπερ συμπεπλεγμέναι· οὕτε γάρ χωρὶς αἰσθήσεως δυνατὸν νοῆσαι, οὕτε αἰσθέσθαι χωρὶς 25 νοῆσεως [δυνατὸν δὲ νόησιν]. < . . . > χωρὶς αἰσθήσεως νοεῖσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων φανταζόμενοι ὄράματα.

8 κινήσεως QS: νοῆσεως cett. 10 ἀπέδωκα scripsi: ἀποδέθωκα codd., Turn. 13 νόησις Flussas: κίνησις AQS Turn. 15 λέγω Flussas: λέγω AQS Turn. 16 ἄλλο S: ἄλλοι cett.: fortasse ἀλόγοις 17 τῇ νοῆσει scripsi: ἡ νοῆσις codd., Turn. 18 δὲ (post νοῆσεως) Turn.: om. AQS 20 νοῦ QS Turn.: ἀν' ον (i. e. ἀνθρώπου) A | ἀδελφὴ QS Turn.: ἀδελφὸς A 21 ἐκφονεῖται Q | Fortasse <καταλαμβάνεται> χωρὶς 23 ἡ γοῦν QS: ἡ οὖν cett. 24 συνυπειρέοντιν S 25 δυνατὸν Q Flussas:

God as bodiless.—*Tat.* Do you say then that this living creature¹ does not perish?—*Hermes.* Speak not of man as perishing, my son. Think what God is, and what the Kosmos is, and what is meant by a living creature that is immortal, and a living creature that is dissoluble. The Kosmos is made by God, and is contained in God; man is made by the Kosmos, and is contained in the Kosmos; and it is God that is the author of all, and encompasses all, and knits all things together.

LIBELLVS IX

*A discourse of Hermes Trismegistus.
Concerning thought and sense.*

Yesterday, Asclepius, I delivered my crowning discourse;² **1a** and to-day I think it necessary, by way of sequel to that discourse, to expound the doctrine of sense.

Men think that there is a difference between sense and thought, **1b** in that sense is connected with matter, and thought with incorporeal and eternal substance. But I hold that sense and thought are united, and cannot be separated,—that is to say, in the case of men. In the lower animals, sense is united with instinct; in men, sense is united with thought.

Mind differs from thought to the same extent that God differs **1c** from divine influence.³ Divine influence is put forth by God; and thought is put forth by mind, and is sister to speech. Thought and speech are instruments of one another; speech cannot be understood without thought, and thought cannot be uttered without speech.

Sense and thought are infused into a man together, being **2** intertwined with one another, so to speak; for a man can neither think without perceiving, nor perceive without thinking. It is sometimes said that men may think without sense-perception, as when one sees imaginary things in dreams; but I hold rather that

¹ Viz. man.

² The Greek original of the Latin *Asclepius* was entitled ‘The Crowning Discourse of Hermes’.

³ ‘Divine influence’ probably means God’s operation in a man, i.e. divine inspiration.

δύναται cert. 25-26 δυνατὸν νοῆσαι . . . χωρὶς νοήσεως om. S 25 αἰσθέσθαι
Turn.: αἰσθῆναι AQ 26 Fortasse *(καίτοι λέγονται ἀνθρώποι ἐνὶ οὐρανῷ)* χωρὶς

ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ (. . .) τὸ γεγονέναι ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄντων ὅψει· ἔγρηγοροῦσι γάρ (. . .) αἰσθήσει. δῆμηται γάρ (ή αἰσθησις) εἴς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὴν ψυχήν· καὶ ὅταν ἀμφοτερα τὰ μέρη τῆς αἰσθήσεως πρὸς ἀλληλα συμφωνήσῃ, τότε (συμβάλλει) τὴν νόησιν ἐκφαίνε[ι]σθαι, 5 ἀποκυνθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ.

3 δὲ γάρ νοῦς κύει πάντα τὰ νοῆματα, ἀγαθὰ μέν, ὅταν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ σπέρματα λάβῃ, ἐναντία δέ, ὅταν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν δαιμόνων, [μηδενὸς μέρους τοῦ κόσμου κενοῦ ὄντος δαίμονος,] (⟨ὅστις ὑπεισελθὼν⟩) τῷ (μη) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεφωτισμένῳ 10 [δαίμονι] [[ὅστις ὑπεισελθὼν]] ἔσπειρε τῆς ἴδιας ἐνεργείας τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ ἐκύησεν ὁ νοῦς τὸ σπαρέν, μοιχείας, φόνους, πατροτυπίας, ἱεροσύλιας, ἀσεβείας [ἀγγόνας, κατὰ κρημνῶν 4α καταφοράς, καὶ ἀλλὰ πάντα ὅσα δαιμόνων ἔργα]. τοῦ γάρ θεοῦ τὰ σπέρματα ὀλίγα, μεγάλα μέντοι καὶ καλὰ καὶ 15 ἀγαθά, ἀρετὴ καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ εὐσέβεια. εὐσέβεια δέ ἔστι θεοῦ γνώσις· ὃν ὁ ἐπιγνούς, πλήρης γενόμενος πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὰς νοῆσεις θείας ἴσχει, καὶ οὐ τοῖς πολλοῖς δομοῖς.

4b διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσιν, 20 οὔτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς· μεμηνέναι δὲ δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα δόφιλοικάνουσι, μισούμενοί τε καὶ καταφρονούμενοι, καὶ τάχα που καὶ φονεύμενοι. τὴν γάρ κακίαν ἐνθάδε δεῖν οἰκεῖν εἶπον, ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς χωρίῳ οὖσαν· χωρίον γάρ αὐτῆς ή γῆ, οὐχ ὁ κόσμος, ως ἕριοι ποτε ἐροῦσι βλασφημοῦντες. ὁ μέντοι 25 θεοσεβῆς πάντα ὑποστήσει ἀ(ντ)ισχόμενος τῆς γνώσεως. πάντα γάρ τῷ τοιούτῳ, κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις (ἢ) [τὰ] κακά, ἀγαθά ἔστι· καὶ ἐπιβούλευμένος πάντα ἀναφέρει εἰς τὴν γνώσιν, καὶ τὰ κακὰ μόνος ἀγαθοποιεῖ.

5 ἐπάνειμι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς αἰσθήσεως λόγον. ἀνθρώπινον 30 οὖν τὸ κοινωνῆσαι αἰσθησιν νοῆσει· οὐ πᾶς δὲ ἀνθρώπος, ως προεῖπον, ἀπολαύει τῆς νοῆσεως· [ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ὄλικός, ὁ δὲ

1 Fortasse ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ (μᾶλλον εὐλογον εἶναι) | τὸ (ante γεγονέναι)
AQS: τῷ Turn. 2 ἔγρηγοροῦσι AQS: ἔγρηγοροί Turn. | Fortasse
(συνέ)ενται δὲ νόησις) αἰσθήσει 3 δῆμηται γάρ ή αἰσθησις scripsi:
δῆμηται γε codd., Turn. | εἰς (post καὶ) om. QS 5 ἐκφάνεσθαι
scripsi: ἐκφαντίσθαι codd., Turn. 8 τοῦ om. S | ὑπό τινος QS Turn.:
ὑπό τίνων A 9 δαιμόνων scripsi: δαιμονίων codd., Turn. | κενοῦ QS
Turn. et man. post. A : κανοῦ man. pr. A 15 μέντοι scripsi: μὲν QS
Turn.: δὲ A 17 ὁ om. A] πλήρεις QS: πλήρης cett. 23 δὲ S:
δεῖν cett. 24 εἶπον, ἐν scripsi: εἴπομεν codd., Turn. 26 ἀντισχό-

both thought and sense-perception have taken place in the dream-vision ; for when we are awake, thought is always combined with sense-perception. Sense belongs in part to the body, and in part to the soul ; and when the body-sense and the soul-sense are in accord, then it results that thought manifests itself, being brought forth as offspring by the mind.¹

For all man's thoughts are brought forth by his mind,—good 3 thoughts, when the mind is impregnated by God, and bad thoughts, when it is impregnated by some daemon, who enters into the man that has not been illuminated by God, and deposits in his mind the seed of such thoughts as it is the special work of that daemon to beget ; and the mind brings forth those things which spring from this seed,—adulteries, murders, acts of parricide and sacrilege, and all manner of impious deeds. But the seeds which God deposits in the mind are few in number, 4a but potent, and fair, and good ; they are virtue, and self-control, and piety. Now piety is the knowledge of God ; and he who has come to know God is filled with all things good ; his thoughts are divine, and are not like those of the many.

Hence it is that those who have attained to the knowledge 4b of God are not pleasing to the many, nor the many to them. They are thought mad, and are laughed at ; they are hated and despised, and perhaps they may even be put to death. For evil, as I have told you before, must needs dwell here on earth, where it is at home ; for the home of evil is the earth, and not the whole universe, as some will blasphemously say in days to come. But the pious man will endure all things, cleaving to his knowledge of God. For to such a man all things are good, even though they be evil to others. When men devise mischief against him, he sees all this in the light of his knowledge of God ; and he, and none but he, changes things evil into good.

But let us return to the doctrine of sense. It is a property of 5 man that sense in him is joined with thought ; but as I have already told you, it is not every man that profits by his power of

¹ The text of § 2 is badly damaged, and this attempt to give the meaning of what the author wrote is largely conjectural.

μενος scripsi : αἰσθέμενος codd., Turn.
31 αἰσθησιν scripsi : ἀιθησινος codd., Turn.

30 τῆς A : om. QS Turn.

ούσιωδης.] ὁ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ κακίας [ὑλικός] <νοεῖ>, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων τὸ σπέρμα τῆς νοήσεως ἵσχων, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ [οὐσιωδῶς], ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σωζόμενοι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεός, πάντων δημιουργὸς [δημιουργ] ὄν, πάντα ποιεῖ [μὲν] ἐαυτῷ ὅμοια, ταῦτα δ', ἀγαθὰ γενόμενα, ἐν τῇ χρήσει τῆς 5 ἐνεργείας 'αφορά'. ἡ γὰρ κοσμικὴ φορά, τρέπουσα τὰς γενέσεις, ποιὰς ποιεῖ, τὰς μὲν ρύπανουσα τῇ κακίᾳ, τὰς δὲ καθαίρουσα τῷ ἀγαθῷ.

6 καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος, ὡς Ἀσκληπιέ, αἴσθησιν ἰδίαν καὶ νόησιν ἔχει, οὐχ ὁμοίαν τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ, οὐδὲ <οὐτ>ως ποικίλην, ἀλλὰ¹⁰ [ως δὲ] κρείττω καὶ ἀπλουστέραν. ἡ γὰρ αἴσθησις καὶ νόησις τοῦ κόσμου μία ἔστι, τὸ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀποποιεῖν, ὅργανον <⟨δύτα⟩> τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως, καὶ [[δύτωσ]] <ἐπὶ τοῦτο> [όργανο] ποιηθέν<(τα)>, ὡντα πάντων <τῶν> παρ' ἐαυτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβθῶν τὰ σπέρματα <καὶ> φυλάττων ἐν ἐαυτῷ¹⁵ πάντα ποιῆ ἐνεργῶς. <<φερόμενος δὲ πάντα ζωοποιεῖ>> καὶ διαλύων πάντα, ἀνανεοῖ <καὶ> <τὰ> δια-[τοῦτο]-λυθέντα, ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς [ζωῆς] γεωργὸς τῇ καταβολῇ ἀνανέωσιν αὐτοῖς [φερόμενος] παρέχων. οὐκ ἔστιν δ μὴ ζωογονεῖ. [[φερόμενος δὲ πάντα ζωοποιεῖ]] καὶ ὁμοῦ τόπος ἔστιν καὶ δημιουργὸς ζωῆς.²⁰

7 τὰ δὲ σώματα ἀπὸ ὑλης, ἐν διαφορᾷ· [τὰ μὲν γάρ ἔστιν ἐκ γῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔξ ὕδατος, τὰ δὲ ἔξ ἀέρος, τὰ δὲ ἐκ πυρός.] πάντα δέ ἔστι σύνθετα, καὶ τὰ μὲν μᾶλλον, τὰ δὲ ἀπλούστερα· μᾶλλον μὲν τὰ βαρύτερα, ἥττον δὲ τὰ κουφότερα. τὸ δὲ τάχος αὐτοῦ τῆς φορᾶς τὴν ποικιλίαν τῶν [ποιῶν] γενέσεων²⁵ ἐργάζεται. πνοὴ γάρ, οὐσα πυκνοτάτη, προτείνει τὰ ποιὰ τοῖς σώμασι μετὰ ἐνὸς πληρώματος τῆς ζωῆς. [πατὴρ μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κόσμου, ὁ δὲ κόσμος τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ· καὶ ὁ μὲν κόσμος νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ νιὸι] [ὑπὸ] τοῦ κόσμου.] καὶ εἰκότως κόσμος κέκληται· κοσμεῖ<(ται)> γὰρ³⁰

1 μὲν om. A | ὑλικός codd., Turn. : fortasse ὑλικῶς 2 ἵσχων scripsi: ἵσχει codd., Turn. 4 ὄν scripsi: δημιουργῶν codd., Turn. 6 ἀφορᾶ codd., Turn. : fortasse <ἐκβαίνει δι>ἀφορα | τρέπουσα scripsi: τρίβουσα codd., Turn. 7 ποιᾶς codd., Turn. : fortasse ποιάλγας 9 ἴδιαν QS Turn.: ἴδια A | νόησιν Flusss; κίνησιν AQS Turn. 10 οὐτας scripsi: ὡς codd., Turn. 10-11 ἀλλὰ scripsi: ἀλλως δὲ codd., Turn. 12 τὸ πάντα scripsi: τῷ πάντα codd., Turn. | ἐαυτὸν scripsi: ἐαυτὴν codd., Turn. 13-14 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ποιηθέντα scripsi: καὶ ὅντας ὅργανοποιθέν codd., Turn. 14 πάντων τῶν scripsi: πάντα codd., Turn. 16 ποιεῖ S: ποιῆ cett. | ἐνεργῶς A: ἐναργῶς QS Turn. 17 τὰ διαλυθέντα scripsi: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λυθέντα codd., Turn. 18 αὐτοῖς suprascr. prima (?) man. A 19 παρέχων scripsi: παρέχει AQS Turn. | οὐκ Turn.: om. AQS: fortasse οὐ γὰρ 21 Αν ἐνδεάφορα? 21-22 ἐκ γῆς QS Turn.: ἐκ τῆς γῆς A 23 Προ

thought; for one man's thoughts are combined with evil, as I said, because he has got from the daemons the seed from which his thinking springs, and other men's thoughts are combined with good, because they are kept safe by God. God is the Maker of all things, and makes all things like to himself;¹ but though good when first made, they . . .² when the cosmic force works on them;³ for the movement of the Kosmos varies the births of things, and gives them this or that quality; it fouls with evil the births of some things, and purifies with good the births of others.

The Kosmos also, Asclepius, has sense and thought; but its **6** sense and thought are of a kind peculiar to itself, not like the sense and thought of man, nor varying like his, but mightier and less diversified. The sense and thought of the Kosmos are occupied solely in making all things, and dissolving them again into itself. The Kosmos is an instrument of God's will; and it was made by him to this end, that, having received from God the seeds of all things that belong to it, and keeping these seeds within itself, it might bring all things into actual existence. The Kosmos produces life in all things by its movement; and decomposing them, it renews the things that have been decomposed; for, like a good husbandman, it gives them renewal by sowing seed. There is nothing in which the Kosmos does not generate life; and it is both the place in which life is contained, and the maker of life. The bodies of all living beings are made of matter.**7** They are diversely made, but all are composite, in greater or less degree; the heavier bodies are more composite, and the lighter less. It is the swiftness of the movement of the Kosmos that causes the diversity of the births. For the cosmic life-breath, working without intermission, conveys into the bodies a succession of qualities, and therewith makes the universe one mass of life. []⁴ And rightly is the Kosmos so named;⁵ for all **8**

¹ I. e. makes all things good.

² Perhaps, 'they come to vary in quality' (i.e. some of them become bad).

³ Or 'when they come into action'? The phrase is obscure, and perhaps corrupt.

⁴ ['God then is the father of the Kosmos, and the Kosmos is the father of the things contained in it; the Kosmos is son of God, and the things contained in it are sons of the Kosmos.]

⁵ The word *κόσμος* means (1) order, (2) ornament, (3) the ordered universe.

τὰ πάντα τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς γενέσεως, καὶ τῷ ἀδιαλείπτῳ τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ τῷ ἀκοπιάστῳ τῆς ἐνεργείας, καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς φορᾶς, καὶ τῷ ἀτρέπτῳ τῆς ἀνάγκης, καὶ τῇ συστάσει τῶν στοιχείων, καὶ τῇ τάξει τῶν γινομένων. ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν κόσμος καὶ ἀναγκαῖος¹ καὶ οἰκείως καλοῦτο.

- 9 πάντων οὖν τῶν ζώων ἡ αἰσθησις καὶ νόησις ἔξωθεν ἐπεισέρχεται, εἰσπνέουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὁ δὲ κόσμος, ἀπαξ λαβὼν ἄμα τῷ γενέσθαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει. ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐχ ὕσπερ ἐνίοις δόξει ἀναίσθητός ἐστι καὶ ἀνόητος· ὑπὸ γὰρ δεισιδαιμονίας βλασφημούσι. «καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἡ αἰσθησις καὶ νόησις τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ τὰ πάντα ἀεὶ κινεῖν.» πάντα γὰρ δοῦ ἔστιν, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, ταῦτα ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἔστι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γινόμενα, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἡρτημένα, τὰ μὲν διὰ σωμάτων ἐνεργοῦντα, τὰ δὲ διὰ οὐσίας ψυχικῆς κινοῦντα, τὰ δὲ διὰ πνεύματος ὥσποιοῦντα, τὰ δὲ τὰ κεκμηκότα ὑποδεχόμενα. [καὶ εἰκότως.] [[μᾶλλον δὲ λέγω διτὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς αὐτὰ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀποφαίνομαι, αὐτὸς ἀπαντά ἔστιν]] [οὐκ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰ προσλαμβάνων, ἔξω δὲ ἐπιδιδούς.] [[καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἡ αἰσθησις καὶ νόησις τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ τὰ πάντα ἀεὶ κινεῖν.]] καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ποτὲ χρόνος διτὶ ἀπολειφθήσεται τι τῶν δυτῶν· [δταν δὲ λέγω τῶν δυτῶν, λέγω τοῦ θεοῦ] τὰ γὰρ δυτα ὁ θεὸς ἔχει, καὶ οὕτε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἔκτὸς οὕτε αὐτὸς οὐδενός. «μᾶλλον δὲ λέγω διτὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς αὐτὰ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀποφαίνομαι, αὐτὸς ἀπαντά ἔστιν.»
- 10 ταῦτά σοι, Ἀσκληπιέ, ἐννοοῦντι (μὲν) ἀληθῆ δόξειν ἀν., 25 (μὴ ἐν) νοοῦντι δὲ ἀπιστα· τῷ γὰρ νοῆσαι ἔπειται τὸ πιστεῦσαι, τὸ ἀπιστῆσαι δὲ τῷ μὴ νοῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ λόγος [μ] οὐ φθάνει μέχρι τῆς ἀληθείας· ὁ δὲ νοῦς μέγας ἔστι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου μέχρι τινὸς ὀδηγηθεὶς, φθάνει μέχρι τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ

1 τὰ (ante πάντα) om. S 3 τῇ συστάσει Flussas : τῇ συσκιάσει A Turn. : τῇ σκάσει QS 4 δέξει S : τάξει cett. 4-5 δὲ αὐτὸς . . . καλοῖτο secludendum? 5 ἀναγκαῖος QS : ἀναγκαῖως cett.: fortasse ἀναλόγως | οἰκεῖος S: οἰκείως cett. 6 καὶ ἡ νόησις S: καὶ νόησις cett. 7 ἀπὸ scripsi : ὑπὸ codd., Turn. 8 τῷ (post ἄμα) om. S | ἀπὸ scripsi : ὑπὸ codd., Turn. 13 καὶ (ante ἐκεῖθεν) om. QS 13-14 διὰ σωμάτων A : διὰ τῶν σωμάτων QS Turn. 15 τὰ (ante κεκμηκότα) om. QS 18 προσλαμβάνων S 19 καὶ ἡ νόησις Q: καὶ νόησις cett. 20 ἀπολειφθήσεται S 22 οὐδὲν ἔκτὸς om. S 22-23 αὐτὸς οὐδενός Turn. : αὐτοῦ οὐδενός AQS 23 Fortasse λέγω οὐχ διτὶ 25 ἐνοῦντι S. — Desinit S in verbis ἀσκληπιὲ ἐνοῦντι 25-26 δύξειν ἀν, μὴ ἐννοοῦντι scripsi : δύξειν, ἀγνοοῦντι codd., Turn. 26 τῷ γὰρ νοῆσαι ἔπειται scripsi : τὸ γὰρ νοῆσαι ἔστι codd., Turn. 27 τὸ (ante ἀπιστῆσαι) om. A | τῷ μὴ scripsi : τὸ μὴ codd., Turn. | οὐ

things in it are wrought into an ordered whole by the diversity of births and the incessant continuance of life, and by its unwearied activity, and the swiftness of its movement, and the immutable necessity that rules in it, and by the combining of the elements, and the fit disposal of all things that come into being. Thus the name 'Kosmos' may be applied to it in a secondary sense as well as literally.

Now the sense and thought of all living creatures enter into ⁹ them from without, being breathed into them from the atmosphere; but the Kosmos received sense and thought once for all when it first came into being, and has got them from God. God is not devoid of sense and thought, as in time to come some men will think he is; those who speak thus of God blaspheme through excess of reverence. And the sense and thought of God consist in this, that he is ever moving all things. For all things that exist, Asclepius, are in God, and are made by God, and are dependent on him, whether they be things that put forth activity by means of their bodies,¹ or things that effect movement by means of soul-stuff,² or things that generate life by means of vital breath,³ or things that receive into themselves the bodies that life has quitted.⁴ And there will never come a time when anything that exists will cease to be; for God contains all things, and there is nothing which is not in God, and nothing in which God is not. Nay, I would rather say, not that God *contains* all things, but that, to speak the full truth, God *is* all things.

What I have told you, Asclepius, you will deem true if you ¹⁰ apply your thought to it; but if not, you will not believe it; for belief follows on thinking, and disbelief follows on want of thinking. Speech does not attain to truth; but mind has mighty power, and when it has been led some distance on its way by speech,⁵ it attains to truth; and having thought over all things,

¹ This probably means vegetables.

² This probably means animals (including men).

³ I.e. by being drawn into the body of a man or beast in the process of breathing. These things are probably the two lighter elements, fire and air.

⁴ Probably the two heavier elements, earth and water.

⁵ I.e. when the pupil's thoughts have been started in the right direction by the teacher's words.

περινοήσας τὰ πάντα, καὶ εὐρῶν σύμφωνα τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἔρμηνευθεῖσιν, ἐπίστευσε, καὶ τῇ καλῇ πίστει ἐπανεπαύσατο. τοιΓ_{αρ}οῦν [[τὰ προειρημένα]] [ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ] νοήσασι μὲν πιστὰ <τὰ προειρημένα>, μὴ νοήσασι δὲ ἀπιστα. ταῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα περὶ νοήσεως καὶ αἰσθήσεως λεγέσθω. 5

LIBELLVS X

Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου.

Κλείς.

- 1a *Tὸν χθὲς λόγον, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, σοὶ ἀνέθηκα· τὸν δὲ σῆμερον δίκαιον ἔστι τῷ Τάτ ἀναθεῖναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν <γ>ενικῶν λόγων τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν λελαλημένων ἔστιν ἐπιτομῆ.*
- 1b *ὁ μὲν οὖν θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὁ Τάτ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει φύσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ [καὶ] ἐνέργειαν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις γενέστερος εἰσιν καὶ αὐξήσεώς ἔστι προσηγορία, ἅπερ ἔστι περὶ τὰ μεταβλητὰ καὶ κινητά· ἡ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια περὶ τὰ ἀμετάβλητα) καὶ ἀκίνητα, τουτέστι τὰ θεῖα [τε], <ῶν> καὶ <τὰ> ἀνθρώπεια [<ῶν>] αὐτὸς βούλεται εἶναι. ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ 15 <περὶ> ἐνέργειῶν [<καθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν>] ἐδιδάξαμεν θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἀ δεῖ νοεῖν ἐπὶ τούτου <καθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν>.*
- 2 *ἡ γὰρ τούτου ἐνέργεια ἡ θέλησίς ἔστι· καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλειν πάντα εἶναι. τί γάρ ἔστιν δὲ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ 20 [καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν] ἢ τὸ τῶν πάντων εἶναι οὐκέτι ὄντων; ἀλλὰ ὑπαρξίας αὐτῇ τῶν ὄντων. τοῦτο δὲ θεός, τοῦτο δὲ πατήρ. τούτῳ δὲ πρόσεστι τὸ ἀγαθόν, <τοιοῦτο δὲ> δὲ μηδενὶ<i>ι</i> πρόσ-*

3 τοιγαροῦν scripsi: τοῖς οὖν codd., Turn. 5 καὶ αἰσθήσεως in A et C abesse testatur Reitz.

In Libellis X et XI, codicum AQ et Turnebi lectiones adhibui.

X. 7-8 b:—Stobaei Anthol. I. 49. 48, vol. i, p. 416 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I. 1000 Heeren*): 'Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ. Οὐκ ἡκούσας ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς . . . αὐτῇ κακίᾳ ψυχῆς.

X. 12, 13:—Stob. I. 47. 9, vol. i, p. 305 W. (*Ecl. I. 770 H.*): 'Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ. 'Ο μὲν ἀνθρώπος τὸ δεύτερον ξῶν μετὰ τὸν κόσμον, πρῶτον δὲ τῶν θυητῶν.—ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπου δχεῖται . . . δθάνατος τοῦ σώματος.

X. 16-18:—Stob. I. 48. 3, vol. i, p. 310 W. (*Ecl. I. 774 H.*): 'Ἐρμοῦ. Πῶς τούτῳ λέγεις, ὡς πάτερ . . . ἀνθρώπων ὁν τὴν οἰκήσει.

X. 19 a, b:—Stob. I. 49. 49, vol. i, p. 417 W. (*Ecl. I. 1002 H.*): Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (&c. 'Ἐρμοῦ). Ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη . . . τῆς τοιαύτης ὕβρεως.

X. 22 b-25:—Stob. I. 47. 8, vol. i, p. 303 W. (*Ecl. I. 764 H.*): 'Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ. Κοινωνία δέ ἐστι ψυχῶν . . . ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐνδεικόντος πάντα.

and found all to be in accord with that which has been expounded to it by speech, the mind believes, and finds rest in that goodly belief. And so, if men grasp with their thought what I have said, they will believe it ; but if they do not grasp it with their thought, they will not believe it.

Concerning thought and sense, let this suffice.

LIBELLVS X

*A discourse of Hermes Trismegistus.**The Key.*

Hermes. The teaching which I gave yesterday, Asclepius, 1a I dedicated to you ; and it is only right that I should dedicate to Tat that which I am about to give to-day ; for it is an abridgement of the General Discourses which I have addressed to him.

Know then, Tat, that God the Father is of one nature with the 1b Good ; or rather, the working of God the Father is one with the working of the Good. ‘Nature’ is a term applied to birth and growth, and birth and growth have to do with things subject to change and movement ; but God’s working has to do with things free from change and movement, that is, with things divine ; and it is God’s will that what is human should be divine. Of forces at work, divine and human, I have spoken elsewhere ; and in dealing with our present topic, as well as in other matters, you must bear in mind what I have taught you concerning them.

The force with which God works is his will ; and his very being 2 consists in willing the existence of all things. What else is God the Father but the being of all things when as yet they are not ? It is this¹ that constitutes the existence of all things that are. Such then is God, such is the Father. And to him appertains the Good ; for the Good is a thing that can appertain to none

¹ Viz. God’s will.

7 τὸ δὲ Q : τὸν δὲ cett. 8 γενικῶν Patritius : ἐνικῶν codd. (etiam MC teste Reitz.), Turn. 10 Fortasse [καὶ] τῷ ἀγαθῷ 12 φύσις γενέσεως scripsi : φύσεως codd., Turn. 16 περὶ ἐνέργειῶν scripsi : ἐνέργειαν codd., Turn. 21 η τὸ Turn. : εἰ τοῦ Q, man. pr. A : η τοῦ man. post. A : 22 ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ Turn. : ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷν (αυτῇ ex αὐτῷ corr. man. post.) A : 23 τούτῳ δὲ πρόσεστι τῷ ἀγαθῷ scripsi : τοῦτο τῷ ἀγαθῷν codd., Turn. | δ μηδὲν scripsi : οὐ μηδὲν codd., Turn.

εστι τῶν ἄλλων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος [καὶ ὁ ἥλιος] τῶν κατὰ μετουσίαν ⟨ἄγαθῶν⟩ καὶ αὐτὸς πατήρ, οὐκέτι δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τοῖς ζῷοις ἵστις αἴτιος ἐστιν· οὐδὲ (γὰρ) τοῦ ζῆν εἰ δέ [τοῦτο οὗτος ἔχει], πάντως μέντοι ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ [ἀγαθοῦ] θελήματος (τοῦ θεοῦ), οὐ χωρὶς οὔτε εἶναι (τι) οὔτε γενέσθαι 5 3 δυνατόν. αἴτιος δέ, ὃς πατὴρ τοῖς τέκνοις, καὶ τῆς σπορᾶς καὶ τῆς τροφῆς, (παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ) τὴν (χορηγίαν λαβὼν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ [διὰ τοῦ ἥλιου]). τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθόν ἐστι τὸ ποιητικόν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν λαμβάνοντι, πάντα δὲ θέλοντι εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ ἐρῶ, 10 ὁ Τάτ., ποιοῦντι· ὁ γὰρ ποιῶν ἐλλιπής ἐστι πολλῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν φῇ ὅτε μὲν ποιεῖ, ὅτε δὲ οὐ ποιεῖ. καὶ ποιότητας καὶ ποσότητας (ποιεῖ)· ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ποσὰ καὶ ποιὰ (ποιεῖ), ὅτε δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. ὁ δὲ θεός [καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν] τῷ 4a **{θέλειν}** εἶναι τὰ πάντα (πάντων πατήρ). [[οὗτος ἄρα]] 15 [ταῦτα] [[τῷ δυναμένῳ ἰδεῖν]] καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα θέλει εἶναι, καὶ **{⟨οὗτος ἄρα⟩}** ἐστι καὶ αὐτό. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸς **{⟨ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὁ Τάτ.⟩}**· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διὰ τοῦτο ἐστιν.

4b <...> ἴδιον γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι [[ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὁ Τάτ.]] [[τῷ δυναμένῳ ἰδεῖν]].—Ἐπλήρωσας ἡμᾶς, 20 ὁ πάτερ, τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ καλλίστης θέας· καὶ ὀλίγον δεῦν **{ἐπ}**εσκιάσθη μου ὁ τοῦ νοῦ ὄφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης θέας¹.—Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ ἥλιου ἀκτὶς πυρώδης οὐσα κατανγάχει καὶ μύειν ποιεῖ τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θέα· τούναντίον δὲ ἐκλάμπει [καὶ] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐφ' 25 δον δύναται ὁ θεώμενος δέξασθαι τὴν ἐπεισροὴν τῆς νοητῆς λαμπτηδόνος. δέξατέρα μὲν γάρ ἐστιν εἰς τὸ καθικνεῖσθαι, 5 ἀβλαβῆς δέ, καὶ πάσης ἀθανασίας ἀνάπλεως. (καὶ μῆν οἱ δυνάμενοι πλέον τι ἀρύσσασθαι τῆς θέας κατακοιμίζονται

5-6 γενέσθαι δυνατόν A: ἐσται δυνατόν Q: γενέσθαι ἐσται δυνατόν Turn. 6 ὡς πατὴρ τοῖς τέκνοις scripsi: ὁ πατὴρ τῶν τέκνων codd., Turn. 7 χορηγίαν scripsi: δρεῖν codd., Turn. 10 μὲν A: om. Q Turn. 12 ἐν φῇ codd., Turn.: fortasse ὅς γε 12-13 ποιότητας καὶ ποσότητας ποιεῖ scripsi: ποιότητος καὶ ποσότητος codd., Turn. 16 τῷ δυναμένῳ ἰδεῖν hinc ad § 4 b transposui | γὰρ ταῦτα scripsi: γὰρ τοῦτο codd., Turn. 17 καὶ αὐτά scripsi: καὶ αὐτῷ Q: καὶ αὐτῷ cett. | δὲ αὐτὸς AQ: δὲ αὐτῷ Turn. 17-18 ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ὁ Τάτ. huc a § 4 b transposui 18 τοῦτο Q: τοῦτο cett. 19 Fortasse γνωρίζεσθαι **{θέλειν}** 21 ἀγαθῆς καὶ secludendum? 22 ἐπεσκιάσθη scripsi: ἐσεβάσθη codd., Turn. 22-23 τοιαύτης θέας codd., Turn.: fortasse τοιαύτης μαρμαρυγῆς 23 πυρώδης Q 25 δὲ Turn.: om. A: o (?) eras. Q | ἐκλάμπειν A: ἐκλάμπει cett. 26 θεώμενος scripsi: δυνάμενος codd., Turn. 27 καθικνεῖσθαι Turn.: κατικνεῖσθαι AQ 28 δὲ καὶ

save God alone. It is true that the Kosmos also is father of things which are good in so far as they partake of the Good ; but the Kosmos is not, in like measure with God, the author of what is good in living creatures ; for the Kosmos is not the author of their life ; or if it acts as an author of life, it does so only under the compulsion imposed on it by God's will, without which nothing can be or come into being. The Kosmos is to the things within ³ it as a father to his children, in that it is the author of their generation and nutrition ; but it has received from God its supply of good.¹ It is the Good that is the creative principle ; and it is impossible that the creative principle should come to be in any save God alone,—God, who receives nothing, but wills the existence of all things. I will not say ‘makes all things’ ; for he who ‘makes’ things falls short of the fulfilment of his function during long intervals of time, in that he is sometimes making, and at other times not making. And moreover, he who ‘makes’ things makes only qualities and magnitudes ;² for he makes things have certain magnitudes and qualities at one time, and contrary magnitudes and qualities at another time. But God makes by his will the very existence of all things ; and it is in this sense that he is the Father of all things. For God wills things to be, and, in ^{4a} that way,³ these things also have existence. But the Good itself, my son, exists in the highest degree ; for it is by reason of the Good that all other things exist.

. . . For it is a property of the Good that it becomes known^{4b} to him who is able to see it.—*Tat.* Father, you have given me my fill of this good and most beautiful sight ; and my mind’s eye is almost blinded by the splendour of the vision.—*Hermes.* Nay, the vision of the Good is not a thing of fire, as are the sun’s rays ; it does not blaze down upon us and force us to close our eyes ; it shines forth much or little, according as he who gazes on it is able to receive the inflow of the incorporeal radiance. It is more penetrating than visible light in its descent upon us ; but it cannot harm us ; it is full of all immortal life. Even those who are able ⁵ to imbibe somewhat more than others of that vision are again and

¹ I. e. of life, or power to give life to things.

² Qualities and magnitudes, *but not substances*. That is, a ‘maker’ works on something that already exists, and merely makes some change in it.

³ I. e. as being willed by God. ⁴ Perhaps, ‘that it wills to become known’.

πάσης ἀθανασίας Turn. : δὲ πάσης καὶ ἀθανασίας AQ | ἀνάπλεως· καὶ μὴν οἱ
scripsi : ἀνάπλεως ην. οἱ codd., Turn. 29 ἀρρύσασθαι A

πολλάκις δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος· *(ἀπολυθέντες δὲ τοῦ σώματος)* εἰς τὴν καλλίστην δψιν *(ἐνέτυχοι)*, ὡςπερ Οὐρανὸς καὶ Κρόνος, οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ἐντευχήκασιν.—Εἴθε καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὁ πάτερ.—Εἴθε γάρ, ὁ τέκνουν νῦν δὲ ἔτι ἀτονοῦμεν πρὸς τὴν δψιν, καὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἰσχύομεν ἀναπετάσαι ἡμῶν 5 τοὺς τοῦ νοῦ ὄφθαλμούς, καὶ θεάσασθαι τὸ κάλλος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἐκεῖνο[ν] τὸ ἀφθαρτον, τὸ *(ἀλλαγή[π])* τον. τότε γάρ αὐτὸδ δψει, ὅταν μηδὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς εἰπεῖν· ή γὰρ γνώσις αὐτοῦ Βαθεῖα σιωπή ἔστι, καὶ καταργία πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

6 οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι δύναται νοῆσαι ὁ τοῦτο νοῆσας, οὕτε ἄλλο 10 τι θεάσασθαι ὁ τοῦτο θεασάμενος, οὕτε περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀκοῦσαι, οὕτε τὸ σύνολον τὸ σῶμα κινῆσαι· πασῶν γὰρ τῶν σωματικῶν αἰσθήσεών τε καὶ κινήσεων ἐπιλαθόμενος ἀτρεμεῖ· περιλάμψαν δὲ *[πάντα]* τὸν νοῦν, *[καὶ]* τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν ἀναλαμβ*(άν)*ει καὶ ἀνέλκει διὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὅλον αὐτὸν 15 εἰς οὐσίαν μεταβάλλει. ἀδύνατον γάρ, ὁ τέκνουν, ψυχὴν ἀποθεωθῆναι ἐν σώματι ἀνθρώπου *(μένουσαν ἀλλὰ χρὴ μεταβληθῆναι αὐτήν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ)* θεασαμένην τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ *(τὸ)* κάλλος *[τῷ]* ἀποθεωθῆναι.—

7 Πῶς λέγεις, ὁ πάτερ;—Πάσης ψυχῆς, ὁ τέκνουν, διαιρετῆς 20 μεταβολαὶ *(πολλαὶ)* δὴ.—Πῶς πάλιν διαιρετῆς;—Οὐκ ἤκουσας ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς, ὅτι ἀπὸ μιᾶς ψυχῆς τῆς τοῦ παντὸς πάσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰστιν αὗται *(⟨ώσπερ ἀπονευμημέναι⟩)*, *(αἱ)* ἐν τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ κυλινδούμεναι *[⟨ώσπερ ἀπονευμημέναι⟩]*; τούτων τοίνυν τῶν ψυχῶν πολλαὶ αἱ μεταβολαί, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ 25 εὔτυχέστερον, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔρπετώδεις οὖσαι εἰς ἔνυδρα μεταβάλλουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἔνυδροι εἰς χερσαῖα, αἱ δὲ χερσαῖαι εἰς πετεινά, αἱ δὲ ἀέριαι εἰς ἀνθρώπους· αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπειαι, ἀρχὴν ἀθανασίας *[ι]* σχοῦσαι, εἰς δαίμονας

1 δὴ scripsi: δὲ codd., Turn. | ὑπὸ Q Turn.: δὲ A 2 ὕσπερ scripsi: ὥσπερ Q Turn.: ὥσπερ (A?) Flussas 3 ἐντευχήκασιν A: ἐκτευχήκασιν Q Turn. 4 δὲ om. Q 5 οὐκ Turn.: om. AQ 7 ἐκεῖνο scripsi: ἐκείνου codd., Turn. | ἀλάλητον scripsi: ἀληττον codd., Turn. 9 βαλεῖα scripsi: καὶ βαλεῖα AQ (etiam MC teste Reitz.) Turn. 11 ἄλλον codd., Flussas: ἀνθρώπου (id est ἀνον) Turn. 12 τὸ (ante σῶμα) Q (et M teste Reitz.) Turn.: om. A (et C teste Reitz.) 13 ἐπιλαθόμενος Reitz.: ἐπιλαθόμενος codd. (etiam MC teste Reitz.), Turn. 14-15 ἀναλαμβάνει scripsi: ἀναλάμπει codd., Turn. 19 τὸ (ante κάλλος) addidit Reitz. 20 διαιρετὰ (?) Q 21 πολλαὶ δὴ scripsi: om. Q: δὲ cert. 23 εἰσιν αὖται αἱ ἐν Heeren: εἰσιν αὖται ἐν codd. Stob.: εἰσιν αἱ τε ἐν codd. Corp., Turn. | τῷ (ante παντὶ) Q Turn., codd. Stob.: om. A 24 ἀπονευμένες Q 25 αἱ (post πολλαὶ) codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp., Turn. 25-26 ἐπὶ bis codd. Corp., Turn.: εἰς bis codd. Stob. 26 γὰρ codd. Stob.: οὐν

again sunk in blind sleep by the body ; but when they have been released from the body, then they attain to full fruition of that most lovely sight, as Uranos and Kronos, our forefathers, have attained to it.—*Tat.* Would that we too, my father, might attain to it.—*Hermes.* Would that we might, my son. But in this life we are still too weak to see that sight ; we have not strength to open our mental eyes, and to behold the beauty of the Good, that incorruptible beauty which no tongue can tell. Then only will you see it, when you cannot speak of it ; for the knowledge of it is deep silence, and suppression of all the senses. He who has 6 apprehended the beauty of the Good can apprehend nothing else ; he who has seen it can see nothing else ; he cannot hear speech about aught else ; he cannot move his body at all ; he forgets all bodily sensations and all bodily movements, and is still. But the beauty of the Good bathes his mind in light, and takes all his soul up to itself, and draws it forth from the body, and changes the whole man into eternal substance. For it cannot be, my son, that a soul should become a god while it abides in a human body ; it must be changed, and then behold the beauty of the Good, and therewith become a god.—

Tat. What do you mean, father, by saying that the soul 'must 7 be changed' ?—*Hermes.* Every separated soul, my son, passes through many changes.—*Tat.* And what is a 'separated' soul ?—*Hermes.* Have you not heard me say in my General Discourses, that all these souls which shift about from place to place throughout the Kosmos are, so to speak, parted off and portioned out from one soul, even the soul of the universe ? Now these souls undergo many changes, by which some of them pass to a happier lot, and others to a worse lot. Souls of the nature of creeping things change into things which dwell in the waters ; souls which dwell in the waters change into beasts which dwell on land ; souls which dwell on land change into birds of the air ; souls which fly in air change into men. And human souls, when they have attained to a beginning of immortal life, change into daemons,

codd. Corp., Turn. 27 μεταβάλλοντιν codd. Stob. : μεταβάλλονται codd. Corp., Turn. | ἔνυδροι codd. Stob. : τῶν ἔνυδρων codd. Corp., Turn. 28 πετεινά codd. Stob. : πτηνά codd. Corp., Turn. 28-29 αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπειαι . . . σχοῖνσαι scripsi : αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπιναι ἀρχὴν ἀθανασίας ἵσχουσιν codd. Stob. : αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπειαι αἱ ἀθανασίας ἔχουσαι A : αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπειαι ἀθανασίας ἔχουσαι Q Turn.

μεταβάλλουσιν, εἴθ' οὕτως εἰς τὸν τῶν θεῶν χορὸν χωρί[ευ]οῦσι· [χοροὶ δὲ δύο θεῶν, ὁ μὲν τῶν πλαινωμένων, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀπλανῶν.]

8a καὶ αὕτη ψυχῆς ἡ τελειοτάτη δόξα. ψυχὴ δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα εἰσελθοῦσα, ἐὰν κακὴ μείνῃ, οὐ[τε] γεύεται ἀθανασίας, [οὔτε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεταλαμβάνει,] παλίσσυρτος δὲ τὴν ὅδην 5 ὑποστρέφει τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔρπετά· «καὶ ἡ κακοδαίμων, ἀγνοήσασα ἑαυτήν, δουλεύει σώμασιν ἀλλοκότοις καὶ μοχθηροῖς.» καὶ αὕτη καταδίκη ψυχῆς κακῆς.

8b κακία δὲ ψυχῆς ἀγνωσία· ψυχὴ γάρ μηδὲν γνοῦσα τῶν δητῶν, μηδὲ τὴν τούτων φύσιν, μηδὲ τὸ ἀγαθόν, τυφλώττουσα 10 δέ, ἐντινάσσε[τα]ι τοῖς σωματικοῖς πάθεσι, [[καὶ ἡ κακοδαίμων ἀγνοήσασα ἑαυτὴν δουλεύει σώμασιν ἀλλοκότοις καὶ μοχθηροῖς,]] ὥσπερ φορτίον βαστάζουσα τὸ σῶμα, καὶ οὐκ ἀρχούσα, 15 9 ἀλλ’ ἀρχομένη. αὕτη κακία ψυχῆς. τούναντίον δὲ ἀρετὴ ψυχῆς γνωσίς· ὁ γάρ γνοὺς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐσεβής, καὶ 15 ἡδη θεῖος.—Τίς δέ ἐστιν οὗτος, ὁ πάτερ;—Οὐ μὴ πολλὰ λαλῶν, μηδὲ πολλὰ ἀκούων. ὁ γάρ διαλόγοις σχολάζων καὶ ἀκοαῖς, ὁ τέκνον, σκιαμαχεῖ· ὁ γάρ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ [καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν] οὕτε λέγεται οὕτε ἀκούεται. [[τούτον δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσι]] Γαὶ αἰσθήσεις εἰσὶ! [[διὰ τὸ μὴ 20 10a δύνασθαι εἶναι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ]]. γνώσις δὲ αἰσθήσεως πολὺ διαφέρει. αἰσθησίς μὲν γάρ γίνεται τοῦ (ὑλικοῦ) ἐπικρατοῦντος, *(ὅργανφ χρωμένη τῷ σώματι)* «διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι εἶναι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ» γνώσις δὲ [ἐστιν ἐπιστήμης τὸ τέλος, ἐπιστήμη δὲ δῶρον τοῦ θεού· πᾶσα γάρ ἐπιστήμη] ἀσώματος, 25 ὅργανφ χρωμένη αὐτῷ τῷ νοΐ· ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῷ σώματι *(έναντίος)*. ἀμφότερα οὖν χωρεῖ εἰς σῶμα *(εἰσόδησα ψυχή)*, τά τε νοητὰ καὶ τὰ ὄντα. «καὶ τοῦτο ἀλλως εἶναι ἀδύνατον» ἔξ ἀντιθέσεως γάρ καὶ ἐναντιότητος δεῖ τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι. [[καὶ

1 μεταβάλλουσιν Meineke: μεταβάλλουσαι codd. Stob.: μεταβάλλονται codd. Corp., Turn. | εἴθ' AQ: εἰ δ' Turn.: εἴτ'āν codd. Stob. | τῶν (ante θεῶν) codd. Stob., Turn.: om. AQ | χορὸν χωροῦσι scripsi: χορὸν χορεύοντοι AQ: χορὸν ἀπλανῶν χορεύοντοι Turn.: χῶρον (om. χορεύοντοι) codd. Stob. | 2 χοροὶ codd. Corp., Turn.: χῶροι Stob. P²: χῶρον Stob. FP¹ | ἀφανῶν Q: ἀπλανῶν cert. | 3 δὲ (post ψυχὴ) codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp., Turn. | 3-4 εἰς ἀνθρώπον σῶμα εἰσελθοῦσα codd. Corp., Turn.: εἰς ἀνθρώπον ἐλθοῦσα codd. Stob. | 4 οὐ γεύεται scripsi: οὐτε γεύεται codd. Corp., Turn.: οὐποτε τεύχεται codd. Stob. | 5 οὕτε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεταλαμβάνει codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob. | παλίσσυρτος A Turn.: παλίσυρτος Q: παλίσσυρτος codd. Stob. | 6 οὐδὲ om. A | 6 ὑποστρέφει codd. Corp., Turn.: ὑποστρέψει codd. Stob. | ἐπὶ codd. Stob.: εἰς codd. Corp., Turn. | 6-7 καὶ ἡ . . . μοχθηροῖς huc a § 8 b transposui | 7 καὶ (ante αὐτῆς) secludendum? | 7 ψυχῆς ἀγνωσία codd. Stob.: ψυχῆς ἡ ἀγνωσία Q:

and thereafter pass on into the choral dance of the gods;¹ []² that is the crowning glory of the soul. But if a soul, when it has **8 a** entered a human body, persists in evil, it does not taste the sweets of immortal life, but is dragged back again; it reverses its course, and takes its way back to the creeping things; and that ill-fated soul, having failed to know itself, lives in servitude to uncouth and noxious bodies.³ To this doom are vicious souls condemned.

And the vice of the soul is lack of knowledge. A soul that has **8 b** gained no knowledge of the things that are, and has not come to know their nature, nor to know the Good, but is blind,—such a soul is tossed about among the passions which the body breeds; it carries the body as a burden, and is ruled by it, instead of ruling it. That is the vice of the soul. On the other hand, the **9** virtue of the soul is knowledge. He who has got knowledge is good and pious; he is already divine.—*Tat*. And who is such a one, my father?—*Hermes*. One who does not speak many words, nor listen to much talk. He who spends his time in disputation and in listening to men's words is beating the air, my son; for knowledge of God the Father cannot be taught by speech, nor learnt by hearing. . . . Knowledge differs greatly from sense-perception. Sense-perception takes place when that which is material has the mastery; and it uses the body as its organ, for it cannot exist apart from the body. But knowledge []⁴ is incorporeal; the organ which it uses is the **10 a** mind itself; and the mind is contrary to the body. A soul then, when it has entered into a body, admits into itself both things of the mind and things material. It cannot be otherwise; for all things must needs be composed of opposites

¹ I.e. the troop of the star-gods, who circle in the heavens.

² ['There are two choral groups of gods; the one is that of the planets, and the other is that of the fixed stars'].

³ I.e. it undergoes a series of reincarnations in the bodies of irrational animals.

⁴ ['is the perfection of science, and science is a gift of God; for all science'].

ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγρασία cett. | γροῦσα codd. Corp., Turn. : ἐπιγνοῦσα codd.
Stob. 10 τούτου Q: τούτων cett. | μηδὲ τὴν . . . τὸ ἀγαθόν secluden-
dum? 11 δὲ codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp., Turn. | ἐντινάσσεται
Tiedemann: ἐκτινάσσει Q: ἐντινάσσει codd. cett., Turn. 13 ὥσπερ . . . καὶ
secludendum? | οὐκέτι ἀρχούσα codd. Corp., Turn. : οὐ κατάρχοντα codd. Stob.
(οὐκέτι' ἀρχούσα Meineke) 17 διαλέγουσι scripsi: δύο λόγοις codd., Turn.
18 σκομαχεῖ Q 19–20 τούτου . . . οὖσιν hinc ad § 10 a transposui
28 χρωμένους Q: χρωμένη cett. 27 εἰς σῶμα εἰσδῆσα ψυχή, τὰ τε scripsi:
εἰς σώματά τε codd., Turn. 28 τὰ (ante ὄλικά) Q Turn.: om. A

τοῦτο ἄλλως εἶναι ἀδύνατον.]]) 〈(τούτου δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν,)〉 (. . .)—

- 10 b *Tí[s] οὖν ὁ ὑλικὸς θεὸς ὅδι, ὁ κόσμος;*—*O^ύ* κακὸς
(ό) κόσμος, οὐκέ[σ]τι δὲ ἀγαθός· ὑλικὸς γάρ, καὶ [ευ]παθητός.
*καὶ πρῶτος μὲν πάντων παθητῶν, δεύτερος δὲ τῶν ὄντων, [καὶ 5
 αὐτοδεής] καὶ αὐτὸς [ποτὲ μὲν γενόμενος] αἱ̑ς [δὲ] ὡν, ὡν δὲ
 ἐν γενέσει, καὶ γινόμενος αἱ̑ς (τῇ) γενέσει τῶν ποιῶν καὶ τῶν
 ποσῶν. *κινητὸς [γ]άρ(α)*· πᾶσα γὰρ 〈(γένεσις)〉 ὑλικὴ κίνησις
 11 [[γένεσις]] ἐστιν. ή δὲ νοητὴ στάσις κινεῖ τὴν ὑλικὴν κίνησιν
 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἐπεὶ ὁ κόσμος σφαιρά ἐστι, τουτέστι 10
 κεφαλή, [κεφαλῆς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπεράνω ὑλικόν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ποδῶν
 οὐδὲν νοητὸν ὑποκάτω, πᾶν δὲ ὑλικόν,] [Γνῶς δὲ κεφαλὴ
 αὐτὴν σφαιρικῶς κινουμένη, τοῦτο ἐστι κεφαλικώς,] δσα οὖν
 προσήνωται τῷ ὑμένι τῆς κεφαλῆς ταύτης, *(ἐν φ . . .)* ἐστιν
 ή ψυχή, ἀθάνατα πέφυκεν, [ῶσπερ] [[ἐν ψυχῇ δὲ σώματος 15
 πεποιημένου]] [καὶ] πλείω τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα·
 τὰ δὲ πόρρω τοῦ ὑμένος θυητά, πλέον ἔχοντα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ
 σῶμα. [[πᾶν δὲ ζῶον]] ὥστε τὸ πᾶν ἔκ τε ὑλικοῦ καὶ νοητοῦ
 συνέστηκεν. 〈(έμψυχογ δὲ (τοῦ) σώματος πεποιημένου,)〉
 (τὸ) 〈(πᾶν δὴ ζῶον.)〉 20*
- 12 καὶ ὁ μὲν κόσμος πρῶτον 〈(τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων)〉· ὁ δὲ
 ἀνθρωπος δεύτερον ζῶον μετὰ τὸν κόσμον, πρῶτον δὲ τῶν
 θυητῶν [[τῶν [μὲν] ἄλλων ζῶων]] [τὸ ἔμψυχον ἔχει]. οὐκέτι
 δὲ [[μόνον]] οὐκ ἀγαθὸς 〈(μόνον)〉, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακός, ὡς θυητός.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος οὐκ ἀγαθός, ὡς κινητός, οὐ κακὸς δέ, ὡς 25
 ἀθάνατος· ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπος καὶ ὡς κινητὸς (οὐκ ἀγαθός), καὶ
 13 ὡς θυητὸς κακός. *ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ὀχεῖται τὸν τρόπον
 τοῦτον, ὁ νοῦς [ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, ὁ λόγος] ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ή δὲ ψυχὴ
 ἐν τῷ πνεύματι· τὸ (δὲ) πνεῦμα, διῆκον διὰ (τῶν) [φλεβῶν*

1-2 τούτον . . . οὖσιν *huc a § 9 transposui* 3 *Tí scripsi: ris*
codd., Turn. | δὲ *Turn.: δὲ AQ* 3-4 *Οὐ κακὸς ὁ κόσμος*
scripsi (vide § 12): ὁ καλὸς κόσμος AQ (etiam MC teste Reitz.), Turn.
 4 *οὐκέτι scripsi: οὐκ ἐστι codd., Turn.* | *παθητὸς scripsi: εὐπάθητος codd.,*
Turn. 5 *πάντων A: om. Q Turn.* 6 *ποτὲ μὲν γενόμενος Turn.:*
μὲν ποτὲ μὲν γενόμενος Q: μέν ποτε γενόμενος A 7 *τῇ γενέσει scripsi:*
γένεσις Q: γένεσις cett. 8 *κινητὸς ἄρα scripsi: κινητὸς ἐστι Q: κινητὸς*
γάρ cett. 11 *κεφαλῆς δὲ Turn.: κεφαλὴ δὲ Q: κεφαλὴ δὲ A* 12 *οὐδὲν*
νοητὸν Q Turn.: οὐδὲ νοητὸν A 12-13 *Fortasse (ἐν)γοὺς δὲ (ἢ) κεφαλὴ αὐτὴ*
 13 *κεφαλικὸς Q* 14 *ἐν φ addidit Flussas: fortasse ἐν φ μάλιστα ἰδρυται ἡ*
ψυχὴ 18 *πεποιημένον Q Turn.: πεποιημένον (sed σ supra -ον) A* | *πλείω*
scripsi: πλείω Q: πλὴν εἰ A: πλήρη Turn. 17 *τὰ δὲ Turn.: τὰ δὲ AQ*
| θυητά scripsi: ἐν ἢ τὸ AQ: ἐν φ τὸ Turn. 18 *ὥστε Turn.: ὥσπερ οὖν AQ.*

and contraries. And seeing that this is so in all things that exist, . . . —

Tat. What then are we to think of this material God, the **10 b** Kosmos?—*Hermes.* The Kosmos is not indeed evil, but it is not good, as God is; for it is material, and subject to perturbation. It is first among all things that are subject to perturbation, but second among things that are. The Kosmos also¹ is ever-existent; but it exists in process of becoming; it is ever becoming, in that the qualities and magnitudes of things are ever coming into being. It is therefore in motion; for all becoming is material movement. That which is incorporeal and motionless² works the material **11** movement; and it does so in the following way. The Kosmos is a sphere, that is to say, a head; and so, all things that are united to the cerebral membrane³ of this head,—the membrane in which the soul is chiefly seated,—are immortal, for they have in them more soul than body; but the things which are at a distance from the cerebral membrane⁴ are mortal, for they have in them more body than soul. Thus the universe is composed of a part that is material and a part that is incorporeal;⁵ and inasmuch as its body is made with soul in it, the universe is a living creature.

The Kosmos is first among all living creatures; man, as a living **12** creature, ranks next after the Kosmos, and first among those which are mortal. Man is not merely not-good; he is evil, inasmuch as he is mortal. The Kosmos is not-good, as being subject to movement; but it is not-evil, as being immortal. Man, on the other hand, is both not-good, as being subject to movement, and evil, as being mortal. And the soul of man is vehicled thus. **13** The mind has for its vehicle the soul; the soul has for its vehicle the vital spirit; and the vital spirit, traversing the arteries together

¹ I.e. as well as God.

² Viz. the soul of the Kosmos.

³ The 'cerebral membrane' or *meninx* of the Kosmos is the outermost sphere of heaven; and 'the things which are united to it' are the fixed stars and planets.

⁴ I.e. all sublunar things.

⁵ I.e. of body and soul.

Fortasse ὥσπερ οὖν (ἢ ἀνθρώπος, οὔτω καὶ) 19 συνέστηκεν Q: συνέστηκε cett.
 21 πρῶτον Flussas: πρώτος AQ (etiam MC teste Reitz.), Turn. | δὲ δὲ
 AQ Turn.: ὃ μὲν codd. Stob. 22 ἀνθρώπος τὸ δεύτερον codd. Stob.
 | πρῶτον δὲ A Turn.: πρώτος δὲ Q Flussas 26 οὐκ ἀγάθος addidit Reitz.
 27-28 τὸν τρόπον . . . δὲ ψυχὴ fortasse secludendum 28 δὲ (post δὲ) codd.
 Stob.: om. AQ Turn. 29 πνεύματι Turn., codd. Stob.: σώματι AQ
 | Post πνεύματι add. τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ σώματι Turn. | δὲ (post τὸ) add.
 Parthey | διῆκον Stob. F: διῆκε AQ Turn.

καὶ] ἀρτηριῶν [καὶ] ⟨μετὰ τοῦ⟩ αἴματος, κινεῖ τὸ [ζῷον] ⟨σῶμα⟩ καὶ ὥσπερ φόρτου τινὰ βαστάζει. διὸ καὶ τινες τὴν ψυχὴν αἷμα ἐνόμισαν εἶναι, σφαλλόμενοι τῆς φύσεως, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι πρώτου δεῖ [[τοῦ πνεύματος ἀναχωρήσαντος εἰς]] ⟨έξελθεῖν⟩ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τότε, ⟨τοῦ πνεύματος ἀναχωρήσαντος εἰς⟩⁵ ⟨τὸ περιέχον⟩, τὸ αἷμα παγῆναι κατὰ τὰς φλέβας, καὶ τὰς ἀρτηρίας κενωθείσας [τὸ ζῷον] καταλ[εῖ]πειν. καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ σώματος.

14 a ἐκ μᾶς δὲ ἀρχῆς τὰ πάντα ἡρηται, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ κινεῖται, ἵνα πάντων ἀρχὴ γένηται· τὸ δὲ ἐν μόνῳ ἔστηκεν, 10 καὶ οὐ κινεῖται.

14 b [καὶ] τρία τοίνυν ταῦτα, ὁ θεός [καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν], καὶ ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ τὸν μὲν κόσμον ὁ θεὸς ἔχει, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ὁ κόσμος. καὶ γίνεται ὁ μὲν κόσμος τοῦ θεοῦ νίος, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ κόσμου ⟨νίος, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ⟩¹⁵

15 a ὥσπερ ἔγγονος. οὐκ ἄρ(α) ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γνωρίζει, καὶ θέλει γνωρίζεσθαι. τοῦτο μόνον σωτήριον ἄνθρωπῳ ἔστιν, ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ θεοῦ· αὕτη εἰς τὸν "Ολυμπὸν ἀνάβασις· τούτῳ μόνῳ ἀγαθῇ ⟨γίνεται⟩ ψυχή.

15 b < . . . > καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀγαθὴ ⟨μένει>, κακὴ δὲ [[γίνεται]]²⁰ κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνεται.—Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις, ὁ τρισμέγιστε;—Ψυχὴν παιδὸς θέασαι, ὁ τέκνον, [ε]αὐτὴν διάλυσιν αὐτῆς μηδέπω ἐπιδεχομένην, τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς ἔτι δλίγ(ου) δν(τος) καὶ μηδέπω τὸ πάνω ὄγκωμένου, πῶς καλὴν [μὲν] βλέπειν πανταχοῦ, μηδέπω[τε δὲ] τεθολωμένην[ν] ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ σώματος²⁵ παθῶν, ἔτι σχεδὸν ἡρτημένη τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ψυχῆς. ὅταν δὲ ὄγκωθῆ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ κατασπάσῃ αὐτὴν εἰς τοὺς [τοῦ σώματος] ὅγκους, ⟨έγγεννῷ λήθην·⟩ διαλύσασα δὲ ἔαυτὴν

2 φόρτον Usener: τρόπου codd., Turn.

νομίζουσαν codd. Stob.

4 δεῖ codd. Corp., Turn. : δῆ codd. Stob.

codd. Stob. : τὸ πνεῦμα ἀναχωρήσαι codd. Corp., Turn.

Turn. : om. codd. Stob.

6 τὸ (ante αἷμα) om. A

7 κατὰ codd., Turn.

| τὰς (ante ἀρτηρίας) om. A

8 Fortasse ἀρχὴ ⟨τοῦ νοῦ⟩

9 Fortasse ἀρχῆς codd., Turn.

10 πάντων codd., Turn.

11 καὶ (ante οὐ) Turn. : om. AQ

12 μὲν (post τὸν) om. Q

13 μὲν

14 ἔγγονος codd., Turn.

15 σcripsi: οὐ γὰρ codd., Turn.

16 δὲ codd., Turn.

17 δὲ codd., Turn.

18 δὲ codd., Turn.

19 δὲ codd., Turn.

20 δὲ codd., Turn.

3 ἐνόμισαν codd. Corp., Turn. : τὴν φύσιν codd., Turn.

| τῆς φύσεως scripsi: τὴν φύσιν codd., Turn.

5 καὶ τότε AQ

6 τὸ (ante αἷμα) om. A | κατὰ scripsi: καὶ

codd., Turn.

7 κενωθείσας καταλιπεῖν

scripsi: κενωθείσας τὸ ζῷον καταλείπειν codd. Stob.: κενωθῆναι, καὶ τότε τὸ ζῷον

καθελεῖν codd. Corp., Turn.

7–8 ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος codd. Stob.: ἔστι θάνατος

codd. Corp., Turn.

9 Fortasse ἀρχὴ ⟨τοῦ νοῦ⟩ | καὶ μόνον secluden-

dum! | 10 πάντων codd., Turn. | ἐν μόνῳ Q: ἐν μόνῳ

cett.: fortasse ἐν ⟨καὶ⟩ μόνῳ

11 καὶ (ante οὐ) Turn. : om. AQ

12 μὲν

(post τὸν) om. Q

13 μὲν

14 ἔγγονος codd., Turn.

15 σcripsi: οὐ γὰρ codd., Turn.

16 δὲ codd., Turn.

17 δὲ codd., Turn.

18 δὲ codd., Turn.

19 δὲ codd., Turn.

20 Fortasse ⟨φύσια

with the blood, moves the body, and carries it like a burden. Hence some have thought that the soul is the blood. But those who think this are mistaken as to its nature ; they do not know that at death the soul must quit the body first, and then, when the vital spirit has withdrawn into the atmosphere, the blood must coagulate along the course of the veins, and leave the arteries emptied. This is the death of the body.

All things¹ are dependent on one first cause ;² and that first cause is dependent on the One and Only. The first cause is moved, that it may come to be first cause of all things ; the One alone stands fast, and is not moved.

There are these three then,—God, Kosmos, Man. The Kosmos ^{14 a} is contained by God, and man is contained by the Kosmos. The Kosmos is son of God ; man is son of the Kosmos, and grandson, so to speak, of God. God then does not ignore man, but ^{15 a} acknowledges him to the full, and wills to be acknowledged by him. And this alone, even the knowledge of God, is man's salvation ; this is the ascent to Olympus ; and by this alone can a soul become good.

. . . and it never remains good,³ but becomes evil by ^{15 b} necessity.—*Tat.* What do you mean, thrice-greatest one ?—*Hermes.* Look at the soul of a child, my son, a soul that has not yet come to accept its separation from its source ; for its body is still small, and has not yet grown to its full bulk. How beautiful throughout is such a soul as that ! It is not yet fouled by the bodily passions ; it is still hardly detached from the soul of the Kosmos. But when the body has increased in bulk, and has drawn the soul down into its material mass, it generates oblivion ; and so the soul separates itself from the Beautiful and Good,

¹ § 14 a was probably not written by the author of Libellus X.

² Viz. Mind ?

³ Perhaps, ‘The soul is good by nature ; but when it has entered a body, it is corrupted’, and no longer remains good’.

μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὴ ἡ ψυχή· ἐνσωματωθεῖσα δὲ μολύνεται,> καὶ οὐκέτι ἀγαθὴ *(μένει)* | δὲ AQ: om. Turn. 21 ἀνάγκην γίνεται AQ: ἀνάγκην δὲ γίνεται Turn.
 22 αὐτὴν Flussas: ἔαντὴν AQ Turn. 23 δάλιγου ὄντος scripsi (δάλιγον Flussas): δάλιγον Turn.: δάλιγον ὄγκωτο A: δάλιγον ὄγκωτο Q 24 ὄγκω-
 μένου Turn.: ὄγκωμένον A: ὄγκωμένον Q | πᾶς καλὴ scripsi: πᾶς καλὴν
 μὲν AQ: Πᾶς. Καλὴν μὲν Turn. 25 βλέπει Q: βλέπειν cett.: fortasse
 ἐμβλέπειν 26 μηδέπω scripsi: μηδέποτε δὲ codil., Turn. | τεθολωμένη
 scripsi: θολωμένην Q: τεθολωμένην cett. 26 ἡρτημένη Q: ἡρτημένην cett.
 28 διαμόσασα Q

[[έγγεννά λήθην]] [καὶ] τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, οὐκέτι τούτου μεταλαμβάνει, *τὴν δὲ λήθην κακὴ γίνεται.*

16 τὸ δὲ [αὐτὸν] *(έναντίον)* συμβαίνει [καὶ] τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἔξιοῦσιν. ἀναδραμόσα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς *(τὰ)* ἑαυτῆς *(τοῦ πνεύματος χωρίζεται, καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς ψυχῆς)*. [[συστέλλεται 5 τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς τὸ αἷμα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα]] ὁ δὲ νοῦς καθαρὸς γενόμενος τῶν ἐνδυμάτων, θεῖος ὥν φύσει, σώματος πυρίνου *(ἐπὶ) λαβόμενος περιπολεῖ πάντα τόπον, καταλιπὼν τὴν ψυχὴν κρίσει καὶ τῇ κατ’ ἄξιαν δίκη.*—Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις, ὡς πάτερ, *(ὅτι)* ὁ νοῦς τῆς ψυχῆς χωρίζεται [καὶ ἡ 10 ψυχὴ τοῦ πνεύματος], [σοῦ εἰπόντος ἔνδυμα εἶναι τοῦ μὲν νοῦ 17 τὴν ψυχὴν, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς τὸ πνεῦμα];—Συννοεῖν δεῖ, ὡς τέκνον, τὸν ἀκούοντα τῷ λέγοντι [καὶ συμπνεῖν], καὶ δέντεραν ἔχειν τὴν ἀκοὴν τῆς τοῦ λέγοντος φωνῆς. ἡ σύνθεσις [τῶν ἐνδυμάτων] τούτων ἐν σώματι γήνιψ γίνεται. ἀδύνατον γὰρ 15 τὸν νοῦν ἐν γήνιψ σώματι γυμνὸν αὐτὸν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐδράσ^ε(ασθ)αι· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ γήινον σώμα δυνατόν ἔστι τηλικαύτην ἀθανασίαν ἐνεγκεῖν, οὔτε τὴν τοσαύτην ἀρετὴν ἀνέχεσθαι συγχρωτιζόμενον αὐτῇ παθητὸν σώμα. ἔλαβει οὖν ὕσπερ περιβολὴν τὴν ψυχὴν· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ, καὶ αὐτὴ 20 θεία τις οὐσία, καθαπερεὶ περιβολῆς τῷ πνεύματι χρῆται, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ [ἔρων] *(σώμα)* διοικεῖ· *((συστέλλεται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα εἰς τὸ αἷμα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα.))* 18 ὅταν οὖν ὁ νοῦς ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ γήινου σώματος, τὸν ἴδιον εὐθὺς ἐνεδύσατο χιτῶνα, τὸν πύρινον, δν οὐκ ἡδύνατο ἔχων 25 εἰς τὸ γήινον σώμα κατοικῆσαι. γῆ γὰρ πῦρ οὐ βαστάζει· πᾶσα γὰρ φλέγεται καὶ ὑπὸ δλίγον σπινθῆρος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ περικέχυται τῇ γῇ, ὕσπερ ἔρυμα καὶ τεῖχος ἀντέχον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. νοῦς δέ, δέντας ὥν πάντων τῶν [θείων] νοη[μα]τῶν, καὶ τὸ δέντας πάντων τῶν 30

1 οὐκέτι τούτον scripsi: οὐ codd., Turn. 2 τῇ δὲ λήθῃ κακῇ scripsi: ἡ δὲ λήθη κακὰ codd., Turn.

5-6 συστέλλεται . . . πνέμα hinc ad § 17 fin. transposui 4 τὰ ἑαυτῆς scripsi: ἑαυτὴν codd., Turn.

φύσει cett. 7 βύσει Q: 11 ἔνδυμα codd. Corp., Turn.: δύναμιν codd. Stob. 12 ὥ om. codd. Stob. 13 καὶ συμπνεῖν codd. Stob.: καὶ συμπνέειν codd. Corp., Turn.

15 Post τούτων add. ὡς τέκνον codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob.

17 ἐδράσασθαι scripsi: ἐδράσαι codd., Turn. | Post ἔστι add. τὴν codd. Stob. 18 τοσαύτην AQ, codd. Stob.: τοσαύτην Turn.

19 ἀνέχεσθαι codd. Corp., Turn.: ἀνασχέσθαι codl. Stob. | συγχρωτιζόμενον codd. Stob.: συγχρωματιζόμενον (-ζώμενον Q) codd. Corp., Turn. | αὐτῇ Wachsmuth: αὐτῷ codd. Stob.: αὐτῷ codd. Corp., Turn. | Fortasse συγχρωτιζόμενην παθητῷ σώματι 20 οὖν codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob. | περιβολὴν codd. Corp., Turn.: περιβόλαιον codd. Stob.

and no longer partakes of that ; and through this oblivion the soul becomes evil.

But when men quit the body, the process is reversed. The 16 soul ascends to its own place, and is separated from the vital spirit ; and the mind is separated from the soul. Thus the mind, which is divine by nature, is freed from its integuments ; and taking to itself a body of fire, it ranges through all space, leaving the soul to be judged and punished according to its deserts.—*Tat.* What do you mean, father, by saying that the mind is separated from the soul ?—*Hermes.* My son, the learner ought to 17 share in his teacher's thought ; he should be quicker in his listening than the teacher is in his speaking. It is in an earthy body only that the mind and the soul are joined together. The mind cannot, naked and alone, take up its abode in an earthy body ; a body of earth could not endure the presence of that mighty and immortal being, nor could so great a power submit to contact with a body defiled by passion. And so the mind takes to itself the soul for a wrap ; the soul,—for the soul also is in some measure divine,—uses as its wrap the vital spirit ; and the vital spirit controls the body. For the vital spirit is enveloped in the blood, and the soul in the vital spirit. The mind then, when 18 it departs from the earthy body, clothes itself forthwith in its own proper vesture, that is, a vesture of fire, which it could not retain when it took up its abode in the earthy body. For earth cannot sustain fire ; even a little spark is enough to set it all in a blaze ; and it is for this very reason that the earth is encompassed by water, which serves as a barrier and defence to protect it from the flaming heat of the fire.¹ But mind, which is the keenest of all things incorporeal, has for its body fire, the keenest of all the

¹ I. e. the fire of heaven, or the heat emitted by the heavenly bodies.

20-21 αὐτη θεία τις codd. Corp., Turn. : αὐτή τις θεία codd. Stob. 21 καθα-
περὶ περιβολῆς scripsi (καθάπερ περιβολῆ Parthey) : καθάπερ οἱ περὶ AQ : καθα-
περὶ πυρὶ Turn. : καθάπερ ὑπρέπον Stob. I¹ (κ. ὑπρέπη P²) : καθάπερ ὑπρέπει
Stob. F 22-23 συστέλλεται . . . εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα huc a § 16 transposni
24 οὖν codd. Corp., Turn. : om. codd. Stob. 25 ἡδύνατο ἔχων codd.
Stob. : ἡδύνατο ἔχων Q Turn. : ἡδύνατο ἔχων A 27 γάρ φλέγεται codd.
Corp., Turn. : γάρ γῆ φλέγεται codd. Stob. | καὶ (ante διὰ) codd. Corp.,
Turn. : om. codd. Stob. 28 καὶ (ante τὸ) codd. Stob. : om. codd. Corp.,
Turn. 29 νοῦς δὲ ὀξύτατος codd. Stob. : νοῦς ὀξύτατος Q Turn. : ὁ
ὀξύτατος A | ὥν AQ Turn. : om. codd. Stob. 30 πάντων τῶν νοητῶν
scripsi : πάντων τῶν θείων νοημάτων codd. Stob. : πάντων θείων νοημάτων A :
πάντων νοημάτων θείων Q Turn. | καὶ τὸ ὀξύτατον codd. Stob. : καὶ ὀξύτερος
codd. Corp., Turn.

στοιχείων ἔχει σῶμα, τὸ πῦρ. δημιουργὸς γὰρ ὁν [πάντων] ὁ νοῦς ὄργανφ τῷ πυρὶ πρὸς τὴν δημιουργίαν χρῆται. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ παντὸς τῶν πάντων (δημιουργός), ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῶν ἐπιγείων μόνον· γυμνὸς γὰρ ὁν τοῦ πυρὸς ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ νοῦς ἀδυνατεῖ τὰ θεῖα δημιουργεῖν, ἀνθρώπινος ὁν τῇ οἰκήσει. 5

19 a ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη, οὐ πᾶσα μέν, ἡ δὲ εὔσεβής, δαιμονία τίς ἔστι καὶ θεία· καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ, [[μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ σώματος]] τὸν τῆς εὔσεβείας ἀγῶνα ἀγωνισαμένη, —ἀγῶν δὲ εὔσεβείας τὸ γνῶναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῆσαι,—ὅλη νοῦς γίνεται· <καὶ> <μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ σώματος,><ὅταν δαίμων γένηται, πυρίνου τυχεῖν σώματος τέτακται πρὸς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπηρεσίας.> ἡ δὲ ἀσεβῆς ψυχὴ μένει ἐπὶ τῆς ἴδιας οὐσίας, ὑφ' ἐαυτῆς κολαζομένη, καὶ γήνοντα σῶμα ζητοῦσα εἰς δὲ εἰσέλθη.

19 b ἀνθρώπινον δέ· ἀλλο γὰρ σῶμα οὐ χωρεῖ ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν. οὐδὲ 15 θέμις ἔστιν εἰς ἀλλόγους ζῴου σῶμα ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καταπεσεῖν· θεοῦ γὰρ νόμος οὗτος, φυλάσσειν ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑβρεως.

20 —Πῶς οὖν κολάζεται, ὁ πάτερ, ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχή;—Καὶ τίς ἔστι μείζων κόλασις [ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς], ὁ τέκνον, ἡ ἡ ἀσέβεια; ποίον πῦρ τοσαύτην φλόγα ἔχει ὅσην ἡ ἀσέβεια; ποίον δὲ δικετὸν θηρίον <(τοσοῦ-²⁰ τον ἰσχύει)> [δύστε] λυμάναι <(τὸ> σῶμα, ὃσον αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ ἀσέβεια; ἡ οὐχ ὅρασ ὅσα κακὰ πάσχει ψυχὴ ἡ ἀσέβης, βυσώσης αὐτῆς καὶ κεκραγγίας “καίομαι, φλέγομαι· τί εἴπω, τί ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα· διεσθίομαι ἡ κακοδαίμων ὑπὸ τῶν κατεχόντων με κακῶν. [οὕτε βλέπω οὕτε ἀκούω.]” αὐτοὶ αἱ φωναὶ οὐ κολαζομένης εἰσὶ ψυχῆς; ἡ ὡς οἱ 25 πολλοὶ δοκοῦσι καὶ σὺ δοξάζεις, ὁ τέκνον, ὅτι ψυχὴ ἔξελθοῦσα τοῦ σώματος θηριάζεται; ὅπερ ἔστι πλάνη μεγίστη. ψυχὴ γὰρ κολάζεται τούτον τὸν τρόπον. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς, [[ὅταν δαίμων γένηται, πυρίνου τυχεῖν σώματος τέτακται πρὸς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπηρεσίας.]] [καὶ] εἰσδὺς εἰς τὴν ἀσεβὴν ψυχὴν, αἰκίζεται αὐτὴν τὰς τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων μάστιξιν, ὑφ' ὧν 30 μαστιζομένη [ἀσεβῆς ψυχὴ] <(κολάζεται)> τρέπεται <(γὰρ)> ἐπὶ <(βλασφημίας, καὶ)> φόνους καὶ ὑβρεις καὶ [[βλασφημίας καὶ]] θίας ποικίλας δι'

1 σῶμα τὸ τύρ codd. Corp., Turn. : τὸ πῦρ σῶμα codd. Stob. 1-2 γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ὄργανφ scripsi : γὰρ ὁν δ νοῦς τῶν πάντων ὄργανφ codd. Stob. : γὰρ ὁν πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν AQ : γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν Turn. 4 τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς μόνον codd. Stob. : τῶν ἐπιγείων πάντων codd. Corp., Turn. | ἀνθράπωφ codd. Corp., Turn. : ἀνθράποις codd. Stob. 5 ἀνθράπινος (ἀπίος Q) codd. Corp., Turn. : ἀνθράπινον codd. Stob. | οἰκήσει codd. Stob. : διοικήσει codd. Corp., Turn. 6 οὐ codd. Corp., Turn. : om. codd. Stob. 7 τοιαύτη ψυχὴ codd. Corp., Turn. : τοιαύτη καὶ (om. ψυχὴ) codd. Stob. 8 ἀγωνισαμένη codd. Stob. : ἀγωνισμένη θεὸς γίνεται codd. Corp., Turn. 9 τὸν θεὸν codd.

material elements. Mind is the maker of things, and in making things it uses fire as its instrument. The mind of the universe is the maker of all things; but the human mind is a maker of earthly things alone; for the mind which is in man is stripped of its vesture of fire, and therefore cannot make divine things, being merely human, by reason of its place of abode. Now the human **19 a** soul,—not indeed every human soul, but the pious soul,—is daemonic and divine. And such a soul, when it has run the race of piety,—and this means, when it has come to know God, and has wronged no man,—becomes mind throughout; and it is ordained that after its departure from the body, when it becomes a daemon, it shall receive a body of fire, so that it may work in God's service. But the impious soul retains its own substance unchanged; it suffers self-inflicted punishment, and seeks an earthly body into which it may enter.

But it can enter a human body only;¹ for no other kind of body can contain **19 b** a human soul. It is not permitted that a human soul should fall so low as to enter the body of an irrational animal; it is a law of God that human souls must be kept safe from such outrage as that.—*Zat.* Tell me then, father, how **20** are human souls punished?—*Hermes.* Why, what greater punishment can there be, my son, than impiety? What fire burns with so fierce a flame as impiety? What ravenous beast has such power to mangle the body, as impiety has to mangle the very soul? See you not what tortures the impious soul endures? It cries and shrieks 'I am burning, I am all on fire; I know not what to say or what to do; wretch that I am, I am devoured by the miseries that have hold on me.' Are not such cries as these the outcries of a soul that is suffering punishment? Or do you too, my son, suppose, as most men do, that a soul, when it quits the body, is turned into a beast? That is a very great error. Souls are punished thus: the mind, when it has entered an impious soul, **21** torments it with the scourges of its sins, and by these scourgings it is punished; it is impelled to blasphemies against God, and murders and outrages and

¹ This passage (§§ 19 b-22 a) contradicts what is said elsewhere in Libellus X, and cannot have been written by the same person.

Corp., Turn.: τὸ θεῖον codd. Stob. 10 ὅλη codd. Stob.: ἡ δῆ Turn.: ἡδὶ Q 11-12 ὅταν . . . ὑπηρεσίας huc a § 21 transposui 13 ἀσεβῆς codd. Corp., Turn.: ἀτεβούς codd. Stob. 14-15 eis ὁ εἰσέλθη ἀνθρώπειον om. δέ) Q Turn.: eis ὁ εἰσέλθη ἀνθρώπινον A : εἰσελθεῖν, eis ἀνθρώπινον δέ codd. Stob. 15 σῶμα om. man. pr. A 17 φυλάσσει Stob, P: φυλάσσειν cett. 18 ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχή Q Turn.: ψυχὴ ἀνθρωπίνη A 19 ἡ ἡ Turn.: ἡ om. Q: ἡ om. A 19-20 ποῖον πώρ... ἀσέβεια om. Q 22 ἡ Q Turn.: om. A 28-29 ὅταν . . . ὑπηρεσίας hinc ad § 19 a transposui 20 εἰσδῆς Turn.: εἰσδύνεται A : εἰσδύνασα Q 30 ἀσεβῆς scripsi: ἀσεβεστάτην codd., Turn. | ἀμαρτημάτων codd., Turn. | μάστιξ | μάστιξ Q Turn.: μάστιξ A 31 ἀσεβῆς ψυχὴ A : ἡ ἀσεβῆς ψυχὴ Q Turn. 32 Fortasse βλασφημίας (ἢ' ἦν δὲ θεῖς ἀσεβεῖται), καὶ

δῶν ἄνθρωποι ἀδικοῦνται. εἰς δὲ τὴν εὐσεβῆ ψυχὴν δὲ νοῦς ἐμβὰς ὁδηγεῖ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως φῶς· ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐδέποτε ἵσχει *(τὸν θεὸν)* ὑμνοῦσα εὐφημοῦσά τε, *(καὶ)* πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ λόγους καὶ

22 a ἔργοις πάντα εὖ ποιοῦσα, μιμουμέτη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα. διό, ὃ τέκνον, εὐχαριστοῦντα τῷ θεῷ δεῖ εὕχεσθαι καλοῦ τοῦ νοῦ τυχεῖν.

εἰς μὲν οὖν τὸ κρείττον ψυχὴ μεταβαίνει⁵ εἰς δὲ τὸ ἐλαττον ἀδύνατον.

22 b κοινωνία δέ ἔστι ψυχῶν· καὶ κοινωνοῦσι^(ν) *((αἱ))* μὲν *[[αἱ]]* τῶν θεῶν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῖς τῶν ἀλόγων. ἐπιμελοῦνται δὲ οἱ κρείττονες τῶν ἐλαττόνων, οἱ θεοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωποι δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων *[ζῷων]*, ὁ δὲ θεὸς πάντων· πάντων γὰρ οὗτος κρείττων *[καὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ ἐλάττονα]*. ὁ μὲν οὖν κόσμος ὑπόκειται τῷ θεῷ, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος τῷ κόσμῳ, τὰ δὲ ἀλογα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὑπὲρ πάντα καὶ περὶ πάντα. καὶ τοῦ μὲν θεοῦ καθάπερ ἀκτῖνες αἱ ¹⁵ ἐνέργειαι· τοῦ δὲ κόσμου *[ἀκτῖνες]* αἱ φύσεις· τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου, αἱ τέχναι καὶ ἐπιστήμαι. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐνέργειαι, διὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐνεργοῦσι^(αἱ), καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον *(διήκουσι)* διὰ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου φυσικῶν ἀκτῖνων· αἱ δὲ φύσεις διὰ τῶν στοιχείων. *[οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν.]*

23 καὶ αὕτη ἡ τοῦ παντός ἔστι διοίκησις, ἡρτημένων *(πάντων)* ἐκ τῆς ἐνὸς *(τοῦ θεοῦ)* φύσεως, καὶ διοικουμένων δι’ ἐνὸς τοῦ νοῦ⁶ *(οὐ)* οὐδέν ἔστι θειότερον καὶ ἐνεργέστερον, καὶ ἐνωτικώτερον ἀνθρώπων μὲν πρὸς θεούς, θεῶν δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους. οὐτός ἔστιν ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαιμῶν· μακαρία ψυχὴ ἡ τούτου πλήρης, κακοδαίμων δὲ *[ψυχὴ]* ἡ τούτου κενή. — Πῶς τοῦτο πάλιν λέγεις, ὃ πάτερ; — Οἵτινες οὖν, ὃ τέκνον, διὰ πᾶσα ψυχὴ νοῦν ἔχει; *[τὸν ἀγαθόν]* περὶ γὰρ τούτου νῦν ὁ λόγος, οὐ τοῦ ὑπηρετικοῦ περὶ οὐ ἔμπροσθεν εἰρήκαμεν, τοῦ κατα-

2 ἵσχει Q Turn.: ἔχει A 3 ὅμοιόσα Flussas: ὑπνοῦσα AQ Turn. | ἐνέργοις ὑπόκειται Turn.: εὐφημοῦσα δὲ AQ 3-4 λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις Q Turn.: ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις A 4 εὖ ποιοῦσα Flussas: ἐμποιοῦσα AQ Turn. 9-11 αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . τῶν ἀλόγων ζῷων codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp., Turn.: ζῷων seclusit Meineke 12-13 πάντων γὰρ . . . αὐτοῦ ἐλάττονα codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob. 14-15 ὑπὲρ πάντα codd. Corp., Turn.: ὑπὲρ ἄπαντα Stob. P: ὑπεράπαντα Stob. F 15 καθάπερ ἀκτῖνες codd. Corp., Turn.: καθάπερ αἱ ἀκτῖνες codd. Stob.: καθαπερέ ἀκτῖνες Meineke 16 ἀκτῖνες *(post κόσμον)* codd. Corp., Turn.: αἱ ἀκτῖνες codd. Stob.: seclusit Wachsmuth 17 καὶ ἐπιστήμαι codd. Corp., Turn.: καὶ αἱ ἐπιστήμαι codd. Stob. 18 ἐνεργοῦσαι scripsi: ἐνεργοῦσι codd., Turn. 21 παντός ἔστι codd. Corp., Turn.: παντός *(om. ἔστι)* codd. Stob. | ἡρτημένων πάντων scripsi: ἡρτημένη codd., Turn. 22 τῆς ἐνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως scripsi: τῆς ἐνὸς φύσεως codd. Stob.: τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς φύσεως codd. Corp., Turn. | καὶ διοικουμένων scripsi: καὶ διήκουσα codd. Corp., Turn., Stob. F: καὶ ἡ διοίκουσα

manifold deeds of violence by which men are wronged. But when the mind has entered a pious soul, it leads that soul to the light of knowledge ; and such a soul is never weary of praising and blessing God, and doing all manner of good to all men by word and deed, in imitation of its Father. Therefore, my 22 a son, when you are giving thanks to God, you must pray that the mind assigned to you may be a good mind.

A soul then may rise to a higher grade of being, but cannot sink to a lower grade.

There is communion between soul and soul. The souls of the 22 b gods are in communion with those of men, and the souls of men with those of the creatures without reason. The higher have the lower in their charge ; gods take care of men, and men take care of creatures without reason. And God takes care of all ; for He is higher than all. The Kosmos then is subject to God ; man is subject to the Kosmos ; the creatures without reason are subject to man ; and God is above all, and watches over all. The divine forces are, so to speak, radiations emitted by God ; the forces that work birth and growth are radiations emitted by the Kosmos ; the arts and crafts are radiations emitted by man. The divine forces operate by means of the Kosmos, and their operation reaches man by means of the cosmic radiations to which birth and growth are due ; and the forces that work birth and growth operate by means of the material elements. Thus is the 23 universe administered. All things are dependent on the being of God alone, and are administered by means of mind alone. There is nothing more divine than mind, nothing more potent in its operation, nothing more apt to unite men to gods, and gods to men. Mind is ‘the good daemon’¹ ; blessed is the soul that is filled with mind, and ill-fated is the soul that is devoid of it.—*Tat.* Again I ask you, father, what do you mean by that?²—*Hermes.* Do you think then, my son, that every soul has

¹ I. e. the author of a man’s happiness.

² I. e. by speaking of souls ‘devoid of mind’.

Stob. P | δι' codd. Corp., Turn.; τοῦ (om. δι') codd. Stob. 23 οὐ
add. Flussas | οὐδὲν codd. Corp., Turn.; δὲ νοῦς codd. Stob. 24 πρὸς
θεούς codd. Stob.: πρὸς τοὺς θεούς codd. Corp., Turn. | δὲ om. A | πρὸς
ἀνθράπους codd. Stob.: πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθράπους AQ Turn. 25 μακαρία codd.
Corp., Turn.: οὐ δὲ μακαρία codd. Stob. | ἡ (post μακαρία ψυχῆ) codd.
Corp., Turn.: η̄ codd. Stob. 26 πλήρης scripsi: πληρεστάτη codd.,
Turn. | κενή codd. Corp., Turn.: κενωστάτη codd. Stob. 27 λέγεις
πάλιν Α: πάλιν λέγεις cett. 28 ἔχει τὸ ἀγαθόν Α: ἔχει τὸν ἀγαθόν cett.
| τούτου οὐδὲν δὲ λόγος Herren: τούτου δὲ νῦν λόγος codd. Stob.: τούτουν ἔστιν ήμιν
δὲ λόγος codd. Corp., Turn. 29 οὐ τοῦ ὑπηρετικοῦ περὶ οὐ codd. Stob.: οὐ
περὶ τοῦ ὑπηρετικοῦ οὐ codd. Corp., Turn.

24 a πεμπομένου ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης.] [[ψυχὴ γὰρ χωρὶς νοῦ οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἔρξαι δύναται.]] πολλάκις γὰρ ἐξίσταται ὁ νοῦς τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ οὔτε βλέπει ἡ ψυχὴ οὔτε ἀκούει, ἀλλ᾽ ἀλόγῳ φῶφες ἔοικε. «ψυχὴ γὰρ χωρὶς νοῦ “οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἔρξαι δύναται.”» τηλικαύτη δύναμις ἐστι τοῦ 5 νοῦ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νοθρᾶς ψυχῆς ἀνέχεται, ἀλλὰ καταλείπει τὴν [ἐν] τῷ σώματι προσηρτημένην καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγχομένην κάτω. ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ, ὡς τέκνον, νοῦν οὐχ ἔχει· δθεν οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπον ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸν τοιούτον.

24 b ὁ γὰρ ἀνθρωπος φῶν ἐστι θεῖον, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φῶις οὐ¹⁰ συγκρίνεται τοῖς ἐπιγείοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν οὐρανῷ [ἄνω λεγομένοις] θεοῖς· μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ χρὴ τολμήσαντας εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀληθές, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑκείνους ἐστὸν ὁ ὄντως ἀνθρωπος, ἡ πάντως

25 γε ἰσοδυναμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. οὐδεὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν ἐπὶ γῆν κατελεύσεται, οὐρανοῦ τὸν ὅρον καταλιπὼν¹⁵ δὲ ἀνθρωπος καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν [καὶ οὐδὲ ποῖα μέν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ὑψηλα, ποῖα δὲ ταπεινά, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει]. καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τὴν γῆν καταλιπὼν ἀνω γίνεται· τοσοῦτον τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐκτάσεως. διδ τολμητέον²⁰ εἰπεῖν τὸν μὲν («ἐπίγειον») ἀνθρωπον («ἐπίγειον») εἶναι θυητὸν θεόν, τὸν δὲ οὐρανίον θεὸν ἀθάνατον ἀνθρωπον.

διόπερ διὰ τούτων τὰ πάντα διοικεῖται τῶν δύο, κόσμου καὶ ἀνθρώπου, ὑπὸ δὲ [[τοῦ]] ἐνὸς (τοῦ) (θεοῦ) τὰ πάντα.

1 χωρὶς νοῦ codd. Stob.: χωρὶς τοῦ νοῦ codd. Corp., Turn. 2 οὔτ' ἔρξαι
codd. Stob.: οὐτέ τι εἴρξαι codd. Corp., Turn. | ἐξίσταται Meineke: ἐξί-
σταται codd. Stob.: ἐξέστη codd. Corp., Turn. 3 η codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp., Turn.
6 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ . . . ἀνέχεται codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp., Turn. | Fortasse νοθρᾶς ψυχῆς συνάντην 7 τὴν ἐν codd. Stob.: τὴν τοιαύτην
ψυχῆν codd. Corp., Turn. | προσηρτημένην codd. Corp., Turn.: προσκαι-
μένην codd. Stob. | καὶ ἦν' αὐτοῦ Q Turn.: καὶ πρὸς (suprascr. ἦν' man. pr.)
αὐτοῦ A: κατὰ πάντα codd. Stob. 8 η δὲ τοιαύτη codd. Corp., Turn.: ἡ
τοιαύτη δὲ codd. Stob. (‘Αν δὴ! Wachsmuth) | ὡς codd. Stob.: om. codd.
Corp., Turn. 9 ἡ γένεσθαι δὲ codd. Stob.: δεῖ λέγεσθαι codd. Corp., Turn.
10 ζώντης θεῖον codd. Corp., Turn.: θεῖον ζώντης codd. Stob. 10-11 καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις οὐ συγκρίνεται codd. Corp., Turn.: καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ζώοις συγκρινόμενον codd. Stob.: fortasse κ. τ. ἀ. ζ. οὐ συγκριτον 11 τοῖς
ἐπιγείοις scripsi: τῶν ἐπιγείων codd. Corp., Turn.: τῶν ἐπιγείων τοῖς codd.
Stob. | ἐν οὐρανῷ δῶν codd. Corp., Turn.: ἀντα ἐν οὐρανῷ codd. Stob.
12 εἰ χρὴ codd. Corp., Turn.: ἐχρῆν codd. Stob. | τολμήσαντας codd.

mind? []¹ Ostentimes the mind quits the soul ; and at such 24 a times, the soul can neither see nor hear, but is like a beast devoid of reason. For a soul without mind ‘can neither say aught nor do aught’²; so great is the power of mind. Nor does mind endure a torpid soul ; it abandons the soul which is fastened to the body, and held down in the grip of the body. Such a soul, my son, has no mind in it; and therefore such a one ought not to be deemed a man.

For man is a being of divine nature ; he is comparable, not to 24 b the other living creatures upon earth, but to the gods in heaven. Nay, if we are to speak the truth without fear, he who is indeed a man is even above the gods of heaven, or at any rate he equals them in power. None of the gods of heaven will ever quit 25 heaven, and pass its boundary, and come down to earth ; but man ascends even to heaven, and measures it; and what is more than all beside, he mounts to heaven without quitting the earth ; to so vast a distance can he put forth his power. We must not shrink then from saying that a man on earth is a mortal god, and that a god in heaven is an immortal man.

All things then are administered through these two, the Kosmos and Man ; but all things are governed by God alone.

¹ [‘That is, the good mind ; for it is of the good mind that I am now speaking, and not of that mind of which I spoke before, namely, the mind which is employed in service, and is sent down by penal justice.’]

² A quotation from Theognis, l. 177 Bergk.

Stob.: τολμάσαντα codd. Corp., Turn. 12-13 τὸ δληθὲς secludendum ? 13 καὶ codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob. 14 γε codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob. 14 οὐδὲς codd. Stob.: ὅστις codd. Corp., Turn. 15 θεῶν codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob. | γῆς scripsi: γῆς codd., Turn. | καταλείπει Turn.: καταλιπάν cett. 16 καὶ (ante εἰς) codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp., Turn. 17-18 καὶ οἵτε . . . ἀκριβώς μανθάνει codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob.: fortasse retinendum καὶ [] ἀκριβώς μανθάνει 17 ἔστι αὐτῷ Q: ἔστι αὐτῷ Turn.: αὐτῷ ἔστι A 20 τὸ (ante μέγεθός) codd. Stob.: om. codd. Corp., Turn. | αὐτῷ codd. Corp., Turn.: αὐτοῦ codd. Stob. | ἔκτασεως codd. Corp., Turn.: ἔκτασεως codd. Stob. 21 εἰτεῖν codd. Stob.: ἔστιν εἰτεῖν codd. Corp., Turn. 22 οὐράνιον θεὸν Wachsm.: οὐρανὸν θεὸν codd. Stob.: οὐράνιον (οὐρανὸν (?)) Q) εἶναι θεὸν codd. Corp., Turn. 23 διοκέται codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob. 24 τὰ codd. Corp., Turn.: om. codd. Stob.

LIBELLVS XI. (i)

Noū πρὸς Ἐρμῆν

1 a [[κατάσχει οὐν τοῦ λόγου, ὡς τρισμέγιστε Ἐρμῆ, καὶ μέμνησο τῶν λεγομένων.

1 b ὡς δέ μοι ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ὀκνήσω. ἐπεὶ πολλὰ πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα διάφορα περὶ τοῦ παιτὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰπόντων 5 ἔγω τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔμαθον, σύ μοι περὶ τούτου, δέσποτα, διασάφησον σοὶ γὰρ ἀν καὶ μόνῳ πιστεύσατι τὴν περὶ τούτου φανέρωσιν. [ὅς χρόνος.] ἄκουε, ὡς τέκνουν, ὡς ἔχει ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὸ πᾶν.]]

2 (ὅς) θεός, ὁ αἰών, ὁ κόσμος, ὁ χρόνος, ἡ γένεσις.

10

ὁ θεὸς τὸν αἰώνα ποιεῖ,

ὁ αἰών δὲ τὸν κόσμον,

ὁ κόσμος δὲ τὸν χρόνον,

ὁ χρόνος δὲ τὴν γένεσιν.

τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ [ῶσπερ] οὐσία ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθόν, [τὸ καλόν, ἡ 15 εὐδαιμονία, ἡ σοφία,]

τοῦ δὲ αἰώνος, ἡ ταυτότης,

τοῦ δὲ κόσμου, ἡ τάξις,

τοῦ δὲ χρόνου, ἡ μεταβολή,

τῆς δὲ γενέσεως, ἡ δύων [καὶ ὁ θάνατος].

20

ἐνέργειαι δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς καὶ ψυχή,

τοῦ δὲ αἰώνος, ἀθανασία καὶ διαμονή,

τοῦ δὲ κόσμου, ἀποκατάστασις καὶ ἀνταποκατάστασις,

τοῦ δὲ χρόνου, αὔξησις καὶ μεώσις,

τῆς δὲ γενέσεως, ποιότης (καὶ ποσότης).

25

δ οὖν αἰών ἐν τῷ θεῷ,

ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἐν τῷ αἰώνι,

ο δὲ χρόνος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,

ἡ δὲ γένεσις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ.

1 νοῦς Q: νοῦς A Turn. 2-9 κατάσχει . . . τὸ πᾶν hinc transposui; vide post § 6 a 10 ὁ κόσμος Q Turn.: om. A | ὁ χρόνος om. Q 13 τὸν (ante χρόνον) Q Turn.: om. A 14 τὴν Q Turn.: om. A 21 ἐνέρ-

LIBELLVS XI. (i)

A discourse of Mind to Hermes

God, Aeon,¹ Kosmos, Time, Coming-to-be.

2

God makes the Aeon,
the Aeon makes the Kosmos,
the Kosmos makes Time,
and Time makes Coming-to-be.

The essence of God is the Good,
the essence of the Aeon is sameness,
the essence of the Kosmos is order,
the essence of Time is change,
and the essence of Coming-to-be is life.

The workings of God are mind and soul,
the workings of the Aeon are immortality and duration,
the workings of the Kosmos are reinstatement in identity and
reinstatement by substitution,
the workings of Time are increase and decrease,
and the workings of Coming-to-be are quality and quantity.

The Aeon then is in God,
the Kosmos is in the Aeon,
Time is in the Kosmos,
and Coming-to-be is in Time.

¹ Or 'Eternity'.

καὶ ὁ μὲν αἰών ἔστηκε περὶ τὸν θεόν,
ὁ δὲ κόσμος κινεῖται ἐν τῷ αἰώνι,
ὁ δὲ χρόνος περαιοῦται ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,
ἡ δὲ γένεσις γίνεται ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ.

- 3 πηγὴ μὲν οὖν πάντων ὁ θεός, [οὐσία δὲ ὁ αἰών, ὑλη δὲ ὁ κόσμος,] δύναμις δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἰών, ἔργον δὲ τοῦ αἰώνος ὁ κόσμος, γενόμενος οὕποτε, καὶ ἀεὶ γινόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰώνος. διὸ οὐδὲ φθαρήσεται ποτε· αἰών γὰρ ἀφθαρτος. οὐδὲ ἀπολεῖται τι τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦ κόσμου ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰώνος ἐμπειρεχομένου. [ἢ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ [[σοφία]] (οὐσία) τῆς ἔστι; 10 τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ καλόν.] [καὶ ἡ ⟨σοφία⟩ εὑδαιμονία καὶ 4a [ἢ] πᾶσα ἀρετή.] καὶ ὁ αἰών κοσμεῖ [οὖν] τὴν ⟨ὑλην⟩, ἀθανασίαν καὶ διαμονὴν ἐνθεὶς τῇ ὑλῃ. [ἢ γὰρ ἐκείνης γένεσις] [[ἥρτηται ἐκ τοῦ αἰώνος, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ αἰών ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ]] ἡ γὰρ γένεσις [καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν γῇ εἰσιν 15 δύντες] διφυής, ἐν μὲν οὐρανῷ ἀμεταβλήτων καὶ ἀφθάρτων, ἐν δὲ γῇ μεταβλητῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν. ⟨ὁ κόσμος οὖν⟩ ⟨ἥρτηται ἐκ τοῦ αἰώνος, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ αἰών ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ⟩ καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἰώνος Γ ἡ ψυχὴ ὁ θεός, τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ὁ αἰών [τῆς δὲ γῆς ὁ οὐρανός].
4b [καὶ ὁ μὲν θεός ἐν τῷ νῷ, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ ὑλῃ.] [πάντα δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τοῦ αἰώνος.] τὸ δὲ πᾶν τοῦτο σῶμα, ἐν φῷ τὰ πάντα ἔστι σώματα, ⟨ψυχῆς πλῆρες ἔστιν· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ πλήρης τοῦ νοῦ, καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ. ⟨ψυχὴ δὲ⟩ ἐντὸς μὲν αὐτὸς πληροῖ, ἐκτὸς δὲ περιλαμ- 25 βάνει, σωστοιοῦσα τὸ πᾶν, ἐκτὸς μὲν τοῦτο τὸ μέγα καὶ τέλειον ζῷον [τὸν κόσμον], ἐντὸς δὲ πάντα τὰ ζῷα, καὶ ἄνω μὲν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ διαμένουσα (ἐν) τῇ ταυτότητι, κάτω δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ⟨ἄμα⟩ τῇ γενέσει μεταβάλλουσα.
5 συνέχει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πᾶν ὁ αἰών,—εἴτε [δι'] ἀνάγκην, 30 εἴτε πρόνοιαν, εἴτε φύσιν, [καὶ] εἴτε τι ἄλλο οἰεται ἡ οἰηθήσεται τις,—τοῦτο ἔστι [πᾶν], ὁ θεός ἐνεργῶν. ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια (τοῦ) θεοῦ δυνάμει [οὖσα] ἀνυπέρβλητος, γῇ οὔτε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια οὔτε τὰ θεῖα παραβάλλοι ἄν τις. διό, ⟨ὦ⟩ Ἐρμῆ, μῆδεποτε τῶν κάτω μῆτε τῶν ἄνω ὅμοιον τι ἡγήσῃ τῷ θεῷ.
35

1 τῶν θεῶν Q: τὸν θεόν cett. 10 τί scripsi: τίς (vel τις) codd., Turn.
11 ἡ (ante εὑδαιμονία) Turn.: om. AQ 13 ἐνθεὶς τῇ ὑλῃ Q: ἐνθεὶς ὁ αἰών
τῇ ὑλῃ cett.: fortasse ἐνθεὶς ἐκείνῃ 14 γένεσις om. Q 16 διφυής
scripsi: διφυεῖς codd., Turn. 18-17 ἀμεταβλήτων καὶ ἀφθάρτων . . . μετα-

The Aeon stands fast in connexion with God,
the Kosmos moves in the Aeon,
Time passes in the Kosmos,
and Coming-to-be takes place in Time.

God then is the source of all things ; the Aeon is the power of 3 God ; and the work of the Aeon is the Kosmos, which never came into being, but is ever coming into being by the action of the Aeon. And so the Kosmos will never be destroyed ; for the Aeon is indestructible. Nor will anything in the Kosmos perish ; for the Kosmos is encompassed by the Aeon. And the Aeon 4 a imposes order on matter, putting immortality and duration¹ into matter. For things come into being in two different ways ; the things that come into being in heaven are immutable and imperishable, but those that come into being on earth are mutable and perishable. The Kosmos then is dependent on the Aeon, as the Aeon is dependent on God ; the Aeon's source of being is God, and that of the Kosmos is the Aeon.

And this whole body,² in which all bodies are contained, is filled 4 b with soul ; soul is filled with mind ; and mind is filled with God. Soul fills the whole body within, and encompasses it without, giving life to the universe ; without, it gives life to this great and perfect living creature,³ and within, to all the living creatures. In heaven above, soul persists in sameness ; on earth below, it changes as things come into being.

That which holds this universe together⁴ is the Aeon ; (some 5 perhaps think, or will think in time to come, that it is Necessity, or Providence, or Nature, or something else ;) that is to say, it is God at work. And God's working is unsurpassable in power ; nothing human or divine can be compared to it. Deem not then, Hermes, that anything on earth below or in heaven above is

¹ I.e. *finite* duration, as opposed to immortality.

² I.e. the body of the Kosmos.

³ Viz. the Kosmos.

⁴ Or 'keeps the universe in existence'.

βλητῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν scripsi : ἀμετάβλητοι καὶ ἄφθαρτοι . . . μεταβλητοὶ καὶ φθαρτοὶ codd., Turn. 18-19 Fortasse τοῦ μὲν αἰώνος ἀρχὴ 21 τῆς (ante ψυχῆς) om. Q 23-24 ψυχῆς . . . ή δὲ addidit Reitz. 29 ἡμα τῆς γενέσει scripsi : τὴν γένεσιν codd., Turn. 30 τοῦτο τὸ πᾶν scripsi : τοῦτον codd., Turn. 31 εἴτε πρόνοιαν AQ : εἴτε διὰ πρόνοιαν Turn. 32 ἔστιν scripsi : ἔστι πᾶν codd., Turn. 33 δυνάμει scripsi : δύναμις οὐσία codd., Turn. 35 μῆτρε (ante τῶν κάτω) scripsi : μηδέποτε codd., Turn.

έπει τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκπεσῆ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅμοιον τῷ [ἀνομοίῳ καὶ] μόνῳ καὶ ἐνί. [καὶ] μηδὲ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἡγήσῃ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκχωρεῖν· τίς γὰρ κατ' ἑκεῖνον; {τίς ἄλλος αἴτιος} [εἴτε] ζωῆς, καὶ ἀθανασίας καὶ μεταβολῆς ποιητής; τί δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο {ἔργον ἦ} τὸ ποιεῖν; οὐ γὰρ ἀργὸς ὁ θεός· ἐπεὶ πάντα 5 ἀνὴν ἀργά· ἀπαντα γὰρ πλήρη τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔστιν ἀργία οὐδαμοῦ [οὐδὲ ἐν τινι ἄλλῳ]· ἀργία γὰρ ὄνομα κενόν ἔστι, καὶ τοῦ ποιοῦντος καὶ τοῦ γινομένου.

6 a πάντα δὲ δεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τόπον [φοπήν]. ὁ γὰρ ποιῶν ἐν πᾶσιν ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐν τινι ἴδρυ- 10 μένος, οὐδὲ ἐν τι ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντα, {πανταχοῦ} {*ῳ*ν ἐνεργῆς}. δύναμις γὰρ [*ῳ*ν ἐνεργῆς] οὐκ αὐτάρκης ἔστι τοῖς γινομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὰ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῷ.

1 a {*κατάσχεις* οὖν τοῦ λόγου, ὃ τρισμέγιστε ‘Ἐρμῆ, καὶ μέμνησο τῶν λεγομένων.} 15

LIBELLVS XI. (ii)

(Νοῦ πρὸς Ἐρμῆν)

1 b {*. . . ως δέ μοι ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ὀκνήσω.* ἐπεὶ πολλὰ πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα διάφορα περὶ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰπόντων ἐγὼ τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔμαθον, σύ μοι περὶ τούτου, δέσποτα, διασάφησον· σοὶ γὰρ ἀν καὶ μόνῳ πιστεύσαιμι τὴν 20 περὶ τούτου φανέρωσιν.—

[*ὅ χρόνος*] Ἀκονε, ὃ τέκνον, ως ἔχει ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὸ πᾶν.)

6 b θέασαι δὴ δι' ἐμοῦ τὸν κόσμον ὑποκείμενον τῇ σῇ δψει, [τό τε κάλλος αὐτοῦ ἀκριβώς κατανόησον,] σῶμα [μὲν] ἀκήρατον, καὶ οὐ παλαιότερον οὐδὲν ἔστ[α]ι, διὰ παντὸς δὲ 25 7 ἀκμαῖον καὶ νέον [καὶ μᾶλλον ἀκμαίότερον]. ἵδε καὶ τὸν ὑποκείμενον ἐπτὰ κόσμους, κεκοσμημένους τάξει αἰώνιῳ, καὶ

1 οὐ Q: οὐδὲν cett. 3 ἐκχωρεῖν scripsi: ἐγχωρεῖν codd., Turn. | κατ' scripsi: μετ' codd., Turn. 4 καὶ (ante μεταβολῆς) Turn.: om. AQ | ποιητῆς scripsi: ποιότητος codd., Turn. 4-5 αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἢ τὸ ποιεῖν scripsi: αὐτὸς ἄλλο τὸ ποιάσαι codd., Turn. 8 κενόν man. pr. Q Turn.: κενόν A, man. post. Q 9 ἕκαστον τόπον scripsi: ἕκαστον τόπον codd., Turn. 10 βοὴν Q: βοὴν cett. 11 οὐδὲ ἐν τινι ποιῶν Q: οὐδὲ ἐν τι ποιῶν cett. 14-15 § 1 a huc transposui. 15 Fortasse λεξεγμέναν 17-22 § 1 b huc transposui 23 δῆ scripsi: δὲ codd., Turn. 25 οὐδέν ἔστι scripsi: οὐδὲν ἔσται codd., Turn. 27 ἵπτα om. Q

like to God ; else you will err from the truth ; for nothing can be like to the One and Only. And deem not that God resigns aught of his power to another ; for who is as God is ? Who else is the author of life, and the maker both of immortality and of the changing life of mortals ? And what is God's work, if not to make things ?¹ God is not idle ; if he were, then all things would be idle ; for all things are full of God. Nay, in the Kosmos also there is no idleness anywhere ; idleness, whether of the Maker or of that which he makes, is a word devoid of meaning. It needs **6a** must be that all things come into being, and that things are coming into being always and everywhere. For the Maker is in all things ; his abode is not in some one place, nor does he make some one thing ; no, he makes all things, and everywhere he is at work. The things that come into being have no independent power ; to God is subject all that comes into being.

Grasp this my teaching then, thrice-greatest Hermes, and keep **1a** in memory what I tell you.

LIBELLVS XI. (ii)

A discourse of Mind to Hermes

Hermes. . . . But I will not shrink from speaking as the **1b** thought has come to me. Many men have told me many and diverse things concerning the universe and God, and yet I have not learnt the truth. I ask you therefore, Master, to make this matter clear to me. You, and you alone, I shall believe, if you will show me the truth about it.

Mind. Hearken then, my son, and I will tell you how things are, as to God and the universe.

Look upon things through me,² and contemplate the Kosmos **6b** as it lies before your eyes, that body which no harm can touch, the most ancient of all things, yet ever in its prime, and ever new. See too the seven subject worlds,³ marshalled in ever- **7** lasting order, and filling up the measure of everlasting time as

¹ I.e. to make living creatures, or in other words, to put life into the universe and all things in it.

² I.e. 'with the eye of the mind' ; for it is Mind that is speaking.

³ I.e. the seven planets.

δρόμῳ διαφόρῳ τὸν αἰώνα ἀναπληροῦντας. φωτὸς δὲ πάντα πλήρῃ, πῦρ δὲ οὐδαμοῦ <... τ>ῆ γὰρ φιλίᾳ <(τῶν ἐναντίων)> καὶ <(τ>ῆ συγκράσει [[τῶν ἐναντίων]] [καὶ] τῶν ἀνομοίων (τὸ πῦρ) φῶς γέγονε, καταλαμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ [θεοῦ] (ἡλίου) ἐνεργείας, (τοῦ) παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ γεννήτορος, καὶ πάσης 5 τάξεως ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἡγεμόνος τῶν ἐπτὰ κόσμων. σελήνην (<τ>ῆδε, ἐκείνων πρόδρομον πάντων, δργανον τῆς φύσεως, τὴν κάτω ὑλην μεταβάλλουσαν· τήν τε γῆν, μέσην τοῦ παντὸς (<ἰδρυμένην>), ύποστάθμην τοῦ καλοῦ κόσμου [[*ἰδρυμένην*]], τροφὸν καὶ τιθήνην τῶν ἐπιγείων. θέασαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πλήθος 10 τῶν ἀθανάτων ἔφων δοσον ἔστι, καὶ τὸ τῶν θνητῶν, μέσην δὲ ἀμφοτέρων [τῶν τε ἀθανάτων καὶ τῶν θνητῶν] τήν σελήνην 8 α περιπορευομένην. πάντα δὲ πλήρη ψυχῆς, καὶ πάντα κινούμενα, τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν γῆν. [καὶ μήτε τὰ δεξιὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ μήτε τὰ ἀριστερὰ ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, 15 μήτε τὰ ἀνω κάτω μήτε τὰ κάτω ἀνω.]

8 b καὶ ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα γεννητά, ὡς φίλατε ‘Ερμῆ, οὐκέτι ἐμοῦ χρήζεις μαθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ σώματα ἔστι, καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχει, (<τ>ῆ) καὶ κινεῖται· ταῦτα δὲ εἰς ἐν συνελθεῖν ἀδύνατον χωρὶς τοῦ συναγόντος. δεῖ οὖν <(τοιοῦτον)> τινα εἶναι, <(καὶ)> τοῦτον 20 9 [[καὶ]] πάντως ἔνα. [ἐν] διαφόρων γὰρ καὶ πολλῶν οὐσῶν τῶν κινήσεων, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων οὐχ ὁμοίων, μιᾶς δὲ κατὰ πάντων τάξεως τετα[γ]μένης, ἀδύνατον δύο ἢ πλείους ποιητὰς εἶναι. μία γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλῶν οὐ τηρεῖται τάξις· ἥλος δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς παρέψεται, <...> τοῦ κρείτουν, καὶ ἐριοῦσι. καὶ 25 εἰ ἔτερος ἦν ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν μεταβλητῶν [ἔφων] καὶ θνητῶν, ἐπεθύμησεν ἀν καὶ ἀθανάτους ποιῆσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀθανάτων θνητούς. φέρε δέ, εἰ καὶ δύο εἰσί, μιᾶς οὖσης τῆς ὑλης καὶ μιᾶς τῆς ψυχῆς, παρὰ τίνι [ἀν] αὐτῶν ἡ χορηγία [τῆς ποιήσεως]; εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ ἀμφοτέροις, παρὰ τίνι τὸ 30

2 Fortasse οὐδαμοῦ (γῆς) vel οὐδαμοῦ (κάτω): vel πῦρ δ' ἐ(ν) οὐρανῷ (μόνῳ) 2-4 τῇ γὰρ φιλίᾳ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τῇ συγκράσει τῶν ἀνομοίων scripsi: ἡ γὰρ φιλίᾳ καὶ ἡ συγκράσις τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τῶν ἀνομοίων codd., Turn. 8 ἄρχοντος καὶ ἡγεμόνος Turn.: ἄρχοντος καὶ ἡγεμόνων AQ 7 ἵδε scripsi: δὲ codd., Turn. 8 μεταβάλλουσαν Q Turn.: μεταβάλλουσα A 9 τοῦ καλοῦ codd., Turn.: fortasse ὅλον τὸν 10 τροφὴν Q, τροφὸν cett. 11 ὅστον om. Q | τὸ (ante τῶν θνητῶν) eras. man. post. A 11-12 Fortasse μέσης [δὲ] ἀμφοτέρων [] τῆς σελήνης περιπορευομένης 17 γεννητὰ Q | ἀ A : om. Q Turn. 21 ἐνδιαφόρων? 22 τῶν κινήσεων Q Turn.: τῶν κινήσεως A 23 τάξεως τεταμένης scripsi: ταχύτητος τεταγμένης codd., Turn. 25 παρέψεται Q Turn.: παρέψεται A | fortasse (<ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἔσται ὁ ήττων>) τοῦ κρείτουν | ἐρῶσι Turn.: ἐρῶσι A: ἐρῶσι Q 27-28 ἀθανάτους ποιῆσαι . . . θνητούς AQ Turn.: ἀθανάτα ποιῆσαι . . . θνητά Flussas 28 εἰ Turn.:

they run their diverse courses. And all things are filled with light ; but nowhere is there . . . fire ;¹ for by the friendship of contraries, and the blending of things unlike, the fire of heaven has been changed into light, which is shed on all below by the working of the Sun ; and the Sun is the begetter of all good, the ruler of all ordered movement, and governor of the seven worlds. Look at the Moon, who outstrips all the other planets in her course,² the instrument by which birth and growth are wrought,³ the worker of change in matter here below. Look at the Earth, firm-seated at the centre, the foundation ⁴ of this goodly universe,⁵ the feeder and nurse of all terrestrial creatures. See too how great is the multitude of living beings, both those which are immortal and those which are mortal ; and note how the Moon, as she goes her round, divides the immortals from the mortals. And all are filled with soul, and all are in movement, immortals 8 a in heaven, and mortals upon earth.

Now all these have been made. There is no need for me to 8 b tell you that, dear Hermes. It must be so, because they are bodies with soul in them ;—it is the soul that moves them ;—and body and soul cannot meet in one, unless there is some one who brings them together. There must then be such a one ; and he must needs be one. The movements are diverse and many, and 9 the bodies differ one from another, but there is one ordered system which extends through all ; therefore, there cannot be two or more makers. Where there are many makers, one order cannot be maintained ; there will be rivalry among the many ; the weaker will hate the stronger, and they will be at strife. And if the maker of mutable and mortal creatures had been another than the maker of immortals, he would have wanted to make immortals also ; and the maker of immortals would have wanted to make mortals. Yes, and if there are two makers, then, seeing that matter is one and soul is one, to which of the two does the supply of matter and soul belong ? Or if it belongs to both, to

¹ The meaning must have been ‘nowhere, except in heaven, is there a region of unmixed fire’.

² The moon’s movement (relatively to the fixed stars) is more rapid than that of any other planet.

³ Or ‘the instrument by means of which Nature works’.

⁴ Or ‘sediment’.

⁵ Perhaps, ‘of the whole Kosmos’.

ΙΟ πλεῖον μέρος; οὗτοι δὲ νόει, ὡς παντὸς σώματος ζῶντος ἔξ
νήλης καὶ ψυχῆς τὴν σύστασιν ἔχοντος, καὶ τοῦ ἀθανάτου καὶ
τοῦ θνητοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ⟨λογικοῦ καὶ τοῦ⟩ ἀλόγου. πάντα γὰρ
σώματα ζῶντα ἐμψυχα, τὰ δὲ μὴ ζῶντα ὑλη [πάλιν] καθ'
ἔαυτήν ἔστι· καὶ ψυχὴ δομοίως καθ' ἔαυτήν, τῷ ποιητῇ 5
παρακειμένη, τῆς ζωῆς ογκία. [[τῆς δὲ ζωῆς πᾶς αἴτιος ὁ
τῶν ἀθανάτων.]] πῶς οὖν [[καὶ τὰ θνητὰ ζῷα]] ⟨ἡ τῶν ἀθανά-
των ζωὴ⟩ ἀλλι (τῆς) τῶν θνητῶν; πῶς δὲ ⟨εὔλογον τὸν⟩ τὰ
ἀθάνατα [καὶ ἀθανασίαν] ποιοῦντα ζῷα μὴ ⟨καὶ τὰ θνητὰ
ζῷα⟩ ποιεῖν; ⟨τῆς δὴ ζωῆς πάσης⟩ αἴτιος ὁ ⟨τῆς⟩ τῶν 10
ἀθανάτων.⟩

ΙΙ καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἔστι τις ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα, δῆλον. ὅτι δὲ καὶ εἰς,
φανερώτατον καὶ γὰρ μία ψυχὴ, καὶ μία ζωὴ, καὶ μία ὑλη.
τίς δὲ οὐτος; τίς δὲ ἀν ἄλλος ⟨εἴη⟩, εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός; τίνι
γὰρ ἀν ἄλλῳ πρέποι [ζῷα] ἐμψυχα ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ μόνῳ τῷ 15
θεῷ; [εἰς οὖν θεός. γελοιότατον.] καὶ τὸν μὲν κόσμον
ώμολόγησας ἔνα εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἔνα, καὶ τὴν σελήνην
μίαν, καὶ [θειότητα] ⟨τὴν γῆν⟩ μίαν· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν θεὸν
πόστον εἶναι θέλεις; [πάντα οὖν αὐτὸς ποιεῖ.] εἰ πολλοί,
ΙΙΙ b γελοιότατον. ⟨εἰς ἄρα καὶ ὁ θεός. καὶ πάλιν, εἰ πάντα ζῷα 20
ἔστι, καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, μία δὲ κατὰ πάντων
ζωὴ, ⟨ζωὴ δὲ⟩ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται, [καὶ αὕτη ἔστι θεός,] ὑπὸ²
τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρα γίνεται πάντα.⟩

ΙΙΙ a καὶ τί μέγα τῷ θεῷ [ζωὴν καὶ ψυχὴν] καὶ ἀθανασίαν καὶ
μεταβολὴν ποιεῖν, σοῦ τοσαῦτα ποιοῦντος; καὶ γὰρ βλέπεις, 25
καὶ λαλεῖς, καὶ ἀκούεις, καὶ ὀσφραίνῃ, καὶ ἄπτῃ, καὶ περι-
πατεῖς, καὶ νοεῖς, καὶ πνεῖς. καὶ οὐχ ἔτερος μέν ἔστιν ὁ
βλέπων, ἔτερος δὲ ὁ ἀκούων, ἔτερος δὲ ὁ λαλῶν, ἄλλος δὲ
ὁ ἀπτόμενος, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ ὀσφραίνομενος, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ περι-
πατῶν, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ νοῶν, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ἀναπνέων· ἄλλὰ εἰς ὁ 30
ταῦτα πάντα ⟨ποιῶν>.

1 ἀς Q Turn.: οὐ A 3 λογικοῦ καὶ τοῦ addidi. (An secludendum καὶ
τοῦ ἀλόγου?) 6 οὐδία scripsi: altria codd., Turn. 8 ἄλλη scripsi:
ἄλλα codd., Turn. 8-9 τὰ ἀθάνατα scripsi: τὰ ἀθάνατον codd., Turn.
9 ποιοῦντα ζῷα scripsi: ποιοῦντα, ζῶν A: ποιοῦν, τὰ ζῶν Q: ποιοῦν, ζῶν
Turn. 10 ποιῶν AQ: ποιεῖ Turn. 12 δῆλον. ὅτι δὲ καὶ scripsi:
δῆλονότι δὲ καὶ Q Turn.: δῆλονότι καὶ A 13 καὶ μία ζωὴ secludendum?
14 εἰς Q Turn.: ομ. A 15 ἄλλων ἀν A: ἀν ἄλλῳ cett. 16 εἰς οὖν
θεός: γελοιότατον AQ Turn.: γελοιότατον. εἰς οὖν θεός Flussas 17 ὠμολό-
γησας ἔνα εἶναι Turn.: ὠμολόγησεν δεῖ εἶναι AQ | ἔνα (post ἥλιον) Q Turn.:
εκ δεῖ corr. ἔνα A 19 εἰ πολλοί scripsi: ἐν πολλῷ AQ Turn. 20 ζῷα
codd., Turn.: fortasse ζῶντα 25-30 Fortasse καὶ γὰρ [] λαλεῖς καὶ

which of the two does it belong in larger measure? You must 10 understand that every living body, be it immortal or mortal, rational or irrational, is composed of matter and soul. All living bodies have soul in them; things which are not alive are matter apart by itself; and there is likewise soul by itself, laid up in the Maker's keeping; for soul is the substance of which life is made. How then can the life which is in the immortals be other than the life which is in mortal creatures? And how can it be maintained that the maker of those living beings which are immortal is not the maker of those which are mortal also? He therefore is the author of all life, who is the author of the life of the immortals.

It is clear that there is some one who makes these things. And 11 it is manifest that the maker is one; for soul is one, and life is one, and matter is one. And who is that maker? Who else can he be but God alone? To whom save God alone should it belong to put soul into things? You have agreed that the Kosmos is one, and that the Sun is one, and the Moon is one, and the Earth is one; and would you have it that God himself is but one among many? It would be absurd to suppose that there are many Gods. God also then is one. Moreover, if all things, 14 b both those in heaven and those on earth, are alive, and there is one life in them all, and life is made by God, it follows that all things are made by God.

And why should it be thought strange¹ for God to make both 12 a what is immortal and what is mutable, when you yourself do² so many different things? You see; you speak and hear; you smell, and feel by touch; you walk; you think; you breathe. It is not one that sees, another that hears, and another that speaks; it is not one that feels by touch, another that smells, another that walks, another that thinks, and another that breathes;³ but he who does all these things is one.

¹ Or 'a hard task'.

² The Greek verb here translated 'do' is the same that is translated 'make' in the preceding clause.

³ Perhaps, 'You speak and hear, you walk and breathe. It is not one man that hears and another that speaks, nor one that walks and another that breathes'.

ἀκούεις [] καὶ περιπατεῖς [] καὶ ἀναπνεῖς. καὶ οὐχ ἔτερος μέν ἐστιν [] δ
ἀκούων, ἔτερος δὲ ὁ λαλῶν, [] ἄλλος δὲ ὁ περιπατῶν, [] καὶ ἄλλος δ ἀναπνέον

- 12 b ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ δυνατὸν [[έκεινα]] χωρὶς τοῦ <έκεινα> <ποιεῖν τὸν> θεὸν εἶναι. ὥσπερ γάρ, ἂν τούτων καταργηθῆσ, οὐκέτι ζῶν εἰ, οὔτως, [οὐδ'] ἀν ἔκεινων καταργηθῆ, ὁ θεός, ὁ μὴ ζῶν εἰ.
- 13 a θέμις ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι ἐστὶ θεός. εἰ γὰρ ἀποδέδεικται μηδὲν <ποιῶν ἀνθρωπος οὐ> δυνάμενος εἶναι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον 5 ὁ θεός; εἰ γάρ τι ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ ποιεῖ, καὶ <ὁ θεός>, ὁ μὴ θέμις εἰπεῖν, ἀτελής ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ τι ἀργός ἐστι, τέλειος. <ὁ θεός> [δὲ] ἄρα πάντα ποιεῖ.
- 13 b πρὸς ὀλίγον δ' ἄν μοι σεαυτὸν ἐπίδως, ὁ Ἐρμῆ, φάδιον νοῆσαι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον ἐν ὅν, ἵνα πάντα γίνηται [τὰ γινό- 10 μενα, ἡ τὰ ἅπαξ γεγονότα, ἡ τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι]. [[ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, ὁ φίλατε, ζωῆ.]] [τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ καλόν,] τοῦτο δέ 15 ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθόν. [τοῦτο ἐστιν ὁ θεός.] <<ώσπερ γὰρ δὲ ἀνθρωπος χωρὶς ζωῆς>> <^{πνοῆς}> οὐ δύναται ζῆν, οὔτως οὐδὲ δὲ θεός δύναται <εἶναι> μὴ ποιῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν. <<ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, 15 ὁ φίλατε, ζωῆ.||>> τοῦτο γὰρ ὥσπερ [ζωὴ καὶ ὥσπερ κίνησις] <^{οὐσία}> ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, <(τὸ) κινεῖν τὰ πάντα καὶ ζωοποιεῖν.||>>
- 14 a εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτῷ θέλεις νοῆσαι, ἴδε τί σοὶ ἐγγίνεται θέλοντι γεννῆσαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔκεινῳ τοῦτο ὅμοιον· ἔκεινος <γ>ὰρ [α] οὐχ ἡδεῖται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀλλο ἔχει συνεργόν. αὐτὸ- 20 ουργὸς [γ] ἀρ(α) ὁν, ἀεὶ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, αὐτὸς ὁν δὲ ποιεῖ. εἰ γὰρ χωρισθείη αὐτῷ, πάντα μὲν συμπεσεῖσθαι, πάντα δὲ τεθνήξεσθαι ἀνάγκη, ὡς μὴ οὐσης ζωῆς. εἰ δὲ πάντα ζῶα, [μία δὲ καὶ η ζωῆ,] <. . .>.
- 14 b [[εἰς ἄρα καὶ ὁ θεός. καὶ πάλιν, εἰ πάντα ζῶα ἐστι, καὶ 25 τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, μία δὲ κατὰ πάντων ζωὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται, καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶ θεός, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρα γίνεται πάντα.]]
- 14 c [<ζωὴ δέ ἐστιν ἔνωσις [νοῦ] <σώματος> καὶ ψυχῆς. θάνατος δη οὐκ ἀπώλεια τῶν συναχθέντων, διάλυσις δὲ τῆς ἔνώσεως 30 ἐστι.]]
- 15 a [τοίνυν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἰών,
τοῦ δὲ αἰώνος ὁ κόσμος,
τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ὁ ήλιος,
τοῦ δὲ ήλιον ὁ ἀνθρωπος.]
- 15 b <. . .> τὴν δὲ μεταβολὴν θάνατον φασιν εἶναι, διὰ τὸ τὸ 35

1 δυνατὸν scripsi: δυνατὸν codd., Turn. | ἔκεινα ante χωρὶς suprascr. man.
pr. A 2 θεὸν scripsi: θεὸν codd., Turn. 3 εἰ Q Turn.: η A
4 Fortasse οὐκέτι ἐσται 5 δυνάμενος scripsi: δυνάμενον codd., Turn.

Nay, it is not possible for God to exist without doing what 12 b I said he does. You, if you cease to do the things I spoke of, are no longer a living being ; and even so, God, if he ceases to do his work, is no longer God,—a thing which none may dare to say. I have shown that a man cannot exist and yet be doing nothing ; 13 a and still more does this hold good of God. If there is anything which God does not make, then God himself is incomplete,—a thing which none may dare to say ; but if he is idle in nothing, then he is perfect. God then makes all things.

And if you give yourself up to me,¹ Hermes, for a little while, 13 b you will find it easy to understand that God's work is this, and this alone, to bring all things into being ; and this² is the good. For as a man cannot live without breathing, even so God cannot 17 c exist without making that which is good ; and that, dear Hermes, is life. For it is, so to speak, God's very being to generate movement and life in all things. If you wish to understand this 14 a by your own experience, note what takes place in you when you desire to beget offspring. Yet what God does is not like what you do ; for God does not find carnal pleasure in it ; he has no consort to work with him. He works alone then ; and he is ever at his work, and is himself that which he makes.³ If what he makes were separated from him, all things would of necessity collapse and die ; for there would be no life in them. But seeing that all things are alive, []⁴ []⁵.

. . . . But men call the change 'death', because, when it takes 15 b

¹ I.e. 'if you think a little'. To 'give oneself up to Mind' is to think.

² Viz. the coming-into-being of all things.

³ Perhaps, 'and he himself is in that which he makes'.

⁴ [§ 14 c.] 'But life is the union of body and soul. Death then is not the destruction of the things which have been brought together (viz. body and soul), but the dissolution of their union.'

⁵ [§ 15 a.] 'The Aeon then is an image of God ; the Kosmos is an image of the Aeon ; the Sun is an image of the Kosmos ; and Man is an image of the Sun.'

6 ποιεῖ, καὶ ὁ θεός, δὲ μὴ scripsi : ποιεῖ, καὶ εἰ μὴ Turn. : ποιεῖ εἰ μὴ AQ
7 μὴ τι scripsi : μῆτρα codd., Turn. 9 ἐπίδος Turn. : ἐπίδος AQ
10 νοήσαι scripsi : νοήσεις codd., Turn. | γίνηται Q Turn. : γίνεται A
11-12 ξετι. . . . ζωή hinc ad § 17c transposui 12 δέ (ante ξετι τὸ ἀγαθόν) AQ : om. Turn. | ἀλλο
Turn. : ἀλλον Flussas 21 ἀρά ὡν scripsi : γάρ ἀν codd., Turn. | ὁ
ποιεῖ codd., Turn. : fortasse ἐν φῷ ποιεῖ 23 ζῶα codd., Turn. : fortasse
ζῶατα 25-28 § 14 b hinc transposui : vide post § 11 38 τὸ (post διὰ) om. Q

μὲν σῶμα διαλύεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἥωην εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς χωρεῖν [τὰ διαλύμενα].

τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ, φίλτατέ μοι Ἐρμῆ, καὶ τὸ κόσμον
[δεισιδαίμων ὡς] *(δὲ) αἰώνδες* [ἀκούεις] φῆμι μεταβάλλεσθαι,
διὰ τὸ γίνεσθαι μέρος *(τι τῆς ἥωης)* αὐτοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην 5
ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ, μηδέποτε *(δὲ)* διαλύεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα
ἐστι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πάθη, ὅτινήσεις τε καὶ κρύψεις· καὶ ή
16 a μὲν δίνησις στροφή, ηδὲ κρύψις ἀνανέωσις¹. < . . . >
παντόμορφος δέ ἐστιν, οὐ τὰς μορφὰς ἐγκειμένας ἔχων ἐν
ἴαυτῷ, [[δὲ]] αὐτὸς *(δὲ)* μεταβάλλων.

16 b ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ κόσμος παντόμορφος γέγονεν, ὁ ποιήσας τί ἀν
εἶη; ἄμορφος μὲν γὰρ μὴ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παντό-
μορφος, ὅμοιος ἐσται τῷ κόσμῳ. ἀλλὰ μίαν ἔχων μορφὴν,
κατὰ τοῦτο ἐλάττων ἐσται τοῦ κόσμου. τί οὖν φῶμεν αὐτὸν
εἶναι; μὴ εἰς ἀπορίαν τὸν λόγον περιστήσωμεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ 15
ἄπορον περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ νοοῦμένοις. μίαν οὖν ἔχει ἰδέαν, [εἴ τις
ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἰδέα,] ἥτις ταῖς ὄψεσιν οὐχ ὑποσταίη· ἀσώματος
17 a (γάρ). [καὶ πάσας διὰ τῶν σωμάτων δείκνυστι.] καὶ μὴ
θαυμάσῃς εἰ ἐστι τις ἀσώματος ἰδέα· ἐστι γάρ· ὕσπερ
[ἢ τοῦ λόγου] καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ἀκρώρειαι ὀρῶνται μὲν 20
[γάρ] πάντα ἔξεχουσαι, λεῖαι δὲ τῇ φύσει καὶ ὀμαλαῖ εἰσι
παντελῶς.

17 b ἐννοήσας δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον τολμηρότερον, ἀληθέστερον *[δὲ]*
17 c *((νοήσεις τὸν περιέχοντα τὰ πάντα))*. [[ὕσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρω-
πος χωρὶς ἥωης οὐ δύναται ἔγειν, οὔτως οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς δύναται μὴ 25
ποιῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν. τοῦτο γὰρ ὕσπερ ἥωη καὶ ὕσπερ κίνησίς
18 ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ, κινεῖν τὰ πάντα καὶ ἔωποιεῖν.]] ἔνια δὲ τῶν
λεγομένων ἴδιαν ἔννοιαν ἔχειν ὀφείλει, οἷον ὁ λέγω *(νῦν)*
[νόησον]. πάντα *(γάρ)* ἐστιν ἐν τῷ θεῷ, οὐχ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ
κείμενα· δὲ μὲν γὰρ τόπος *[καὶ]* σῶμά ἐστι, καὶ *(πᾶν)* σῶμα 30
(κινητόν τὸ δὲ ἀσώματον) ἀκίνητον, καὶ τὰ *(ἐν αὐτῷ)*
κείμενα κίνησιν οὐκ ἔχει· κείται γὰρ ἄλλως ἐν ἀσωμάτῳ
[φαντασίᾳ]. [[νόησον τὸν περιέχοντα τὰ πάντα.]] καὶ
[νόησον δτι] τοῦ ἀσωμάτου οὐδὲν ἐστι περιοριστικόν, [οὐδὲ
ταχύτερον, οὐδὲ δυνατώτερον,] αὐτὸς δὲ πάντων *(περιοριστικόν)*, 35

3 τούτῳ Q Turn. : τοῦτο A
scripsi: φαμὲν codd., Turn.

8 κρύψεις Q: κρύψις cett.
| αὐτὸν om. A | 16 νοοῦμένοις scripsi:
νοοῦμενον codd., Turn. | lðeav Turn.: εἰ δὲ ἀν AQ | εἴ τις A:
εἴη τις Q: ἥρις Turn. | 17 ίδια scripsi: ίδια codd., Turn. | τ' ὄψεσιν

14 φῶμεν

place, the body is decomposed, and the life departs and is no longer seen.

And speaking in this way, dear Hermes, I say that the Kosmos also is changing through all time, inasmuch as day by day a part of its life passes away out of our sight, but that it is never decomposed. And the things that befall the Kosmos are And 16 a the Kosmos assumes all forms ; it does not contain the forms as things placed in it, but the Kosmos itself changes.

Now if the Kosmos is so made that it assumes all forms, what 16 b is to be said of its Maker ? Shall we say that he is formless ? Surely not that ! Yet if he too assumes all forms, he will be like the Kosmos ; and if he has but one form, he will in that respect be inferior to the Kosmos. What then are we to say of him ? We must not let the discussion end in unsolved doubt ; for in our thoughts of God, no question is insoluble. We will say then that God has one form, and one alone, but it is a form that no eye can see ; for it is incorporeal. And marvel not that there is an 17 a incorporeal form. Such things there are ; for instance, in pictures we see mountain-tops standing out high, though the picture itself is quite smooth and flat.

And if you boldly grasp this conception,¹ you will get a truer 17 b notion of Him who contains all things. There are terms which 18 must be taken in a sense peculiar to the thing spoken of ; and of this, what I am now saying is an instance. All things are in God ; but things are not situated in God as in a place. A place is a body,² and all bodies are subject to movement ; but that which is incorporeal is motionless, and the things situated in it have no movement ; for it is in a different sense that things 'are situated in' what is incorporeal. And the incorporeal³ cannot be enclosed by anything ; but it can itself enclose all things ; it is the quickest

¹ Viz. the conception of incorporeal form, or incorporeality.

² Perhaps, 'is something which contains bodies'.

³ 'The incorporeal', in this passage, means mind or soul.

Q: ταῖς δύεσιν cett. 20-21 Fortasse δρᾶνται μὲν *(τῇ φαντασίᾳ)*: vide [φαντασίᾳ], § 18 23 ἐνοήσας scripsi : ἐννόησον codd., Turn. 24 νοήσεις . . . πάντα huc a § 18 transposui. νοήσεις scripsi : νόησον codd., Turn. 24-27 § 17 c (*ῶσπερ . . . ὥσποιεῦν*) hinc transposui; vide post § 13 b 28 ὁ λέγον Q: ὁ λέγω cett. 30 σῶμά (ante ἔστι) codd., Turn.: fortasse σωματικός vel σωμάτων περιεκτικός 30-31 καὶ πάντα σῶμα κινητόν τὸ δὲ σῶματον ἀκίνητον scripsi: καὶ σῶμα ἀκίνητον AQ: καὶ ἀκίνητον Turn. 33 νόησον . . . πάντα hinc ad § 17 b transposui 34 οὐδέν ἔστι Turn.: οὐδὲ ἔστι AQ

19 [καὶ ἀπειρίστον καὶ] ταχύτατον (ὸν) καὶ δυνατώτατον. καὶ (τὸ)οὗτον νόησον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ. [καὶ] κέλευσόν σου τῇ ψυχῇ εἰς ἣν δὲ καὶ (βούλει γῆν) πορευθῆναι, καὶ ταχύτερόν σου τῆς κέλευσεως ἐκεῖ ἔσται. μετελθεῖν δὲ αὐτῇ κέλευσον ἐπὶ τὸν ὥκεανόν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖ πάλιν ταχέως ἔσται, οὐχ ὡς μετα-₅ βᾶσα ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκεῖ οὖσα. κέλευσον δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτῆναι, καὶ οὐδὲ πτερῶν δεηθή-₁₀ σται· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτῇ οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον, οὐ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου πῦρ, [οὐχὶ δὲ αἰθήρ,] οὐχὶ ἡ (τῶν ἀστέρων) δίνη [οὐχὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων σώματα]. πάντα δὲ διατεμοῦσα ἀναπτήσεται μέχρι τοῦ ἐσχάτου σώματος. εἰ δὲ βουληθείης καὶ αὐτὸς (τὸ) δλον διαρρήξασθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, εἰ γέ τι ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου, 20 a θεάσασθαι, ἔξεστί σοι. οὐδὲ ὅσην δύναμιν, ὅσον τάχος ἔχεις. εἴτα σὺ μὲν δύνασαι ταῦτα, δὲ θεὸς δὲ οὐ; τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τρόπον νόησον τὸν θεόν, ὥσπερ νοήματα, πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ 15 ἔχειν, τὸν κόσμον, ἑαυτόν, (τὸ) δλον.

20 b ἔαν οὖν μὴ σεαυτὸν ἔξισάσης τῷ θεῷ, τὸν θεὸν νοήσαι οὐ δύνασαι· τὸ γὰρ δμοιον τῷ[ν] δμοίᾳ[ν] νοητόν. «(παντὸς σώματος ἐκπηδήσας)» συναγένησον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἀμετρήτῳ μεγέθει [[παντὸς σώματος ἐκπηδήσας]], καὶ πάντα χρόνον 20 ὑπεράρας αἰώνιος γενοῦ, καὶ νοήσεις τὸν θεόν. μηδὲν ἀδύνατον σεαυτῷ ὑπόστησαι· σεαυτὸν ἥγησαι ἀθάνατον, καὶ πάντα δυνάμενον νοήσαι, πᾶσαν μὲν τέχνην, πᾶσαν δὲ ἐπιστήμην. παντὸς ζώου ἥθη (.), παντὸς δὲ ὑψους ὑψηλότερος γενοῦ, καὶ παντὸς βάθους ταπεινότερος· πάσας 25 δὲ τὰς ἀντιθέσεις τῶν ποι(οτ)ήτων σύλλαβε ἐν σεαυτῷ, [πυρός, ὕδατος,] (θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ,) ἔηροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ· καὶ δμοῦ πανταχῇ (νόησον) εἶναι, ἐν γῇ, ἐν θαλάττῃ, ἐν οὐρανῷ· μηδέπω γεγενένησθαι, ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ εἶναι, νέος, γέρων, τεθνηκέναι, τὰ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα 30 δμοῦ νοήσας, χρόνους, τόπους, πράγματα, ποιότητας, ποσό-
21 a τητας, δύνασαι νοήσαι τὸν θεόν. ἔαν δὲ κατακλείσης σου τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι, καὶ ταπεινώσης ἑαυτόν, καὶ εἴπης

2 τοῦτο scripsi: οὕτω codd., Turn.

θῆγαι scripsi: εἰς ἣν δὲ καὶ βούλει γῆν πορευ-

θῆγαι AQ: ἐκεῖσε πορευθῆναι Turn. 4 ἐκεῖ Q Turn.: om. (sed μετ (?) erasum) A

5 καὶ (ante οὕτως) A: om. Q Turn. 5-6 μεταβάσα ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ἀλλ' om. A

8 τὸ (ante τοῦ ἡλίου) om. A 10 ἀναπτήσεται Turn.: ἀναπτήσεται A: ἀναπτήσεται Q

11 βουληθείης Q Turn.: βουληθείη A 12 τοι ἐκτὸς Q: τι ἐκτὸς cett.

18 τῷ δμοίῳ scripsi: τῶν δμοίων codd., Turn. 21 αἰώνιος scripsi: αἰών codd., Turn. 22 σεαυτῷ (post ἀδύνατον) Q: ἐν σεαυτῷ cett. | ὑπόστησαι

of all things, and the mightiest. Think of yourself, and you will 19
 see that it is so. Bid your soul travel to any land you choose, and
 sooner than you can bid it go, it will be there. Bid it pass on
 from land to ocean, and it will be there too no less quickly ; it has
 not moved as one moves from place to place, but it *is* there.
 Bid it fly up to heaven, and it will have no need of wings ;
 nothing can bar its way, neither the fiery heat of the sun, nor the
 swirl of the planet-spheres ; cleaving its way through all, it will fly
 up till it reaches the outermost of all corporeal things.¹ And
 should you wish to break forth from the universe itself, and gaze
 on the things outside the Kosmos (if indeed there is anything
 outside the Kosmos), even that is permitted to you. See what 20 a
 power, what quickness is yours. And when you yourself can do
 all this, cannot God do it ? You must understand then that it is
 in this way that God contains within himself the Kosmos, and
 himself, and all that is ; it is as thoughts which God thinks, that
 all things are contained in him.

If then you do not make yourself equal to God, you cannot 20 b
 apprehend God ; for like is known by like. Leap clear of all that
 is corporeal, and make yourself grow to a like expanse with that
 greatness which is beyond all measure ; rise above all time, and
 become eternal ; then you will apprehend God. Think that for
 you too nothing is impossible ; deem that you too are immortal,
 and that you are able to grasp all things in your thought, to know
 every craft and every science ; find your home in the haunts of
 every living creature ; make yourself higher than all heights, and
 lower than all depths ; bring together in yourself all opposites of
 quality, heat and cold, dryness and fluidity ; think that you are
 everywhere at once, on land, at sea, in heaven ; think that you
 are not yet begotten, that you are in the womb, that you are
 young, that you are old, that you have died, that you are in the
 world beyond the grave ; grasp in your thought all this at once,
 all times and places, all substances and qualities and magnitudes
 together ; then you can apprehend God. But if you shut up your 21 a
 soul in your body, and abase yourself, and say 'I know nothing,

¹ I.e. the outermost sphere of heaven.

scripsi : ὑποστησάμενος codd., Turn. 24 ἥθη scripsi : ἥθος (ex corr. A)
 codd., Turn. 25 ἴψηλότατος Q 26 ἀντιθέσεις τῶν ποιοτήτων scripsi :
 αἰσθήσεις τῶν ποιητῶν codd., Turn. 31 νοήσας Turn. : νοήσεις AQ
 33 ἐαυτούν scripsi : ἐαυτὴν A : αὐτὴν Q Turn.

“Οὐδὲν νοῶ, οὐδὲν δύναμαι· φοβοῦμαι γῆν *(καὶ)* θάλασσαν· εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῆναι οὐ δύναμαι· οὐκ οἶδα τίς ἡμην, οὐκ οἶδα τίς ἔσομαι·” τί σοι καὶ τῷ θεῷ; οὐδὲν γάρ δύνασται τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν *(«νοῆσαι»)*, φιλοσόφατος ὥν καὶ κακὸς *[«νοῆσαι»]*.
5

- 21 b ή γὰρ τελεία κακία τὸ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν *θε[.]όν* τὸ δὲ δύνασθαι γνῶναι, καὶ θελῆσαι, καὶ ἐλπίσαι, ὅδος ἔστιν εὐθὺς *[ἰδία]* τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φέρουσα, καὶ φαδία ὁδεύοντι *[σοι]*. πανταχοῦ συναντήσει *(«σοι»)* *(ὁ θεός)*, καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁφθῆσεται, ὅπου καὶ ὅτε οὐ προσδοκᾶς, γρηγοροῦντι κοιμαμένῳ, πλέοντι 10 ὁδεύοντι, νυκτὸς ἡμέρας, λαλοῦντι σιωπῶντι· οὐδὲν γάρ ἔστιν
22 a ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν *[εἰκόνι]* *(έκείνος)*. εἴτα φῆς “ἀόρατος ὁ θεός”; εὐφῆμησον. καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ φανερώτερος; δι' αὐτὸς τοῦτο πάντα πεποίηκεν, ἵνα διὰ πάντων αὐτὸν βλέψης. [τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν] *[τοῦ θεοῦ]* τοῦτο ή *(«τοῦ θεοῦ»)* ἀρετή, τὸ αὐτὸν 15 φαίνεσθαι διὰ πάντων. οὐδὲν γὰρ *(ἀ)*όρατον, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀσωμάτων *(ὁ)* νοῦς δρᾶται ἐν τῷ νοεῖν, ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν.
22 b ταῦτά σοι ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πεφανέρωται, ὡς τρισμέγιστε. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα δρούσας κατὰ σεαυτὸν νόει, καὶ οὐ διαψευσθῆσῃ.
20

LIBELLVS XII. (i)

Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου περὶ νοῦ Γκοινοῦ¹
πρὸς Τάτ

- 1 'Ο νοῦς, ὡς Τάτ, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐσίας ἔστιν, εἰ γέ τις ἔστιν οὐσία θεοῦ· καὶ πολὰ τις οὖσα τυγχάνει, αὐτὸς μόνος ἀκριβῶς [αὐτὸν] οἶδεν. ὁ νοῦς οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπο- 25

1 γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν scripsi: τὴν θάλασσαν codd., Turn. 4 φιλοσόφατος ὡν καὶ κακὸς A: φιλοσόφατος καὶ κακὸς ὡν Q Turn. 6 τὸν θέόν scripsi: τὸ θεῖον codd., Turn. 7 εὖθὲν τὸν scripsi: εὐθεῖα, ιδία τοῦ codd., Turn. 8 ἀγαθοῦ φέρουσα A: ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ φέρουσα Q Turn. 9 καὶ (ante πανταχοῦ) A (etiam C teste Reitz.): om. Q Turn. 9-10 ὅπου καὶ AQ: ὅπου τε καὶ Turn. 10 γρηγοροῦντι κοιμαμένῳ Q Turn.: γρηγορητὶ κοιμαμένῳ MC teste Reitz.: om. spatius relicto A 12 δ codd., Turn.: fortasse *(iv)* φ | ἔστιν ἑκάποιο scripsi: ἔστιν εἰκόνι AQ: ἔστιν ἐν εἰκόνι Turn. 12-16 Cyrilus c. Julianum 2, 52, Migne 76, 580 B: εἴτα φῆς... φαίνεσθαι διὰ πάντων 12 εἴτα φῆσιν (εἴτα φύσιν Aub., *deinde inquit* Oec.) Cyril.: ταφῆς codd. Corp., Turn. 13

I can do nothing ; I am afraid of earth and sea, I cannot mount to heaven ; I know not what I was, nor what I shall be' ; then, what have you to do with God ? Your thought can grasp nothing beautiful and good, if you cleave to the body, and are evil.

For it is the height of evil not to know God ; but to be capable **21b** of knowing God, and to wish and hope to know him, is the road which leads straight to the Good ; and it is an easy road to travel. Everywhere God will come to meet you, everywhere he will appear to you, at places and times at which you look not for it, in your waking hours and in your sleep, when you are journeying by water and by land, in the night-time and in the day-time, when you are speaking and when you are silent ; for there is nothing which is not God.¹ And do you say 'God is invisible'? **22a** Speak not so. Who is more manifest than God ? For this very purpose has he made all things, that through all things you may see him. This is God's goodness, that he manifests himself through all things. Nothing is invisible, not even an incorporeal thing ; mind is seen in its thinking, and God in his working.

So far, thrice-greatest one, I have shown you the truth. Think **22b** out all else in like manner for yourself, and you will not be misled.

LIBELLVS XII. (i)

*A discourse of Hermes Trismegistus to Tat,
concerning mind in men.*

Hermes. Mind, my son Tat, is of the very substance of God, if **1** indeed there is a substance of God ; and of what nature that substance is, God alone knows precisely. Mind then is not severed

¹ Perhaps, 'for there is nothing in which God is not'.

φανερώτερος Cyril. : φανερώτατος codd. Corp., Turn. 13-14 δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτο πάντα ἐποίησεν codd. Corp., Turn. : διὰ τοῦτο πέποικεν Cyril. 14 αὐτὸν βλέπεις codd. Corp., Turn. : τις αὐτὸν βλέπει Cyril. 15 τοῦτο η τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρετή scripsi : τοῦ (τὸ τοῦ Q) θεοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀρετή codd. Corp., Turn. : τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦτο η ἀρετή Cyril. 16 ἀράτον scripsi : ὄπατόν codd., Turn. 18 ἐπὶ om. A

In Libellis XII. i et XII. ii, codicum QR et Turnebi lectiones adhibui.

21 Fortasse περὶ νοῦ ἀνίνον (i. e. ἀνθρωπίνον)
QR Turn.

24 αὐτὸς scripsi : οὐρός

τετμημένος τῆς οὐσιότητος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ πλωμένος,
καθάπερ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς. οὗτος δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἐν μὲν ἀνθρώ-
ποις Ἀθεός¹ ἔστι· διὸ καὶ τινες τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεῖοι εἰσι,
καὶ ἡ <τούτων ἀνθρωπότης ἐγγύς ἔστι τῆς θεότητος· καὶ
γὰρ ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς <ἀνθρώπους> εἶπεν⁵
ἀθανάτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους θεοὺς θνητούς. ἐν δὲ τοῖς
2 ἀλόγοις ὅφοις <. . .> ἡ φύσις ἔστιν. ὅπου γὰρ [ψυχή, ἔκει
καὶ νοῦς ἔστιν, ὥσπερ ὅπου καὶ] ἡ ψυχή, ἔκει καὶ ψυχή ἔστιν·
ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ὅφοις ἡ ψυχή [ἡ ψυχή] ἔστι κενὴ τοῦ νοῦ.
ὅ γὰρ νοῦς ψυχῶν ἔστιν εὐεργέτης ἀνθρώπων· ἐργάζεται¹⁰
γὰρ αὐταὶ <ἱ>ς [εἰς] τὸ ἀγαθόν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀλόγοις τῇ
<ἱ>δίᾳ² ἔκαστου φύσει συνεργεῖ, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἀντιπράσσει. ψυχὴ γὰρ πᾶσα, ἐν σώματι γενομένη, εὐθέως
ὑπὸ τε τῆς λύπης καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς κακίζεται· σώματος γὰρ
συνθέτου ὥσπερ χυμοὶ ζέουσιν ἡ τε λύπη καὶ ἡ ἡδονή, εἰς δὲ¹⁵
3 ἐμβάσα η ψυχὴ βαπτίζεται. ὅσαις δὲ οὖν ψυχαῖς ὁ νοῦς
ἐπιστατήσῃ, ταύταις φαίνει ἑαυτοῦ τὸ φέγγος, ἀντιπράσσων
αὐτῶν τοῖς προλήμμασιν. ὥσπερ (γὰρ) ἵατρὸς ἀγαθὸς λυπεῖ
τὸ σώμα προειλημμένον ὑπὸ νόσου καίων ἡ τέμνων, τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον καὶ ὁ νοῦς (τὴν) ψυχὴν λυπεῖ, ἔξυφαιρῶν αὐτῆς τὴν²⁰
ἡδονήν, ἀφ' ἣς πᾶσα νόσος ψυχῆς γίνεται. νόσος δὲ μεγάλη
ψυχῆς ἀθεότης· ἐπεὶ ταὶς τῶν ἀθέων δόξα[ε]ις πάντα τὰ
κακὰ ἐπακολουθεῖ, καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. ἀρ' οὖν ὁ νοῦς, ἀντι-
πράσσων αὐτῇ, τὸ ἀγαθὸν περιποιεῖται τῇ ψυχῇ, ὥσπερ καὶ
4 ὁ ἵατρὸς τῷ σώματι τὴν ὑγίειαν. ὕσαι δὲ ψυχαὶ ἀνθρώπιναι²⁵
οὐκ ἔτυχον κυβερνήτου τοῦ νοῦ, τὸ αὐτὸν πάσχουσι ταῖς τῶν
ἀλόγων ὁφών. συνεργὸς γὰρ αὐταῖς γενόμενος, καὶ ἀνέστα-
τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, <. . .> εἰς δὲ φέρονται τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς ὄρέξεως,
πρὸς τὸ ἀλογον συντείνουσαι. καὶ ὥσπερ τὰ ἀλογα τῶν
ὅφων, ἀλόγως θυμούμεναι καὶ ἀλόγως ἐπιθυμοῦσαι οὐ παύον-³⁰
ται, οὐδὲ κόρον ἔχουσι τῶν κακῶν· θυμοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι
ἀλογοι κακίαι ὑπερβάλλουσαι. ταύταις δὲ ὥσπερ τιμωρὸν
καὶ ἔλεγχον ὁ θεός ἐπέστησε τὸν νόμον.—

1 Fortasse ἐξηπλωμένος
scripsi: αὐτῷ QR Turn.

from the substantiality of God, but is, so to speak, spread abroad from that source, as the light of the sun is spread abroad. In men, this mind is . . .¹ Hence some men are divine, and the humanity of such men is near to deity ; for the Agathos Daimon said ‘ gods are immortal men, and men are mortal gods ’. But in the irrational animals, there is instinct in place of mind. Wherever there is life,² there is soul ; but in the irrational animals, the soul is devoid of mind. Mind is a benefactor to the souls of men ; it produces good for them. In the case of the irrational animals, mind co-operates with the special form of instinct which belongs to each several kind of beast ; but in men, mind works against the natural instincts. Every soul, as soon as it has been embodied, is depraved by pain and pleasure ; for pain and pleasure belong to a composite body, and seethe like juices in it, and the soul steps into them and is plunged in them. Those souls then of which mind takes³ command are illuminated by its light, and it counteracts their prepossessions ; for as a good physician inflicts pain on the body, burning or cutting it, when disease has taken possession of it, even so mind inflicts pain on the soul, ridding it of pleasure, from which spring all the soul’s diseases. And godlessness is a great disease of the soul ; for the beliefs of the godless bring in their train all kinds of evils, and nothing that is good. Clearly then, mind, inasmuch as it counteracts this disease, confers good on the soul, just as the physician confers health on the body. But those⁴ human souls which have not got mind to guide them are in the same case as the souls of the irrational animals. For mind co-operates with them, and gives free course to their desires ; and such souls are swept along by the rush of appetite to the gratification of their desires, and strive towards irrational ends ; and like the irrational animals, they cease not from irrational anger and irrational desire, and are insatiable in their craving for evils ; for irrational angers and desires are passions that exceed all else in evil. And to punish and convict such souls as these, God has established penal law.—

¹ Perhaps, ‘this mind is productive of divinity’.

δέξα εἰς QR Turn. 25 δ (ante λαρπὸς) om. R | ὑγείαν Q 27 Fortasse γενόμενος (δ νοῦς) 28 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας Q Turn. : ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις R 29 συντίνοντα scripsi : συντενούσας QR Turn. | καὶ (ante ώσπερ) QR : om. Turn. | τὰ ἄλογα scripsi : τὸ ἔλογον QR Turn. 31 οὐδὲ R : οὐδὲν Q : καὶ οὐδὲν Turn. 33 ἐπέστησε Q Turn., man. post. R : μετέστησε man. pr. R

5 Ἐνταῦθα, ὡς πάτερ, ὁ περὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης λόγος, δὲν ἔμπροσθέν μοι διεξελήνυθας, κινδυνεύει ἀνατρέπεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ πάντως εἰμαρται τῷδε τινι μοιχεύσαι, ή ἴερουσυλῆσαι, η ἄλλο τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι, διὰ τί κολάζεται ὁ [ἔξ] ἀναγκαστός της εἰμαρμένης δράσας τὸ ἔργον; εἰμαρμένης γὰρ πάντα τὰ 5 ἔργα.—(. . .,) ὁ τέκνον, καὶ χωρὶς ἑκείνης οὐδὲν [τι] τῶν σωματικῶν, οὐτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν, γενέσθαι συμβαίνει· εἰμαρται δὲ καὶ τὸν τὸ κακὸν ποιήσαντα [τὸ] (κακὸν) παθεῖν·

6 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δρᾶ, ἵνα πάθῃ διὰ πάσχει θτὶ ἔδρασε. τὸ δὲ οὐν ἔχον, οὐδὲ περὶ κακίας καὶ εἰμαρμένης (δὲ) λόγος· ἐν ἄλλοις 10 μὲν (γὰρ) περὶ τούτων εἰρήκαμεν, οὐν δὲ περὶ νοῦ ἐστιν ἡμῖν δὲ λόγος, τι δύναται νοῦς, καὶ πῶς ἐνδιάφορός ἐστιν, ἐν μὲν ἀνθρώποις τοιόδε, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλέργοις ἕρσοις ἡλλαγμένος· καὶ πάλιν, θτὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀλέργοις ἕρσοις οὐκ ἐστιν εὐεργετικός, (ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὸν ἐργάζεται,) ἀλλ' ἀνομοίως, 15 (οὐκ) ἐν πᾶσι τῷ τε θυμικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν σβεννύσων· καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐλλογίμους [ἀνδρας] δεῖ νοεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀλέργους. πάντες δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι εἰμαρμένη ὑπόκεινται, (ἐπειδή) καὶ γενέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ· ἀρχὴ γὰρ καὶ τέλος τῶν εἰμαρ- 7 μένης. καὶ πάντες μὲν ἀνθρώποι πάσχουσι τὰ εἰμαρμένα· 20 οἱ δὲ ἐλλογίμοι, ὃν ἔφαμεν τὸν νοῦν ἡγεμονεύειν, οὐχ ὅμοιῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις πάσχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κακίας ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ (γὰρ) κακοὶ ὄντες πάσχουσι.—Πῶς πάλιν λέγεις, ὁ πάτερ; δὲ μοιχεύσας οὐ κακός; δὲ φονεὺς οὐ κακός, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες;

—Ἄλλ' ὁ ἐλλογίμος, ὁ τέκνον, οὐ μοιχεύσας πείσεται, ἀλλ' 25 ὡς (δὲ) μοιχεύσας, οὐδὲ φονεύσας, ἀλλ' ὡς (δὲ) φονεύσας. καὶ ποιότητα μεταβολῆς ἀδύνατόν ἐστι διεκφυγεῖν, φσπερ καὶ 8 γενέσεως· κακίαν δὲ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι διεκφυγεῖν ἐστι. [διὸ] καὶ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαιμονος, ὁ τέκνον, ἔγω ἥκουσα λέγοντος ἀ εἰ καὶ [εἰ] ἐγγράφως (ἔξ)εδεδώκει, πάνυ ἀν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων 30 γένος ὠφελήκει· ἑκείνος γὰρ μόνος, ὁ τέκνον, [[ἄληθῶς]] ὡς

1-2 οὐ . . . διεξελήνυθας scripsi : δ . . . ἔξεληνθῶς QR Turn.

4 διὰ τί κολάζεται δ Turn.: καὶ κολάζεται η δ QR | ἀναγκαστός scripsi : ἐξ ἀνάγκης QR Turn.

6 τι R Turn.: ἐστι Q 8 καὶ τὸν τὸ κακὸν ποιήσαντα κακὸν παθεῖν scripsi : καὶ τὸ κακὸν ποιήσαντα, τὸ παθεῖν Turn.: καὶ τὸν καλὸν ποιήσαντα τὸ παθεῖν QR²: καὶ τὸ καλὸν ποιήσαντα παθεῖν man. pr. R 9 Fortasse διὰ τοῦτο (εἰμαρται αὐτὸν) δρᾶ(ν)

10 οὐ scripsi : οὐ QR Turn. 13 ἕρσοις (ante ἡλλαγμένος) QR : om. Turn. 14 ἀλέργοις (post μὲν τοῖς) Q Turn.: ἄλλοις R 15 ἀνομοίως scripsi : ἀνόμοιος QR Turn.

18 οἱ (ante ἀνθρώποι) om. Q 22-23 πάσχουσιν, ἀλλὰ . . . κακοὶ ὄντες om. Q 26 οὐδὲ φονεύσας om. Q 29-30 λέγοντος ἀ εἰ καὶ ἐγγράφως scripsi : λέγοντος δεῖ

φονεύσας om. Q

Tat. But if that is so, father, it would almost seem that the 5 doctrine of destiny which you have explained to me before is overthrown. If a man is inevitably destined to commit adultery, or sacrilege, or some other crime, why is punishment inflicted on one who has been compelled by destiny to do the deed? It is destiny that has committed all these crimes.—*Hermes.* It is true, my son, that . . . , and that nothing, whether good or bad, which has to do with the body, can come to pass apart from destiny. But it is destined also that he who has done evil shall suffer evil; and to this end he does it,¹ that he may suffer the penalty for having done it. But for the present, we are not discussing evil- 6 doing and destiny. Of those matters I have spoken elsewhere; but we are now concerned with mind, and the questions we have to consider are these,—what mind can do, and how it admits of differences, being of one sort in men, and of another sort in the irrational animals. And further, we have to consider that in the irrational animals mind does not work good, whereas in men it works good, but not alike in all men; for not in all men does it quench the passions of anger and desire. The one sort of men we must hold to be rational, and the other sort irrational. Now all men are subject to destiny, inasmuch as all are subject to birth and death;² for a man's destiny begins at his birth, and ends at his death. And all men undergo what destiny has appointed for 7 them; but rational men (that is, those who, as I said, are governed by mind) do not undergo it in the same way as the irrational. They are freed from wickedness; they undergo what is destined, but they are not wicked.—*Tat.* Once more, father, what do you mean? The adulterer, and the murderer, and all the rest, are they not wicked?—*Hermes.* Nay, my son, the rational man has not committed adultery or murder, yet he must undergo what is destined, as the adulterer and the murderer undergo it. It is impossible for a man to escape from his destined death, just as it is impossible for him to escape from his destined birth; but from wickedness a man can escape, if he has mind in him. I will tell 8 you, my son, what I heard the Agathos Daimon say. If he had put forth in writing what he said, he would have conferred a great benefit on the human race; for being the first-born god, he alone,

¹ Perhaps, 'to this end he is destined (or compelled) to do it'.

² Literally, 'birth and change'; but 'change' here means 'death'.

πρωτόγονος θεός, τὰ πάντα κατιδών, θείους («ἀληθῶς») λόγους ἐφέγέστο. ἡκουσα γοῦν αὐτοῦ ποτε λέγοντος ὅτι Γέν εστι τὰ πάντα, καὶ μάλιστα νοητὰ σώματα· ζῶμεν δὲ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ αἰώνι. καὶ ὁ νοῦς τούτου ἀγαθός εστιν, δπερ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ψυχή· τούτου δὲ τοιούτου ὄντος, οὐδὲν διαστατὸν; τῶν νοητῶν· ὡς οὖν δυνατὸν νοῦν, ἀρχοντα πάντων, καὶ 9 ψυχὴν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ, ποιεῖν δπερ βούλεται¹. σὺ δὲ νόει, καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνένεγκαι πρὸς τὴν πενθινὴν ἐπύθου μου ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης [τοῦ νοῦ]. ἐὰν γὰρ τοὺς ἐριστικοὺς λόγους ἀκριβῶς ἀφέλῃ, ὃ 10 τέκνον, εὐρήσεις ὅτι ἀληθῶς πάντων ἐπικρατεῖ ὁ νοῦς [ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ψυχή], καὶ εἰμαρμένης, καὶ νόμου, καὶ τῶν ἀλλων πάντων· καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἀδύνατον, οὔτε εἰμαρμένης ὑπεράνω θε(ἶναι) [νοῦν] ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, οὔτε ἀμελήσασαν, ἀπερ 15 συμβαίνει, ὑπὸ τὴν εἰμαρμένην (Θ)είναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον λελέχθω. [τὰ τοῦ Ἅγαθοῦ Δαίμονος ἀριστα.]—

Καὶ θείως, ὃ πάτερ, ταῦτα, καὶ ἀληθῶς καὶ ὠφελίμως. 10 ἐκεῖνο δέ μοι ἔτι διασάφησον· ἔλεγες γὰρ τὸν νοῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἔφοις φύσεως δίκην ἐνεργεῖν, συνεργοῦντα αὐτῶν ταῖς ὄρμαις. αἱ δὲ ὄρμαι τῶν ἀλόγων ὕδωρ, ὡς οἷμαι, πάθη 20 εἰσίν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς συνεργεῖ ταῖς ὄρμαις, αἱ δὲ ὄρμαι πάθη, καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἀρα παθ(ητ)ός εστι, συγχρω[μα]τίζων τοῖς πάθεσιν.—Εὗγε, ὃ τέκνον· γενναίως πυνθάνη, δίκαιον δὲ πικάμε ἀποκρίνασθαι. πάντα, ὃ τέκνον, τὰ ἐν σώματι [[ἀσώματα]] παθητά. καὶ κυρίως (μὲν) αὐτά ἐστι («τὰ σώματα») 25 παθη(τά). (καὶ τὰ ἀσώματα δὲ) (. . .). πᾶν γὰρ τὸ κινοῦν ἀσώματον, πᾶν δὲ τὸ κινούμενον σῶμα· [[καὶ τὰ ἀσώματα δὲ]] [κινεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ] [κίνησις δὲ πάθος] πάσχει οὖν ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὸ κινοῦν καὶ τὸ κινούμενον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχον, τὸ δὲ ἄρχομενον. (ώστε καὶ ὁ νοῦς, ἐν σώματι 30 μὲν ὕδωρ, παθητός εστιν,) ἀπαλλαγεῖς δὲ τοῦ σώματος, ἀπηλλάγη καὶ τοῦ πάθους. Γιᾶλλον δέ ποτε, ὃ τέκνον, οὐδὲν ἀπαθές, πάντα δὲ παθητά. διαφέρει δὲ πάθος παθητοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεργεῖ, τὸ δὲ πάσχει· τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ ἐνεργεῖ. ἢ γὰρ ἀκίνητά ἐστιν ἢ κινεῖται· ὅπότερον δὲ 35

2 αὐτοῦ ποτὲ Q Turn.: ποτὲ αὐτοῦ R 4 δπέρ ἐστιν QR: δπέρι ἐστι (typographi, ut videtur, errore) Turn. 7 βιβλεται Turn. 8-9 ἐπίθου μοι man. pr. R: γρ'. ἐπόνου μον R² 13-14 ὑπεράνω θε(ἶναι) Flussas: ὑπεράνωθεν οὖν QR (etiam MAC teste Reitz.) Turn. 15 θε(ἶναι) Flussas: θε(ἶναι) QR (etiam A teste Reitz.), Turn.: οὖν MC teste Reitz. 18 διάφορον

my son, had seen all things, and spoke words that are in very truth divine. I once heard him say ' . . .' ¹. Think on these ⁹ words, and apply this teaching to the question which you asked me just now, that is, the question about destiny. For if you are careful to put aside contentious arguments, my son, you will find that in very truth mind is master of all things,—master of destiny, and of penal law, and of all else ; and for mind nothing is impossible, neither to exalt a human soul above destiny, nor, if the soul, as sometimes happens, gives no heed, to make it subject to destiny. As to destiny then, let this suffice.—

Tat. This teaching, father, is divine ; it is both true and helpful. But there is yet another thing which I must ask you to ¹⁰ explain. You said that in the irrational animals mind works in the way of instinct, co-operating with their impulses. Now the impulses of the irrational animals are passive affections,² I suppose ; and if mind co-operates with the impulses, and the impulses are passive affections, then mind also must be passively affected, being polluted by contact with the passive affections.—*Hermes.* Well said, my son ! Your question shows the right spirit, and it is only fair that I should answer it. All things that are in a body, ¹¹ my son, are subject to passive affection. It is the bodies themselves that are subject to passive affection in the primary sense of the term ; but the incorporeals³ also . . .⁴ For everything that moves something is incorporeal, and everything that is moved is body ; both the mover then and that which is moved are passively affected, the one being the ruler, and the other that which is ruled. And so, mind, as long as it is in a body, is subject to passive affection ; but when it is freed from the body, it is freed from the passive affection also. . . .⁵ You must not let yourself

¹ The saying of the Agathos Daimon, as given in the MSS., is meaningless.

² πάθη, here and throughout the paragraph, might also be translated 'perturbations'.

³ The 'incorporeals' spoken of in this passage are, or include, mind and soul.

⁴ Perhaps, 'are passively affected under certain conditions' (that is, when they are in a body).

⁵ The passage here omitted is meaningless as given in the MSS.

man. pr. R : διασάφησον cett.

22 παθητός scripsi : πάθος QR Turn.

QR Turn. : fortasse συγχρωτιζόμενος

29 καὶ τὸ κινοῦν Q Turn. : τὸ κινοῦν τε R

28 παθητά scripsi : πάθη QR Turn

34-35 τὸ δὲ πάσχει . . . καθ'

αὐτὰ ἐνεργεῖ om. Q | καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ Turn. : καὶ καὶ καθ' ἀντὰ R

21 συνεργεῖ Turn. : συνεργεῖται QR

| συγχρωτίζων scripsi : συγχρωματίζων

26 παθητά scripsi : πάθη QR Turn

ἀν γέ, πάθος ἔστι. τὰ δὲ ἀσώματα ἀεὶ ἐνεργεῖται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παθητὰ ἔστι.¹ μὴ οὖν σε αἱ προσηγορίαι ταραττέωσαν. Γὴ τὲ γὰρ ἐνέργεια καὶ τὸ πάθος ταύτον ἔστιν.¹ εὐφημοτέρῳ δὲ τῷ ὄντοι χρήσασθαι οὐ λυπεῖ.—Σαφέστατα, δὲ πάτερ, τὸν λόγον ἀποδέδωκας.—⁵

- 12 Κάκεινο δὲ ὄρα, δὲ τέκνον, ὅτι δύο ταῦτα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ θεὸς παρὰ πάντα τὰ θυητὰ ζῷα ἔχαριστο, τόν τε νοῦν καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἴστριμα τῇ ἀθανασίᾳ. [τὸν δὲ προφορικὸν ⟨λέγει·] τούτοις δὲ εἴ τις χρήσαιτο εἰς ἀδεῖ, οὐδὲν τῶν ἀθανάτων διοίσει, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ ἐν σώματι εἶναι μόνον ¹⁰ διοίσει, καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, δόηγηθήσεται ὑπὸ διοίσει.]
- 13 a ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν καὶ μακάρων χορόν.—Τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ζῷα λόγῳ οὐ χρῆται, δὲ πάτερ;—Οὐ, τέκνον, ἄλλα φωνῆ. πάμπολυ δὲ διαφέρει λόγος φωνῆς· ὃ μὲν γὰρ λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ιδία δὲ ἐκάστου φωνή ἔστι γένους ¹⁵ ζῴου.—Ἄλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, δὲ πάτερ, ἔκαστον κατὰ ἔθνος διάφορος ὁ λόγος.—Διάφορος μέν, δὲ τέκνον, (ἢ διάλεκτος,) εἴς δὲ ὁ ἀνθρώπος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος εἴς ἔστι· καὶ μεθερμηνεύεται, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Περσίδι καὶ Ἑλλάδι. ⟨. . .⟩ ⟨(δὲ οὖν λόγος ἔστιν εἰκὼν ²⁰ τοῦ νοῦ), καὶ (δὲ) νοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ.⟩
- 13 b ὁ γὰρ μακάριος θεὸς Ἀγαθὸς Δαιμῶν ψυχῆν μὲν ἐν σώματι ἔφη εἶναι, νοῦν δὲ ἐν ψυχῇ, [λόγοι] [θεὸν] δὲ ἐν τῷ νῷ.
- 14 a [τὸν οὖν θεὸν τούτων πατέρα.] [[ό οὖν λόγος ἔστιν εἰκὼν καὶ νοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ]] [καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ τῆς ιδέας, ἢ δὲ ιδέα τῆς ²⁵ ψυχῆς.] ἔστιν οὖν τῆς μὲν ὑλῆς τὸ λεπτομερέστατον ἀήρ, ἀέρος δὲ ψυχή, ψυχῆς δὲ νοῦς, νοῦ δὲ θεός. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς περὶ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντων, δὲ νοῦς περὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ἢ δὲ ψυχῆ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα, δὲ ἀήρ περὶ τὴν ὑλην.

1-2 Fortasse τὰ δὲ [α]σώματα ἀεὶ ἐνεργεῖται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ⟨ἀεὶ⟩ παθητά ἔστι 1 ἀσώματα Q Turn. : σώματα (γρ'. ἀσώματα man. post.) R | καὶ διὰ Q Turn. R²: τὸ διὰ man. pr. R 7 παρὰ QR Turn. : περὶ C teste Reitz. | θυητὰ ζῷα Q Turn. R³: ἔθνη τῶν ζώων man. pr. R ο λέγει scripsi: ἔχει QR Turn. | τις εἰ τι corr. R 12-13 γάρ ἄλλα ζῷα λόγῳ οὐ Q Turn. R⁴: γάρ ζῷα οὐ man. pr. R 13 χρῆται Turn.: χρῆται QR 15-16 ἐκάστου φωνῆ ἔστι γένους ζώου. ἄλλα καὶ Q Turn.: ἐκάστου γένους ζώου φωνή ἔστι καλή, καὶ man. pr. R: post καλή add. ἄλλα R⁵ 17 ὁ (ante λόγος) om. R 18 δὲ (post εἰς) Q Turn.: μὲν R

be confused by the use of these terms; . . .¹ but there is no harm in using the better-sounding word.²—*Tat*. You have explained the matter most clearly, father.—

Hermes. There is another thing to be considered, my son. ¹² There are two gifts which God has bestowed on man alone, and on no other mortal creature. These two are mind and speech; and the gift of mind and speech is equivalent to that of immortality. If a man uses these two gifts rightly, he will differ in nothing from the immortals; or rather, he will differ from them only in this, that he is embodied upon earth; and when he quits the body, mind and speech will be his guides, and by them he will be brought into the troop of the gods and the souls that have attained to bliss.—*Tat*. But do not the other living creatures use ^{13 a} speech, father?—*Hermes*. No, my son; they have voice, but not speech; and speech is very different from voice. All men have speech in common; but each kind of living creatures has its special sort of voice.—*Tat*. But among men also, father, each nation has a different speech.—*Hermes*. Languages differ, my son, but mankind is one; and speech likewise is one. It is translated from tongue to tongue, and we find it to be the same in Egypt, Persia, and Greece. . . . Speech then is an image of mind; and mind is an image of God.

That blessed god, the Agathos Daimon, said ‘soul is in body, ^{13 b} mind is in soul, and God is in mind’. The rarest part of matter ^{14 a} then is air; the rarest part of air is soul; the rarest part of soul is mind; and the rarest part of mind is God. And God deals with all things, and permeates all things; mind deals with soul; soul deals with air; and air deals with gross matter.

¹ ‘These terms’ are probably ‘working actively’ and ‘passively affected’, both of which are applicable to embodied mind. The author’s meaning might perhaps be expressed by writing here ‘for it is one and the same thing (viz. embodied mind) that both works actively and is passively affected’.

² I.e. there is no harm in saying that embodied mind ‘works actively’, and omitting to say that it is ‘passively affected’.

20 καὶ ἐν ἑλλάδι R
posui

20-21 ὁ οὖν . . . θεοῦ ^a § 14 a *init.* trans-
21 τοῦ νοῦ addidit Flussas
man. pr. R

25 ἡ δὲ λόγος Q Turn. R²: λόγος

27 θεὸς (post δὲ μὲν) Q Turn. R²: om. man. pr. R

LIBELLVS XII. (ii)

(Ἐρμοῦ πρὸς Τάτ.)

- 14b *(...) ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ [ἡ] πρόνοια καὶ [ἡ] φύσις ὅργανά ἔστι τῆς διοικήσεως τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τῆς τάξεως τῆς ὥλης.*
- 14c καὶ τῶν μὲν νοητῶν ἔκαστον ἔστιν *(εὐ) [οὐσίᾳ], οὐσία δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ταυτότης* τῶν δὲ τοῦ παντὸς σωμάτων ἔκαστον πολλά ἔστιν. *((καὶ 5 ἡ ὥλη μία'))* ἔχεται*(ι)* γὰρ τῆς ταυτότητος τὰ *(ά)σύνθετα σώματα, καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν εἰς ἄλλη ποιούμενα, ἀεὶ τῆς ταυτότητος τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν σώζει. ἐν δὲ τοῖς *[ἄλλοις]* συνθέτοις πᾶσι σώμασιν ἀριθμὸς ἔκαστον*
- 15a ἔστι*'* χωρὶς γὰρ ἀριθμὸν σύντασιν ἡ σύνθεσιν *[ἡ διάλυσιν]* ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἑνάδες τὸν ἀριθμὸν γεννῶσι καὶ αὔξουσι, καὶ πάλιν 10 διαλυθμένον εἰς ἕαντας δέχονται. *[[καὶ ἡ ὥλη μία.]]*
- 15b οὐδὲ σύμπας κόσμος οὖτος, οὐ μέγας θεός, καὶ τοῦ μείζονος εἰκὼν, καὶ ἡνωμένος ἑκείνῳ, καὶ σώζων τὴν τάξιν κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς, πλήρωμά ἔστι τῆς ἡωῆς· καὶ οὐδένεν 15 ἔστιν ἐν τούτῳ, διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος *((ἀπὸ))* τῆς πρώτης *[[ἀπὸ]]* καταστάσεως, οὐτε τοῦ παντὸς οὐτε τῶν κατὰ μέρος, οὐδὲ *χρή*. νεκρὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν οὐτε γέγονεν οὐτε ἔστιν οὐτε ἔσται ἐν *(τῷ)* κόσμῳ. *ζῶν* γὰρ ἡθέλησεν διὰ πατήρα αὐτὸν *ὑ* 20 εἶναι ἔστι*'* ἀν συνεστήκη· διὸ καὶ θεὸν εἶναι ἀνάγκη. πῶς ἀν οὐν δύναιτο, ὁ τέκνον, ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἐν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνι, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἡωῆς πληρώματι, νεκρὰ εἶναι; η γὰρ νεκρότης φθορά ἔστιν, η δὲ φθορὰ ἀπώλεια. πῶς οὖν μέρος τι δύναται φθαρῆναι τοῦ ἀφθάρτου, η ἀπολέσθαι τι τοῦ θεοῦ; —Οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει οὖν, ὁ πάτερ, τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἡωῖς, δοντα αὐτοῦ μέρη; —Εὐφήμησον, ὁ τέκνον, πλανάμενος τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τοῦ γινο- 25 μένου. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ τέκνον, ἀλλ' ὡς σύνθετα σώματα διαλύεται. η δὲ διάλυσις οὐ θάνατος ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ

2 ἔστι Q Turn.: εἶναι R 5-6 καὶ ἡ *(μὲν?)* ὥλη μία *huc a § 15 a fin. transposui* 6 ἔχεται γὰρ τῆς ταυτότητος scripsi: ἔχοντα γὰρ τὴν ταυτότητα QR Turn. | τὰ om. Q | *διαλύμενα* scripsi: σύνθετα QR Turn. 11 διαλυθμένον scripsi: διαλύμεναι QR Turn. 13 σώζων man. pr. R *(σώζων Α teste Reitz.)*: σύσωζων QR² Turn. (συσώζων CM teste Reitz.) 13-14 κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν scripsi: καὶ βούλησιν QR Turn. 14 τῆς ἡωῆς Q Turn.: τῆς πρὸς ἡωῆς R 15-16 τοῦ αἰῶνος . . . οὐτε τοῦ παντὸς om. Q | αἰῶνος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης καταστάσεως scripsi: αἰῶνος, τῆς πατρός ἀποκαταστάσεως Turn.: αἰῶνος τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως R 18 ζῶν . . . αὐτὸν scripsi: ζῶν . . . αὐτὸν QR: ζῶν . . . αὐτῷ Turn.: ζῶν . . . αὐτῷ Flussas 19 συνεστήκη scripsi: συνεστηκε Q Turn.: συνεστηκε R 20 πατρὸς scripsi:

LIBELLVS XII. (ii)

A discourse of Hermes to Tat.

Hermes. . . . And necessity¹ and providence and nature are 14 b instruments by means of which the Kosmos is governed, and by means of which matter is set in order.

Each of the intelligibles² is one, and sameness is their essence; but each of 14 c the bodies contained in the universe is many. And matter is one; for the incomposite bodies³ cleave to sameness, and though they change into one another, they maintain their sameness unimpaired for ever. But in every com- 15 a posite body there is number; for there cannot be combination or composition unless there is number. And the units generate number and increase it, and receive it back into themselves when it is broken up.

Now this whole Kosmos,—which is a great god, and an image 15 b of Him who is greater, and is united with Him, and maintains its order in accordance with the Father's will,—is one mass of life; and there is not anything in the Kosmos, nor has been through all time from the first foundation of the universe, neither in the whole nor among the several things contained in it, that is not alive. There is not, and has never been, and never will be in the Kosmos anything that is dead. For it was the Father's will that the Kosmos, as long as it exists, should be a living being; and therefore it must needs be a god also. How then, my son, 16 could there be dead things in that which is a god, in that which is an image of the Father, in that which is one mass of life? Deadness is corruption, and corruption is destruction. How then can any part of that which is incorruptible be corrupted, or any part of that which is a god be destroyed?—*Tat*. Is it not true then, father, that the living creatures in the Kosmos die? And are they not parts of the Kosmos?—*Hermes*. Say not so, my son. You are misled by the terms that men apply to that which takes place.⁴ The living creatures do not die, my son; but they are composite bodies, and as such, they undergo dissolution. Dissolution is not death; it is only the separation of things which

¹ Perhaps, ‘(destiny) and necessity’; see § 21.

² I.e. incorporeal things.

³ I.e. the four cosmic elements.

⁴ I.e. by the common use of the word ‘death’.

κράματος ὁ διάλυσις¹. διαλύεται δὲ οὐχ ἵν' ἀπόληται, ἀλλ' ἵνα νέα γένηται. ἐπεὶ τίς τῆς ζωῆς ἔστιν η ἐνέργεια; οὐχὶ κίνησις; τί οὖν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀκίνητον; οὐδέν, ὃ τέκνον.—

17 Οὐδὲ η γῆ ἀκίνητός σοι δοκεῖ, ὃ πάτερ;—Οὐ, τέκνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολυκίνητος μόνη ἥδε καὶ στάσιμος. πῶς οὐκ ἀν γελοῖον⁵ εἴη τὴν τροφὸν πάντων ἀκίνητον εἶναι, τὴν φύουσαν καὶ γεννῶσαν τὰ πάντα; ἀδύνατον γάρ χωρὶς κινήσεως φύειν τι [τὸν φύοντα]. γελοιότατον δὲ ἐπύθου, εἰ τὸ τέταρτον μέρος ἄργον ἔσται· οὐδὲν γάρ ἔτερον σημαίνει τὸ ἀκίνητον σῶμα

18 ἡ ἄργιλον. πᾶν τούννῃ ἔσθι καθολικῶς, ὃ τέκνον, τὸ δὲ ἐν¹⁰ κόσμῳ κινούμενον [ἢ κατὰ μείωσιν η αὔξησιν]. τὸ δὲ κινούμενον καὶ ζῆ. τὸ δὲ ζῶ[ο]ν πᾶν οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὸ αὐτὸν (ἀεὶ) εἶναι· ὅν γάρ δροῦ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἀμετάβλητος, ὃ τέκνον, ἔστι, τὰ δὲ μέρη αὐτοῦ πάντα μεταβλητά, οὐδὲν δὲ φθαρτὸν ἡ ἀπολλύμενον· αἱ δὲ προσηγορίαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταράτ-¹⁵ τουσιν. οὐ γάρ η γένεσίς ἔστι ζωῆς ἀρχῆ, ἀλλ' [ἢ] αἰσθήσεως· οὐδὲ η μεταβολὴ θάνατος, ἀλλὰ λήθη. τούτων τούννῃ οὕτως ἔχοντων, ἀθάνατα πάντα (ἔξι ὅν πᾶν ζῶον συνέστηκε^ν), η ὑλὴ [ζωῆ], τὸ πνεῦμα [ὅν νοῦς], η ψυχή [ἔξι οὖν πᾶν ζῶον συνέστηκε]]· πᾶν δρα ζῶον ἀθάνατον διὰ²⁰ τὴν ἀθανασίαν² αὐτῶν.

19 πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον (ἀθάνατος) ὁ ἀνθρωπός, ὁ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δεκτικὸς καὶ τῷ θεῷ συνουσιαστικός. τούτῳ γάρ μόνῳ τῷ ζῶῳ ὁ θεὸς δύμιλει, συκτὸς μὲν δι' ὄντερων, ημέρας δὲ διὰ συμβόλων, καὶ διὰ πάντων αὐτῷ προλέγει τὰ μέλλοντα, διὰ ὄρνεων, διὰ σπλάγχνων, διὰ πνεύματος, διὰ δριός· διὸ καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ ἀνθρωπός ἐπίστασθαι τὰ προγεγενημένα καὶ

20 α ἐνεστῶτα καὶ μέλλοντα. κάκεινο δὲ ὄρα, ὃ τέκνον, ὅτι ἔκαστον τῶν ζῶων ἐνὶ μέρει ἐπιφοιτᾷ τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ μὲν ἔννυδρα τῷ ὕδατι, τὰ δὲ χερσαῖα τῇ γῇ, τὰ δὲ μετάρσια τῷ ἀέρι· ὁ δὲ³⁰

1 διάλυσις codd., Turn.: sortasse διάκρισις 2 τίς om. man. pr. R | τῆς ζωῆς ἔστιν η ἐνέργεια Turn.: τῆς ζωῆς ἔστιν ἐνέργεια Q: τῆς ζωῆς η ἐνέργεια (post ἐνέργεια addl. ἔστι man. post.) R 4 ἀκίνητός σοι Q Turn.: σοι ἀκίνητος R 5 μόνη R Turn.: μόνον Q: γρ. μόνον man. post. R | στάσιμη Q 7 φύειν τι Turn.: φύειν τι Q: φυῆναι τι R 8 γελοιότερον R 9 ἄργον ἔστι scripsi: ἄργον ἔστα QR Turn. 11 ἡ (ante κατὰ) Q Turn.: ἡτοι R 12 ζῶον scripsi: ζῶον QR Turn. 13 ὃ τέκνον om. R 16-17 ζωῆς ἀρχῆ, ἀλλ' αἰσθήσεως scripsi: ζωῆ, ἀλλ' η αἰσθήσεως QR Turn. 17 η (post οὐδὲ) om. R 18 ἔχοντων R 19 τὸ πνεῦμα, η ψυχή scripsi: τὸ πνεῦμα, οὖν, ψυχὴ Q Turn.: τὸ πνεῦμα, ψυχὴ, οὖν R 20 ἐξ ὧν Flussas: ἐξ οὖν QR Turn. 20-21 διὰ τὴν ἀθανασίαν αὐτῶν scripsi: διὰ αὐτῶν QR Turn. 27 ἐπαγγέλλεται R | τὰ

were combined ; and they undergo dissolution, not to perish, but to be made new. Why, wherein does life manifest its force? Surely, in movement. And what is there in the Kosmos that is motionless? Nothing, my son.—*Tat.* Do you think then, father, ¹⁷ that not even the earth is motionless?—*Hermes.* No, my son, not even the earth ; but the earth, alone of all things, is both in motion in manifold ways, and at the same time stationary. Would it not be absurd to say that the nurse of all things¹ is motionless, she who brings forth and generates all things? Without motion, it is impossible to bring forth anything. And it is utterly absurd to ask, as you did, whether the fourth part of the universe is idle ; for if you say that a body is motionless, that means nothing else than that it is idle. Know then, my son, ¹⁸ that everything which exists in the Kosmos, everything without exception, is in motion ; and that which is in motion must be alive. But it is not necessary that in every case it should be one and the same thing that is alive at all times. Considered as one whole, my son, the Kosmos is exempt from change ; but all its parts are subject to change. But there is nothing in it that suffers corruption or destruction ; if men think otherwise, their thoughts are confused by the terms in use. Birth is not a beginning of life, but only a beginning of consciousness ; and the change to another state is not death, but oblivion. And this being so, all the things of which every living creature is composed,—gross matter, and vital spirit, and soul,—are immortal ; and so, by reason of their immortality, every living creature is immortal.

But more than all the rest, man is immortal ; for he can ¹⁹ receive God, and hold intercourse with God. With man alone of living creatures God associates. God speaks to man by dreams at night, and by signs in the daytime ; God foretells the future to him in manifold ways, by the flight of birds, by the inward parts of beasts, by inspiration, or by the whispering of an oak-tree. And so man can boast that he knows things past, things present, and things future. Mark this too, my son ; each ^{20 a} of the other kinds of living creatures haunts but one part of the Kosmos ; fishes live in the water, beasts on the earth, and birds

¹ I.e. the earth.

ἄνθρωπος τούτοις πᾶσι χρῆται, γῇ, ὕδατι, ἀέρι [πυρὶ]· ὁρᾶ δὲ καὶ οὐρανόν, ἅπτεται δὲ καὶ τούτου αἰσθήσει.

- 20 b <. . .> [ό δὲ θεὸς καὶ περὶ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντων.]
 Γένεργεια γάρ ἔστι δύναμις.¹ καὶ οὐδὲν δύσκολόν ἔστι
 νοῆσαι τὸν θεόν, ὃ τέκνον, εἴ δὲ θέλεις, [[αὐτὸν]] καὶ θεώ-⁵
 21 ρῆσαι (⟨αὐτόν⟩). Ἱδε τὴν τάξιν τοῦ κόσμου [καὶ τὴν εὔκοσμίαν
 τῆς τάξεως]. Ἱδε τὴν ἀνάγκην τῶν φαινομένων, καὶ τὴν
 πρόνοιαν τῶν γεγονότων τε καὶ γινομένων Ἱδε τὴν ὑλὴν
 πληρεστάτην οὖσαν ἡσῆς· ⟨ἱδε⟩ τὸν τηλικοῦτον θεὸν κινού-¹⁰
 μενον μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἐνότων) [ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν] [θεῶν]
 τε καὶ δαιμόνων καὶ ἀνθρώπων].—Ἄλλ' αὗται, ὃ πάτερ,
 ἐνέργειαι δλως εἰσίν.—Εἰ οὖν ἐνέργειαι [δλως] εἰσιν, ὃ τέκνον,
 ὑπὸ τίνος [οὖν] ἐνεργοῦνται [ὑπὸ] ἄλλου ⟨ἢ τοῦ⟩ θεοῦ; ἢ
 ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι ὥσπερ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη εἰσὶν οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ
 ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον μέρη ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ [ζῷη καὶ
 15 ἀθανασία καὶ] είμα(ρμένη) καὶ ἀνάγκη καὶ πρόνοια καὶ φύσις
 [καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ νοῦς]; [καὶ τούτων πάντων ἡ διαμονὴ] [τὸ
 λεγόμενον ἀγαθόν.] καὶ οὐκ [ἔτι] ἔστι τι τῶν γινομένων ἡ
 22 τῶν γεγονότων ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεός.—Ἐν τῇ ὑλῃ οὖν,
 ὃ πάτερ;—Ἡ γὰρ ὑλη, ὃ τέκνον, χωρὶς θεοῦ τί ἔστιν, ὥντα
 τόπον αὐτῇ ἀπομερίσης [τόπον]; τί δὲ [οὐσ.] δν ἡ σωρὸν αὐτὴν
 οἵει εἶναι, μὴ ἐνεργούμενην; εἰ δὲ ἐνέργειται, ὑπὸ τίνος
 ἐνέργειται; τὰς γὰρ ἐνέργειας ἔφαμεν εἶναι μέρη τοῦ θεοῦ.
 ὑπὸ τίνος οὖν ζωποιεῖται τὰ πάντα ζῷα; ὑπὸ τίνος ἀθανα-²⁰
 τίζεται τὰ ἀθάνατα; ὑπὸ τίνος μεταβάλλεται τὰ μεταβλητά;
 εἴτε δὲ ὑλην, εἴτε σῶμα, εἴτε οὐσίαν φήσ, ἵσθι καὶ ταύτας
 οὖcas ἐνέργειας τοῦ θεοῦ· (δ γὰρ θεὸς) καὶ τῆς ὑλῆς) ἐνέργει-²⁵
 την ὑλότητα, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν σωματότητα, καὶ τὴν οὐσίας τὴν οὐσιότητα. καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὁ θεός, τὸ πᾶν·
 23 a ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ οὐδέν ἔστιν δ μὴ ἔστιν. δθεν οὔτε μέγεθος ³⁰
 οὔτε τόπος οὔτε ποιότης οὔτε σχῆμα οὔτε χρόνος παρὰ τὸν

1 τούτοις πᾶσι Q Turn.: πᾶσι τούτοις R | ὥρᾳ QR² Turn.: ὥρᾶται man.
 pr. R | 2 καὶ (post θεὸς) om. man pr. R | 4 ἔστι καὶ δύναμις Q:
 ἔστι δύναμις cett. | 8 γινομένων scripsi: γενομένων Turn. | 10 ἀγαθὸν
 Q: ἀγαθῶν cett. | 12 δλως (post πάτερ, ἐνέργειαι) om. Q | El οὖν... εἰσιν
 oin. R | 13 ἐνεργοῦντος man. pr. R: ἐνεργοῦνται cett. | 14 ὥσπερ τοῦ
 κόσμου μέρη εἰσὶν οὐρανὸς QR² Turn.: ὥσπερ ἔστιν δ οὐρανὸς man. pr. R
 14-15 γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ Q Turn.: ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ R | 15 μέρη scripsi: μέλη QR Turn.
 | θεοῦ om. Q | 16 εἰμαρμένη scripsi: αἴμα QR Turn. | 18 οὐκ ἔστι τι
 scripsi: οὐκ ἔτι ἔστι τι Turn.: οὐκ ἔτι τι Q | γενομένων R: γινομένων cett.
 19 ἔστι θεός R: ἔστιν δ θεός cett. | 21 τόπον scripsi: ποιὸν QR Turn.

in the air ; but man makes use of all these elements, earth, water, air ; yes, and heaven¹ too he beholds, and grasps that also with his sense of sight.

. . . And it is not difficult, my son, to contemplate God in **20b** thought, or even, if you will, to see him. Look at the order of **21** the Kosmos ; look at the necessity which governs all that is presented to our sight, and the providence shown in things that have been, and in things that come to be ; look at matter filled to the full with life, and see this great god² in movement, with all things that are contained in him.—*Tat*. But these, father, are nothing but forces at work.—*Hermes*. If they are forces at work, my son, who is it that works them ? Is it not God ? Do you not know that, just as heaven and earth and water and air are parts of the Kosmos, even so destiny and necessity and providence and nature are parts of God ? And there is nothing that comes to be or has come to be, in which God is not.—*Tat*. Is God in **22** matter then, father?—*Hermes*. Why, what is matter apart from God, my son, that you should assign a place to it ? What else but an inert mass do you suppose matter would be, if it were not worked upon ? And if it is worked upon, who is it that works upon it ? I have told you that the forces at work are parts of God ; who is it then that puts life into all living creatures ? Who is it that gives immortal beings their immortality ? Who is it that works change in things subject to change ?³ And whether you speak of matter, or body, or substance, know that these also are manifestations of God's working ; for it is God that by his working makes matter material, and bodies corporeal, and substance substantial. God is the All ; and there is nothing that is not included in the All. Hence there is neither magnitude nor **23a** place nor quality nor shape nor time⁴ beside God ; for God

¹ Heaven consists of fire, the fourth element.

² Viz., the Kosmos.

³ I. e. brings to pass what are commonly called deaths and fresh births in the case of mortal beings.

⁴ Perhaps, ‘nor shape nor colour’.

<p> ἀν̄ scripsi : οὐσαν̄ QR Turn. Fortasse σορὸν</p> <p> γρ'. διδό man. post. R : ὑπὸ cett. 26 ὕλη R : ὕλην cett.</p> <p>scripsi : αὐτὸς QR Turn. καὶ τὴς ὕλης scripsi : καὶ ὕλη QR Turn.</p> <p>τὴν Turn. : ἵνεργεια τὴν QR 28-29 καὶ τῶν σωμάτων . . . οὐσιοτητα R²</p> <p>Turn. : om. Q et man. pr. R τῆς οὐσίας scripsi : η οὐσία Turn. 31 χρόνος</p> <p>QR Turn. : fortasse χρᾶμα παρὰ scripsi : περὶ QR Turn.</p>	<p>22 οἰει Q Turn. : η R</p> <p>27 οὐσας</p> <p>ένεργει</p> <p>τητα</p> <p>οὐσιοτητα R²</p> <p>31 χρόνος</p>
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θεόν ἔστι πᾶν γάρ ἔστι, τὸ δὲ πᾶν διὰ πάντων καὶ περὶ πάντα.

23 b τοῦτον [τὸν λόγον], ὁ τέκνου, προσκύνει καὶ θρήσκευε.
Θρησκεία δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μία ἔστι, μὴ εἶναι κακόν.

LIBELLVS XIII

Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Τὰτ [ἐν 5
ὅρει] λόγος ἀπόκρυφος περὶ παλιγγενεσίας [καὶ
σιγῆς ἐπαγγελίας]

1 'Ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς, ὁ πάτερ, αἰνιγματωδῶς καὶ οὐ τηλανγάως ἔφρασας, περὶ θειότητος διαλεγόμενος. [[οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψας]] φάμενος <γὰρ> μηδένα δύνασθαι σωθῆναι πρὸ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, <(οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψας·)> ἐμοῦ τε σοῦ ἵκέτου γενομένου Γέπι τῆς τοῦ ὄρους μεταβάσεως¹ μετὰ τὸ σὲ ἐμοὶ διαλεχθῆναις [πυθομένου] τὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας λόγον μαθεῖν, ὅτι τοῦτον παρὰ πάντα μόνον ἀγνοῶ, <(οὕπω ἡγίωσας> <(παραδιδόναι μοι,>) καὶ ἔφης “ὅταν μέλλῃς <(τοῦ> κόσμου ἀπαλλοτριοῦσθαι¹⁵ [[παραδιδόναι μοι]] <(παραδώσω.” ἐγὼ δὲ ἥδη) ἔτοιμος ἐγενόμην, καὶ ἀπῆλλοτρίωσα τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνημα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἀπάτης² σὺ δέ μου καὶ τὰ ὑστερήματα ἀναπλήρωσον, ὡς ἔφης μοι, παλιγγενεσίαν παραδοῦναι προθέμενος [ἐκ φωνῆς ἡ κρυβήν]. ἀγνοῶ, ὁ τρισμέγιστε, ἐξ οἵας μῆτρας²⁰
2 ἀνθρωπος <(ἀν>)αγεννηθείη <(ἀν>, σπορᾶς δὲ ποίας.—²Ω τέκνου,
σοφία <(ἡ> μήτρα, ἐν σιγῇ <(κύουσα>), καὶ ἡ σπορὰ τὸ ἀληθινὸν
ἀγαθόν.—Τίνος σπέραντος, ὁ πάτερ; τὸ γὰρ σύνολον
ἀπορῶ.—Τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ τέκνου.—<(Λέγε μοι καὶ
τοῦτο τίς ἔστι τελεσιουργὸς τῆς παλιγγενεσίας;—[δ τοῦ]²⁵
θεοῦ παῖς ἀνθρωπος εἰς, θελήματι θεοῦ>> <(ὑπουργῶν).—Καὶ

1 περὶ (ante πάντα) om. Q 3-4 Lactantius *Div. inst.* 6. 25, 10: ‘Trismegistus . . . sic locutus est: *Hoc verbum, o fili, adora et cole: cultus autem dei unus est, malum non esse.*’ Fortasse <(κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὁ τέκνου, <(τὸν θεὸν>) προσκύνει

In Libello XIII, codicum ABCD'MQ et Turnebi lectiones adhibui. O = codicum ABCDM prima manus teste Reitzenstein.

5 τοῦ D Turn.: om. codd. cett. 5-6 ἐν ὅρει λόγος ἀπόκρυφος om. A
9 θειότητος Turn.: θειότητος cett. | οὐκ ABDM: καὶ οὐκ CQ Turn.
13 πυθομένου OQ: καὶ πυθομένου Turn., B² 14 παρὰ πάντα Q Turn.:
περὶ πάντα ACM 17 ἀπῆλλοτρίωσα Turn.: ἀπηγδρίωσα OQ | ἐνύ

is all, and the All permeates all things, and has to do with all things.

This God, my son, I bid you worship and adore.¹ And there 23 b is but one way to worship God ; it is to be devoid of evil.

LIBELLVS XIII

A secret discourse of Hermes Trismegistus to his son Tat, concerning Rebirth.

Tat. In your general discourses, father, you spoke in riddles, 1 and did not make your meaning clear, when you were discussing the divinity of man. You said that no one can be saved until he has been born again ; but you did not make known to me what you meant by this. After your talk with me . . . , I besought you to let me learn the doctrine of Rebirth, as this was the one part of your teaching that I did not know ; but you did not think fit to transmit it to me at that time ; you said, ‘When you are ready to alienate yourself from the world, then I will teach it to you’. I am now prepared to receive it ; I have alienated the thoughts of my heart from the world’s deceptions ; and I entreat you to supply what is yet lacking to me, as you said you would, when you promised to transmit the Rebirth to me. I know not, thrice-greatest one, from what womb a man can be born again, nor from what seed.—*Hermes.* My son, the womb is Wisdom, conceiving in 2 silence ; and the seed is the true Good.—*Tat.* And who is it, father, that begets ? I am wholly at a loss.—*Hermes.* The Will of God, my son, is the begetter.—*Tat.* Tell me this too ; who is the ministrant by whom the consummation of the Rebirth is brought to pass?—*Hermes.* Some man who is a son of God, working in subordination to God’s will.—*Tat.* And what manner of

¹ Or perhaps, ‘Let your worship and adoration of God, my son, be in accordance with this my teaching’.

ἔμοὶ Λ : ἐν ἔμοὶ cett. | φρόνημα καὶ ἀπὸ D Turn. 18 μοὶ Q Turn. : μοὶ cett. 19 ὡς scripsi : oīs codd., Turn. | παλιγγενεσίαν MQ Turn. : παλιγγενεσίας cett. 21 ἀναγεννηθεῖν ἀν scripsi : ἐγενήθη O Turn. : ἐγενήθη man. pr. Q 22 σοφία ἡ μῆτρα, ἐν σιγῇ κύνοντα scripsi : σοφία νοερά (σορίαν νοεράν D) ἐν σιγῇ codd., Turn. 24–26 Λέγε μοὶ . . . θελήματι θεοῦ huc a § 4 transposui 25 τελεσιουργὸς scripsi : γενεσιουργὸς codd., Turn. 26 Fortasse εἰς (tis)

ποταπὸς ὁ γεννώμενος, ὁ πάτερ; [[ἄμοιρος γὰρ τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας καὶ τῆς νοητῆς]]—Ἄλλος [ἔσται] ὁ γεννώμενος, θεοῦ θεὸς παῖς, τὸ πᾶν, ἐν παντὶ. «ἄμοιρος γάρ (έστι) τῆς Γένεως ἐμοὶ¹ οὐσίας, καὶ τῆς νοητῆς» *(μοῖραν ἔχει)*, ἐκ πασῶν δυνάμεων συνεστώς.—Αἴνιγμα μοι λέγεις, ὁ πάτερ, καὶ οὐχ⁵ ὡς πατὴρ νιῷ διαλέγῃ.—Τοῦτο τὸ γένος, ὁ τέκνον, οὐ διδάσκεται, ἀλλ’ [[ὅταν θέλῃ]] ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, *(ὅταν θέλῃ,)* 3 ἀναμιμήσκεται.—Ἄδυνατά μοι λέγεις, ὁ πάτερ, καὶ βεβιασμένα, ὅθεν πρὸς ταῦτα ὄρθως ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω “*(ἄρ)* ἀλλότριος [υἱὸς] πέφυκα τοῦ πατρικοῦ γένους;” μὴ φθόνει μοι, πάτερ¹⁰ γυνήσιος νιός εἰμί· διάφρασόν μοι τῆς παλιγγενεσίας τὸν τρόπον.—Τί εἶπω, ὁ τέκνον; *(τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο οὐ διδάσκεται, οὐδὲ τῷ πλαστῷ τούτῳ γεννηθεῖσιν, δι’ οὐ (σὺ ὁρᾶς), ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.)* οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν πλὴν τοῦτο· ὁρᾶς[ν] τιν'¹⁵ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀπλαστὸν ἴδεαν γεγενημένην ἐξ ἐλέου θεοῦ, καὶ ἐμαυτὸν¹⁵ *(δι’)*εξελήλυθα εἰς ἀθάνατον σῶμα· καὶ εἴμι νῦν οὐχ ὁ πρὶν, ἀλλ’ *(άν)*εγεννήθην ἐν νῷ, [[τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο οὐ διδάσκεται οὐδὲ τῷ πλαστῷ τούτῳ στοιχείῳ δι’ οὐ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν]] καὶ διαλέγταί μοι τὸ πρώτον [σύνθετον] εἶδος. οὐκέτι κεχρωμάτισμαι καὶ ἀφήνω ἔχω καὶ μέτρον, ἀλλότριος δὲ τούτων²⁰ εἴμι νῦν, [ὁρᾶς με ὁ τέκνον ὁφθαλμοῖς] *(καὶ πάντων)* ὅσα [δὲ] κατανοεῖς ἀτενίζων σωματικῇ ὁράσει. οὐκ ὁφθαλμοῖς²⁵ 4 τοῖούτοις θεωροῦμαι νῦν, ὁ τέκνον.—Εἰς μανίαν με οὐκ ὀλίγην καὶ οἰστρησιν φρενῶν ἐνεστίσας, ὁ πάτερ. ἐμαυτὸν γὰρ νῦν οὐχ ὁρῶ;—Εἴθε, ὁ τέκνον, καὶ σὺ σεαυτὸν διεξεληγύνθεις, *(ἴνα εἰδεις, μὴ)* ὡς οἱ ἐν ὑπνῷ ὄνειροπολούμενοι, *(ἀλλὰ)* χωρὶς ὑπνουν.—[[Λέγε μοι καὶ τοῦτο· τίς ἔστι γενεσιουργὸς τῆς παλιγγενεσίας;—Ο τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ἀνθρωπος εἰς θελήματι θεοῦ.]] Nῦν τὸ λοιπόν, ὁ πάτερ, εἰς ἀφασίαν με ἡγεγένεκας. [[τῶν πρὶν ἀπολειφθεὶς φρενῶν]]. τὸ γὰρ μέγεθος³⁰ βλέπω τὸ σὸν τὸ αὐτό, ὁ πάτερ, σὺν τῷ χαρακτήρι.—Καὶ ἐν

3-4 ἐν ἐμοὶ codd., Turn. : ἐναίμον; σωματικῆς?

9 ἔχω scripsi : θέλω codd., Turn.

13 Fortasse τῷ πλαστῷ τούτῳ *(έκ)*

στοιχείῳν ὁργάνῳ

| οὐ δρᾶς addidi (δρᾶς add. Reitz.)

14 ὁρῶ τιν'

Flussas : δρῶν τι ABCDQ Turn. : δρῶντι M

15 ἴδεαν scripsi : θέλων codd.,

Turn.

16 διεξελήλυθα Reitz. : ἐξελήλυθα codd., Turn.

17 'Vielelleicht

διεγεννήθην' Reitz. : ἐγεννήθην codd., Turn.

18 διαλέλυται scripsi : διό

(δι’ οὐ D) ἡμέληται OQ Turn. : διαμελέται Keil

| οὐκέτι Keil : οὐχ δι

OQ Turn.

19-20 κεχρωμάτισμαι scripsi : κεχρωμάτισμαι Q : κεχρωμάτισμαι cett.

21 καὶ πάντων ὅσα scripsi : ὅτε δὲ A (O !) : οὐ δὲ Q : ὅτε δὴ Turn.

22 σωματικῆ

scripsi : σώματι καὶ O Turn.

23 τοιούτοις scripsi : τοιούτοις codd., Turn.

| μανίρ Q | μοι AB : με cett.

5 συνεστός DQ Turn.

9 ἔχω scripsi : θέλω codd., Turn.

13 Fortasse τῷ πλαστῷ τούτῳ *(έκ)*

στοιχείῳν ὁργάνῳ

| οὐ δρᾶς addidi (δρᾶς add. Reitz.)

14 ὁρῶ τιν'

Flussas : δρῶν τι ABCDQ Turn. : δρῶντι M

15 ἴδεαν scripsi : θέλων codd.,

Turn.

16 διεξελήλυθα Reitz. : ἐξελήλυθα codd., Turn.

17 'Vielelleicht

διεγεννήθην' Reitz. : ἐγεννήθην codd., Turn.

18 διαλέλυται scripsi : διό

(δι’ οὐ D) ἡμέληται OQ Turn. : διαμελέται Keil

| οὐκέτι Keil : οὐχ δι

OQ Turn.

19-20 κεχρωμάτισμαι scripsi : κεχρωμάτισμαι Q : κεχρωμάτισμαι cett.

21 καὶ πάντων ὅσα scripsi : ὅτε δὲ A (O !) : οὐ δὲ Q : ὅτε δὴ Turn.

22 σωματικῆ

scripsi : σώματι καὶ O Turn.

23 τοιούτοις scripsi : τοιούτοις codd., Turn.

man is he that is brought into being by the Rebirth?—*Hermes*. He that is born by that birth is another; he is a god, and son of God. He is the All, and is in all; for he has no part in corporeal substance; he partakes of the substance of things intelligible,¹ being wholly composed of Powers of God.—*Tat*. Your words are riddles, father; you do not speak to me as a father to his son.—*Hermes*. This sort of thing cannot be taught, my son; but God, when he so wills, recalls it to our memory.²—*Tat*. But 3 what you say is impossible, father; it does violence to common sense. When you treat me thus, I have good reason to ask, ‘Am I an alien to my father’s race?’ Do not grudge me this boon, father; I am your true-born son; explain to me what manner of thing the Rebirth is.—*Hermes*. What can I say, my son? This thing cannot be taught; and it is not possible for you to see it with your organs of sight, which are fashioned out of material elements. I can tell you nothing but this; I see that by God’s mercy there has come to be in me a form which is not fashioned out of matter, and I have passed forth out of myself, and entered into an immortal body. I am not now the man I was; I have been born again in Mind, and the bodily shape which was mine before has been put away from me. I am no longer an object coloured and tangible, a thing of spatial dimensions; I am now alien to all this, and to all that you perceive when you gaze with bodily eyesight. To such eyes as yours, my son, I am not now visible.—*Tat*. Father, you have driven me to raving madness. 4 Will you tell me that I do not at this moment see my own self?—*Hermes*. Would that you too, my son, had passed forth out of yourself, so that you might have seen, not as men see dream-figures in their sleep, but as one who is awake.—*Tat*. Now 5 indeed, father, you have reduced me to speechless amazement. Why, I see you, father, with your stature unchanged, and your features the same as ever.—*Hermes*. Even in this you are

¹ I. e. incorporeal and divine.

² I. e. knowledge of these things comes to us only through reminiscence of our ante-natal state; and it is God that calls up the reminiscence in us.

λυθας codd., Turn. 27-29 λέγε μοι . . . θελήματι θεοῦ hinc ad § 2 transposui
29 ἀδηνασίαι C : ἀφασίαιν ex ἀδηνασίαιν corr. man. pr. B : ἀφασίαι codd. cett.,
Turn. 30 τῶν . . . φρεγῶν hinc ad § 6 transposui 31 βλέπω τὸ σὸν
τὸ αὐτὸν DMQ Turn. : βλέπω τὸ αὐτὸν codd. cett. | Fortasse σὲ γάρ βλέπων τὸ
μέγεθος δρῶ τὸ αὐτὸν

τούτῳ ψεύδῃ· τὸ γάρ θυητὸν εἶδος καθ' ἡμέραν ἀλλάσσεται·
χρόνῳ γάρ τρέπεται εἰς αὐξῆσιν καὶ μείωσιν, ὡς ψεύδος (ὅν).
 6 —Τί οὖν ἀληθές ἔστιν, ὁ τρισμέγιστε; —Τὸ μὴ θολούμενον,
ὁ τέκνον, τὸ μὴ (περι)ιοριζόμενον, τὸ ἀχρώματον, τὸ ἀσχη-
μάτιστον, [[τὸ ἄτρεπτον,]] τὸ γυμνόν, τὸ φα[ι]νόν, τὸ αὐτῷ 5
καταληπτόν, ⟨⟨τὸ ἄτρεπτον,⟩⟩ τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον, τὸ ἀγαθόν [[τὸ
ἀσώματον]]. —Μέμηνα δύτως, ὁ πάτερ, ⟨⟨τῶν πρὶν ἀπο-
λειφθεῖς φρενῶν·⟩⟩ δοκοῦντος γάρ μου ὑπὸ σοῦ σοφοῦ
γεγονέναι, ἐνεφράχθησαν αἱ αἰσθήσεις (προβληθέντος) τούτου
μοι τοῦ νοήματος. —Οὕτως ἔχει, ὁ τέκνον. τὸ μὲν ἀνωφερὲς 10
[ὡς πῦρ] καὶ κατωφερὲς [ὡς γῆ] καὶ ὑγρὸν [ὡς ὕδωρ] καὶ
σύμπνοον [ὡς ἀήρ] ⟨αἰσθήσει ὑποπίπτει· τὸ δὲ τούτους
ἀνόμοιον⟩ πῶς αἰσθητῶς οὕτω νοήσεις, τὸ μὴ σκληρόν, τὸ μὴ
ὑγρόν, τὸ ἀσφίγγωτον¹, τὸ μὴ διαλυόμενον, τὸ μόνον δυνά-
μει [καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ] νοούμενον, δεδμενὸν δὲ τοῦ δυναμένου νοεῖν 15
 7 a ⟨⟨τὸ ἀσώματον⟩⟩ [τὴν ἐν θεῷ γένεσιν]; —ἀδύνατος οὖν είμι, ὁ
πάτερ; —Μή γέροιτο, ὁ τέκνον. ἐπίσπασαι εἰς ἑαυτόν, καὶ
ἐλεύσεται θέλησον, καὶ γίνεται. κατάργησον τοῦ σώματος
τὰς αἰσθήσεις, καὶ ἔσται ἡ γένεσις τῆς θεότητος.
 7 b ⟨. . . δεῖ⟩ καθάραι σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλόγων τῆς ὕλης 20
τιμωριῶν. —Τιμωροὺς γάρ ἐν ἐμαυτῷ ἔχω, ὁ πάτερ; —Οὐκ
δλέγοντος, ὁ τέκνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβεροὺς καὶ πολλούς. —Ἄγνοος,
ὁ πάτερ. —Μία αἴτη, ὁ τέκνον, τιμωρία, ή ἄγνοια.

δευτέρα λύτη·
τρίτη ἀκρασία·
τετάρτη ἐπιθυμία·
πέμπτη ἀδικία·
έκτη πλεονεξία·
έβδομη ἀπάτη·
ογδόη φθόνος·

25

1 ψεύδη B1C: ψεύδη MDQ: ψεύδει B: ψεύδει A Turn. | θυητῶν BCD
Turn. 4 περιοριζόμενον scripsi: διοριζόμενον codd., Turn. 5 φανόν
scripsi: φαίνον codd., Turn. | αὐτὸς Q: αὐτῷ cett. 6 τὸ (ante ἀγαθόν)
DQ Turn.: om. cett. 7-8 τῶν . . . φρενῶν huc a § 5 transposui
9-10 τούτου μοι scripsi: τούτου μον codd., Turn. 11 καὶ κατωφερὲς ABC:
τὸ δὲ κατωφερὲς DQ Turn. 12-13 αἰσθήσει ὑποπίπτει τὸ δὲ τούτους
ἀνόμοιον addidi (αἰσθήσεις ὑποπίπτει δὲ χωρὶς τούτων addidit Reitz.)
13 αἰσθητῷ D: αἰσθητός cett. | οὕτω scripsi: αὐτῷ codd., Turn. 14 ἀσφίγ-
γωτον codd., Turn.: fortasse ἀσύνθετον | διαλυόμενον Parthey: διαδύνμενον
ΟQ Turn. 15 δεύμενον man. post. B (om. man. pr. B): δεομένον codd.
cett., Turn. 16 οὖν μοι man. pr. B: οὖν εἰμ cett. 17 αὐτὸν man. pr.
B: ἑαυτὸν codd. cett., Turn.: σεαυτὸν Parthey 17-18 καὶ καὶ ἐλεύσεται

mistaken. The mortal form changes day by day ; it is altered by lapse of time, and becomes larger and smaller ; for it is an illusion.—*Tat.* What then is real, thrice-greatest one?—*Hermes.* 6 That which is not sullied by matter, my son, nor limited by boundaries, that which has no colour and no shape, that which is without integument, and is luminous, that which is apprehended by itself alone, that which is changeless and unalterable, that which is good.—*Tat.* I must indeed have gone mad, father ; I have lost the wits I had. I thought your teaching had made me wise ; but when you put this thought before me, my senses are stopped up.¹—*Hermes.* It is even so, my son. The fire which rises, and the earth which sinks, the liquid water, and the air we breathe, are perceived by the senses ; but how can you perceive by mere sense a thing of other nature, a thing that is neither rigid nor fluid, that is incomposite and indissoluble, a thing which can be apprehended only by divine power, and demands one who has power to apprehend the incorporeal?—*Tat.* Is it then beyond my power, father?— 7 a *Hermes.* Heaven forbid, my son. Draw it into you, and it will come ; will it, and it comes to be. Stop the working of your bodily senses, and then will deity be born in you.

But if you would be born again, you must cleanse yourself 7 b from the irrational torments of matter.²—*Tat.* What, father, have I torturers within me?—*Hermes.* Yes, my son, and not a few ; they are terrible, and they are many. *Tat.* I do not know them, father.—*Hermes.* This very ignorance, my son, is one of the torments.

The second is Grief ;³
 the third is Incontinence ;
 the fourth is Desire ;
 the fifth is Injustice ;
 the sixth is Covetousness ;
 the seventh is Deceitfulness ;⁴
 the eighth is Envy ;

¹ I. e. I find myself unable to apprehend it.

² I. e. get rid of the evil passions which arise from the material body and from material objects of desire.

³ The passages printed in smaller type were probably not written by the author of the Libellus, but subsequently added by some one else.

⁴ Or 'Being deceived', i. e. Error.

Q: *fortasse καὶ κατελεύσεται* 18 γίνεται codd., Turn.: *fortasse γενήσεται*
 19 ἔσται Turn.: εἴτε ΟQ | ή om. Q 20 κάθαρις A: κάθαραι codd.
 cett., Turn. (*καθάρηις* ex *κάθαραι* corr. man. pr. B) 21 τιμωρῶν codd.:
τιμωρῶν Turn. | ἐαυτῷ ADQ Turn.: *ἐμαντρῷ* cett. 22-23 ἀλλὰ καὶ . . .
Mία αὐτῇ, δὲ τέκνοι om. man. pr. M 24 δευτέρᾳ δὲ λύσῃ Q Turn.

ἐνάτη δόλος·
δεκάτη ὅργη·
ἐνδεκάτη προπέτεια·
δωδεκάτη κακία.

εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ

5

ἀνται τὸν ἀριθμὸν δώδεκα, ὑπὸ δὲ ταύταις πλείονες ἄλλαι, ὁ τέκνου, *(αἱ)* διὰ τῆς [[τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τοῦ σώματος]] αἰσθήσεως πάσχειν ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν ἐν «(τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοῦ σώματος)» δεδεῖμένον ἄνθρωπον. ἀφίστανται δὲ αὐταις [οὐκ] ἀθρόως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλεγθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὕτω συνισταται ὁ «(λόγος)». *(οὗτος δ)* τῆς παλιγγενεσίας τρόπος [καὶ] [[λόγος]].

8a λοιπὸν σιωπησον, ὁ τέκνου, καὶ εὐφήμησον· Γκαὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ καταπαύσει¹ τὸ ἔλεος εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

8b χαῖρε λοιπόν, ὁ τέκνου, ἀνακαθαιρόμενος ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεσιν *(πάρεισι γάρ)* εἰς συνάρθρωσιν τοῦ λόγου. ἥλθεν ἡμῖν γνῶσις θεοῦ ταύτης ἐλθούσης, ὁ τέκνου, ἐξηλάσθη ἡ ἄγνοια.

8c ἥλθεν ἡμῖν [γνῶσις] χαρά[ς]: παραγενομένης ταύτης, ὁ τέκνου, ἡ λύπη φεύξεται εἰς τοὺς χωροῦντας αὐτήν.

20

9 *(τρίτην)* δύναμιν καλῶ ἐπὶ χαρᾷ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. ὁ δύναμις ἡδίστη· προσλάβωμεν αὐτήν, ὁ τέκνου, ἀσμενέστατα. πῶς ἂμα τῷ παραγενέσθαι ἀπώστατο τὴν ἀκρασίαν.

τετάρτην δὲ νῦν καλῶ καρτερίαν, τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας δύναμιν.
(. . .)

25

οἱ βαθμὸς οὗτος, ὁ τέκνου, δικαιοσύνης ἐστιν ἔδρασμα. [[χωρὶς γάρ κτίσεως]] ίδε πῶς τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐξήλασεν *«(χωρὶς γάρ κρίσεως)»* ἐδικαιώθημεν, ὁ τέκνου, ἀδικίας ἀπούστης.

ἔκτην δύναμιν καλῶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὴν κατὰ τῆς πλεονεξίας, *(τὴν)* κοινωνίαν. ἀποστάσης δὲ *(τῆς πλεονεξίας . . .)*

30

ἔβδόμην² ἐπικαλῶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. φεῦγε[ι] ἀπάτῃ· ἀλήθεια παραγίνεται.

ἴδε πῶς τὸ ἀγαθὸν πεπλήρωται, ὁ τέκνου, παραγενομένης τῆς ἀληθείας. φθόνος γάρ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀπέστη *(καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τιμωρίαι)*.

5 καὶ Q Turn., om. cett. 6 ταύτας ACM: ταύτας εχ ταύταις B 7-9 αἱ διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως πάσχειν ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοῦ σώματος δεδεμένον ἄνθρωπον scripsi: διὰ τοῦτο δεσμωτηρίου τοῦ σώματος αἰσθητικὸς πάσχειν ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν ἐνδιάλετον ἄνθρωπον codd., Turn. 8 Fortasse *«κακὰ»* πάσχειν 10 οὐκ seclusi: *(μόνον)* οὐκ Reitz. | τοῦ (ante θεοῦ) om. A 14 καταπαύσει DQ Turn.: καταπαύσω ACM: καταπαύσεται Reitz. | Fortasse καὶ

the ninth is Fraud ;
 the tenth is Anger ;
 the eleventh is Rashness ;
 the twelfth is Vice.¹

These are twelve in number ; and under them

There are many others also, my son ; and by means of the senses they force the man who is bound in the prison of the body to suffer what they inflict. But when God has had mercy on a man, they depart from him together, one and all ; and then is reason² built up in him. Such is the manner of the Rebirth.

And now, my son, speak not, but keep solemn silence ; so will 8 a the mercy come down on us from God.

Rejoice now, my son ; you are being cleansed by the Powers 8 b of God ; for they have come to build up in you the body of reason.³ The knowledge of God has come to us ; and at its coming, my son, ignorance has been driven out.

Joy has come to us ; and at her coming, my son, Grief will flee away, to 8 c enter into those in whom there is room for her.

And after Joy, I summon a third Power, even Continence. O sweetest 9 Power ! Let us receive her, my son, most gladly. See how, at the instant of her coming, she has pushed Incontinence away.

And now I summon the fourth Power, Endurance, the opponent of Desire.

And this, my son, is the tribunal on which Justice sits enthroned. See how she has driven out Injustice. We have been justified, my son, without being brought to judgement ; for Injustice is no longer here.

As the sixth Power, I call to us Unselfishness, the opponent of Covetousness. And when Covetousness has departed,

As the seventh, I invoke Truth. Flee away, Deceit ; for Truth has come.

See, my son, how, on the coming of Truth, the Good is completed ; for Envy has departed from us, (and the other torments also).

¹ Or 'Malice'.

² Or 'the Word (of God)'.

³ Or 'of the Word (of God)'. The Logos is an organism, of which the several Powers of God are the constituent parts ; and this organism is built up in the reborn man, as the body is built up out of the several members.

οὗτως κατελεύσεται	17 γνῶσις τοῦ θεοῦ A Turn.	ταύτης δὲ ἐλθούσης DQ Turn.
19 χαρά scripsi : γνῶσις χαρᾶς codd., Turn.	21 τρίτην addidit Reitz.	ἐπὶ χαρᾶν A 22 αὐτὴν ὡς τέκνου DMQ Turn. : ὡς τέκνον, αὐτὴν cett.
23 ἀπόστεια D	25 Lacunam significavit Reitz.	27 κρίσεως Parthey : κρίσεων OQ Turn.
corr. man. pr. B: ἀπρότητος CM : ἀπάρτητος D	28 ἀπούσης AQ Turn. : ἀπούσης ex ἀπρότητης corr. man. pr. B: ἀπρότητος CM : ἀπάρτητος D	29 καὶ ἀντῆς D : κατὰ τῆς cett. τὴν (ante κοινωνίαν) addidit Reitz.
33 πεπλήρωσα D : πεπλήρωμα Q	31 ἐπικαλῶ scripsi : ἐπὶ καλῶ codd., Turn.	φεύγει AB: καὶ φεύγει CDMQ Turn.
		32 παραγενομένης Patriotus : παραγινομένης codd., Turn.

τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐπεγένετο ἄμα ζῷῃ καὶ φωτὶ.
καὶ οὐκέτι ἐπῆλθεν οὐδεμία τοῦ σκότους τιμωρία, ἀλλ᾽
IO ἔξεπτησαν [μικρθεῖσαι] ροίζω. [[ἔγνωκας, ὡς τέκνουν, τῆς
παλιγγενεσίας τὸν τρόπον]]

[τῆς δεκάδος παραγνομένης]

5

〈οὗτῳ δῆ〉, ὡς τέκνουν, συνετέθη (ἥ) νοερὰ [γένεσις] (οὐσία),

[καὶ τὴν δωδεκάτην ἑξελαύνει,]

καὶ ἐθεῶ[ρη]θημεν τῇ (ταύτης) γενέσει. ὅστις οὖν ἔτυχε κατὰ
τὸ ἔλεος τῆς κατὰ θεὸν γενέσεως, τὴν σωματικὴν αἰσθησιν
καταλιπὼν ἐαυτὸν γνωρίζει ἐκ [τούτων] (δυνάμεων) συνιστά-
μενον, καὶ (γνωρίσας) εὐφραίνεται.—

II a 〈Οὐσί〉α καλνή[ς] γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς πάτερ, φαντά-
ζομαι οὐχ ὀράσει ὄφθαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ [διὰ δυνάμεων] νοητικῇ
13 a ἐνεργείᾳ.—〈Ἄυτῃ ἐστὶν ἡ παλιγγενεσία, ὡς τέκνουν, τὸ
μητρέti φαντάζεσθαι [εἰς] τὸ σῶμα τὸ τριχῆ διαστατόν,〉 15
〈ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀσώματον.〉—〈Πάτερ, τὸ πᾶν ὄρῶ [καὶ] ἐμαυτὸν
II b (ὄντα), ἐν τῷ νοῖ〉 (ὁρῶ). ἐν οὐρανῷ εἴμι, ἐν γῇ, ἐν ὕδati,
ἐν ἀέρι· ἐν ζῷοις εἴμι, ἐν φυτοῖς· ἐν γαστρί, πρὸς γαστρός,
μετὰ γαστέρα· πανταχοῦ (πάρειμι).—〈Ἐγνωκας, ὡς τέκνουν,
τῆς παλιγγενεσίας τὸν τρόπον.〉 20

II c [Ἄλλ' ἔτι τοῦτα μοι εἰπέ, πῶς αἱ τιμωρίαι τοῦ σκότους, οὐσαι ἀριθμῷ
δώδεκα, ὑπὸ δέκα δυνάμεων ἀπωθοῦνται. τίς ὁ τρόπος, ὡς τριμέγιστε;
12 —Τὸ σκῆνος τοῦτο, [[καὶ]] ὡς τέκνουν, ὡς [[καὶ]] διεξεληλύθαμεν, ἐκ τοῦ
ζωφόρου κύκλου συνέστη, [[καὶ τούτου συνεστῶτος ἐξ ἀριθμῶν δώδεκα
ὄντων τὸν ἀριθμόν,]] (γεννῶντος) φύσεως μᾶς παντομάρφους(;) ἰδεῖς εἰς 25
πλάνην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· 〈καὶ τούτου συνεστῶτος ἐκ ζωδίων δώδεκα ὄντων
τὸν ἀριθμόν,〉 διαζυγ(;)ιαὶ ἐν αὐταῖς εἰσιν, ὡς τέκνουν, (δώδεκα.) 〈εἰσὶ δὲ
καὶ ἀδιορίστοι,〉 ἡνωμέναι ἐν τῇ πράξει· ἀχώριστος (γάρ) ἐστιν ἡ προ-
πέτεια τῆς ὥρης. [[εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀδιόριστοι]] εἰκότας οὖν [[κατὰ τὸν ὥρθον
λόγον]] τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιοῦνται, καθὼς (εἶπον, ἀθρώως). καὶ 〈κατὰ [τὸν 30
ὥρθον] λόγον〉 ἀπὸ δέκα δυνάμεων ἐλαύνονται, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάδος·

1 Fortasse (post ἑξελάθη ἡ ἄγνοια, § 8 b), (παρεγένετο ἡ ἀληθεία;) τῇ δὲ
ἀληθείᾳ κ.τ.λ. 3 κινθεῖσαι B: νικηθεῖσαι cett. 3-4 ἔγνωκας . . .
τρόπον hinc ad § 11 b fin. transposui 5-8 τῆς δεκάδος παραγνομένης,
ὡς τέκνουν, ἡ τὴν δωδεκάδα ἑξελαύνει, συνετέθη ἡ νοερὰ γένεσις, καὶ ἐθεῶθημεν
Reitz. 6 η addidit Reitz. 8 ἐθεῶθημεν Reitz.: θεωρήθημεν OQ Turn.
| γενέσει codd., Turn.: fortasse συνθέσει 10 Fortasse ἐκ (ζῷης καὶ φωτός)
συνιστάμενον 10-11 ἐαυτὸν γνωρίζει ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ ζῷης τυχάνοντα,
καὶ ἐκ τούτων συνιστάμενος [καὶ] εὐφραίνεται coni. Reitz. | συνιστάμενον
scripsi: συνιστάμενος codd., Turn. 12 οὐσία καινὴ scripsi: ἀκλινῆς codd.,

Truth¹ has come to us, and on it has followed the Good, with Life and Light. No longer has there come upon us any of the torments of darkness; they have flown away with rushing wings.

Thus, my son, has the intellectual being² been made up in us;¹⁰ and by its coming to be, we have been made gods. Whoever then has by God's mercy attained to this divine birth, abandons bodily sense; he knows himself to be composed of Powers of God, and knowing this, is glad.—

Tat. Father, God has made me a new being, and I perceive^{11 a} things now, not with bodily eyesight, but by the working of mind.—*Hermes.* Even so it is, my son, when a man is born^{13 a} again; it is no longer body of three dimensions that he perceives, but the incorporeal.—*Tat.* Father, now that I see in mind,^{11 b} I see myself to be the All. I am in heaven and in earth, in^{11 c} water and in air; I am in beasts and plants; I am a babe in the womb, and one that is not yet conceived, and one that has been born; I am present everywhere.—*Hermes.* Now, my son, you know what the Rebirth is.—

[*Tat.* But tell me further; how is it that the torments of darkness, which are^{11 c} twelve in number, are driven off by ten Powers? How does this come about, thrice-greatest one!—*Hermes.* This earthly tabernacle,³ my son, out of which¹² we have passed forth, has been put together by the working of the Zodiac, which produces manifold forms of one and the same thing⁴ to lead men astray; and as the Signs of which the Zodiac consists are twelve in number, the forms produced by it, my son, fall into twelve divisions. But at the same time they are inseparable, being united in their action; for the reckless vehemence of irrational impulse is indivisible. It is with good reason then that they all depart together, as I said before. And it is also in accordance with reason that they are driven out by ten Powers, that is, by the Decad; for the Decad, my son, is

¹ Or 'Reality'.

² I. e. that which was previously called the Logos.

³ I. e. the body.

⁴ These 'manifold forms' are the several 'torments', i. e. the twelve different kinds of evil passion.

Turn. | τοῦ om. BCDMQ 16-17 Fortasse Πάτερ, ἐν τῷ νοὶ ὥρῶν, τὸ πᾶν ὥρῶν ἔμαυτὸν ὄντα 19-20 ἔγρακας . . . τρόπον huc a § 10 transposui 23 ὡς τέκνον, δὲ καὶ scripsi (δὲ καὶ, ὡς τέκνον Keil) : ὡς τέκνον Turn. : καὶ ὡς τέκνον ΛΒ : καὶ δὲ τέκνον C : δὲ τέκνον DQ : δὲ (corr. ex δὲ) τέκνον M 24 Σωηφρίου Turn. 25 παντομόρφους scripsi: παντομόρφου codd., Turn. 26 εἰς Turn. 27 διαζηγύιαι scripsi (γράφεται ἐκ ζωδίων B³ in marg.): ἐξ ἀριθμῶν OQ Turn. Turn. 28 διάρισται scripsi: διάριγαι codd., Turn. 29 ὥρμῆς scripsi: ὥρης codd., Turn. 30 εἴπον, ἀδρόνας addidi (vide § 7 b fin.) 31 ἐλαύνονται scripsi: ἐλαύνομαι B: ἐλαυνόμεναι cett.

ἥ γὰρ δεκάς, ὁ τέκνου, ἐστὶ ψυχογόνος. ζωὴ δὲ καὶ φῶς ἡνωμέναι εἰσὶν ἐνάς· ὁ (δὲ) τῆς ἑνάδος ἀριθμὸς πέφυκε τοῦ [πνεύματος] (τῆς δεκάδος ἀρχῆς). ἡ ἑνάς οὖν κατὰ λόγον τὴν δεκάδα (ἐμπεριέχει [καὶ ἡ δεκάς τὴν ἑνάδα].)

13 a [[Πάτερ, τὸ πᾶν ὄρῳ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἐν τῷ νοῖ.]] [[Ἄντη 5
ἐστὶν ἡ παλιγγενεσία, ὁ τέκνου, τὸ μηκέτι φαντάζεσθαι εἰς
τὸ σῶμα τὸ τριχῆ διαστατόν.]]

13 b [[διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τὸν περὶ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας εἰς δν
ὑπερμηματισάμην, ἵνα μὴ ὥμεν διάβολοι τοῦ παντὸς εἰς τὸν
πολλούς, εἰς οὓς ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς θέλει.]] 10

14 Εἶπέ μοι, ὁ πάτερ, τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο τὸ ἔκ δυνάμεων συν-
εστὸς λύσιν ἔξει ποτε;—Εὐφήμησον, καὶ μὴ ἀδύνατα φθέγγου,
ἔπει [ἀμαρτήσεις καὶ] ἀσεβῆσις. μὴ ἔσβεσθη [στει] σου
ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ νοῦ; τὸ αἰσθητὸν τῆς φύσεως σῶμα πόρρωθέν
ἐστι [τῆς] (τοῦ) οὐσιώδους [γενέσεως]: τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι 15
διαλυτόν, τὸ δὲ ἀδιάλυτον, καὶ τὸ μὲν θνητόν, τὸ δὲ ἀθάνατον.
ἄγνοεῖς ὅτι θεὸς πέφυκας καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς παῖς, ὁ κάγω;—

15 'Εβουλόμην, ὁ πάτερ, τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὑμνού εὐλογίαν (μαθεῖν),
ἥν, «καθὼς» ἔφης, ἐπὶ τὴν ὄγδοάδα γενομένου σου ἀκού-
σ(εσθ)αί (σε) τῶν δυνάμεων [[καθὼς]] [όγδοάδα] ὁ Ποιμάνδρης 20
ἔθεστισε.—(Ω) τέκνου, καλῶς σπεύδεις. «κεκάθαρσαι γάρ,»
λυσάμ(ενος) τὸ σκῆνος [[κεκαθαρμένος γάρ.]] ὁ Ποιμάνδρης,
ὁ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς, πλέον μοι τῶν ἔγγεγραμμένων οὐ
παρέδωκεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ δυνήσομαι πάντα νοεῖν,
καὶ ἀκούειν ὅν βούλομαι, καὶ ὅραν τὰ πάντα· καὶ ἐπέτρεψέ 25
μοι ἐκεῖνος Γποιεῖν τὰ καλά.¹ διὸ [κ] αἱ ἐν πᾶσιν αἱ
δυνάμεις καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἄδοντι.—Θέλω, πάτερ, ἀκοῦσαι (ταῦτα),
16 καὶ βούλομαι [[ταῦτα]] νοῆσαι.—'Ησύχασον, ὁ τέκνου, καὶ
τῆς ἀρμοζούσης (τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ) νῦν ἄκουε εὐλογίας τὸν

2 ἑνάς scripsi: ἑνθα codd., Turn. 3 ἐμπεριέχει scripsi: ἔχει codd., Turn. | καὶ ἡ DMQ Turn.: ἡ δὲ cett. 5-7 Πάτερ . . . νοῖ et Άντη . . . διαστατόν hinc transposui: vide post § 11 a 8-10 διὰ τὸν . . . θέλει hinc transposui: vide post § 22 b 10 εἰς οὓς αὐτὸν θέλει ὁ θεὸς DQ Turn.: εἰς οὓς ὁ θεὺς αὐτὸς θέλει codd. cett. 11 Fortasse 'Αλλ' ἔτι τοῦτο μοι εἰπέ (vide § 11 c) | τὸ (ante σῶμα) om. Turn. | τὸ (ante ἔκ) om. AB | δυνάμεως AB 11-12 οὐνεστῶς BCDMQ 12 ἔχει scripsi: ἔχει D: ἔχει codd. cett., Turn. 13 ἀσεβῆσαι. μὴ ἐσβέσθη scripsi: ἀποσβεσθῆσαι Reitz, : ἀσεβηθῆσαι ABCMQ Turn. | σου εχ σοι A: μον BC: σου cett. 14 δ om. Turn. 14-15 πόρρωθέν ἐστι (τοῦ ἔκ) τῆς οὐσιώδους γενέσεως Reitz, | Fortasse τὸ αἰσθητὸν σῶμα πόρρωθέν ἐστι τῆς τοῦ οὐσιώδους φύσεως 16 Desinit Q in verbis τὸ μὲν θνητὸν 17 τοῦ ἑνὸς codd., Turn.: fortasse τοῦ

the number by which soul is generated. Life and Light united are a Unit ; and the number One is the source of the Decad. It is reasonable then that the Unit contains in itself the Decad.¹—]

Tat. Tell me, father, will this body which is composed of 14 divine Powers² ever suffer dissolution?—*Hermes.* Hush ! Speak not of a thing that cannot be ; it would be impious to say that. Has the eye of your mind been blinded ? The physical body, which is an object of sense, differs widely from that other body, which is of the nature of true Being. The one is dissoluble, the other is indissoluble. The one is mortal, the other is immortal. Do you not know that you have become a god, and son of the One,³ even as I have?—

Tat. Father, I would fain be taught that hymn of praise which, 15 as you have told us, Poimandres predicted that you would hear the Powers sing when you had ascended to the eighth sphere of heaven.—*Hermes.* My son, you do well to seek that ; for you are purified, now that you have put away from you the earthly tabernacle. Poimandres, the Mind of the Sovereignty, told me no more than stands written in the book ;⁴ for he knew that I should be able of myself to apprehend all things, and to hear what I would, and to see all ; and he left it to me . . .⁵ And so the Powers which are in all things sing within me also.—*Tat.* Father, I would fain hear that song ; I wish to make it mine in thought.—*Hermes.* Be still then, my son, and listen to the 16

¹ The conclusion implied is that the *ten* Powers act as *one* in driving out the evil passions.

² That is, the new self of the man who is reborn.

³ Perhaps, ‘son of God’.

⁴ I. e. in Corp. I, which the author of Corp. XIII takes to have been written by Hermes.

⁵ ‘to think out what he did not tell me’ ?

θεοῦ 18 πάτερ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ Β | εὐλογίαν D Turn. : ἀλογίαν C : ἀλαλο-
γίαν A : ἀναλογίαν ex ἀλογίαν corr. man. pr. B | μαθεῖν addidi (μανθάνειν
add. Reitz.) 19 σον Reitz. : μον O Turn. 19-20 ἀκούσεσθαι σε
scripsi : ἀκοῦσαι codd., Turn. 21-22 σπεύδεις· κεκάθαροι γάρ, λυσάμενος
τὸ σκῆνος scripsi : σπεύδεις λῦσαι τὸ σκῆνος, κεκάθαρμένος γάρ codd., Turn.
23 ἐγγραμμένων BC 20 ποτείν τὰ καλά codd. : sortasse νοεῖν τὰ ἄλλα
26-27 αἱ ἐν πᾶσι δυνάμεις καὶ ἐν ἔμοι scripsi : καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐν ἔμοι
codd. : καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν ἔμοι Turn.

ῦμνον [[τῆς παλιγγενεσίας]], δν ούκ ἔκρινα οὕτως εὐκόλως ἐκφάναι ⟨⟨σοι⟩⟩ [[εὶ μὴ [[σοι]] ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ παντός]].

[δθεν τοῦτο οὐ διδάσκεται, ⟨⟨εὶ μὴ ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ παντός,⟩⟩ ἀλλὰ κρύπτεται ἐν σιγῇ.] [οὔτως οὖν, [ῳ τέκνον,] στὰς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τόπῳ, νότῳ ἀνέμῳ ἀποβλέπων, περὶ καταφορὰν ἡλίου [δύνοντος] προσκύνει· δμόνως δὲ καὶ ἀνιόντος πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην.] [ἥσυχασον, ώ τέκνον.]

17 [ὑμνωδία κρυπτή.]

⟨⟨Ἀνοιγήτω μοι πᾶς μοχλὸς τοῦ⟩⟩ ⟨⟨κόσμου⟩⟩.

πᾶσα φύσις [[κόσμου]] προσδεχέσθω τοῦ ὕμνου τὴν ιο
ἀκοήν.

ἀνοίγηθι γῆ, [[ἀνοιγήτω μοι πᾶς μοχλὸς]] [δμβρον], τὰ δένδρα
μὴ σείεσθε·

ὑμεῖν μέλλω τὸν [τῆς κτίσεως κύριον] καὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ
τὸ ἐν ⟨⟨ῶντα⟩⟩.

15

ἀνοίγητε οὐρανοί, ἀνεμοί τε στῆτε·

ὅ κύκλος ὁ ἀθάνατος [τοῦ θεοῦ] προσδεξάσθω μου τὸν
λόγον.

μέλλω γὰρ ὕμνεῖν τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα,

τὸν πήξαντα τὴν γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν κρεμάσαντα, 21

[καὶ] ⟨τὸν⟩ Γέπιτάξαντα⁴ ἐκ τοῦ ὥκεανοῦ τὸ γλυκὺν ὄδωφρον εἰς
τὴν οἰκουμένην [καὶ ἀοίκητον],

ὑπάρχειν εἰς διατροφὴν [καὶ κτίσιν] πάντων Γάνθρώπων⁵,

[τὸν] [καὶ] ἐπιτάξαντα πῦρ φανῆναι

εἰς πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

25

δῶμεν πάντες δμοῦν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐλογίαν,

τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν μετεώρῳ, τῷ πάσης φύσεως κτίστῃ.

18 οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ νο⁶ μου ὄφθαλμός·

[καὶ] δέξαιτο τῶν δυνάμεων μου τὴν εὐλογίαν.

30

αὶ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν ἐμοῖ, ὕμνεῖτε τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ πᾶν·

συνάσσατε τῷ θελήματι μου, πᾶσαι αἱ ἐν ἐμοὶ δυνάμεις.

γνῶσις ἀγία, φωτισθεὶς ἀπὸ σοῦ,

διὰ σοῦ τὸ νοητὸν φῶς ὕμνῳ[ν].

(. . .) χαίρω ἐν χαρῇ νοῦ·

πᾶσαι δυνάμεις [ὕμνεῖτε] ⟨χαίρετε⟩ σὺν ἐμοῖ.

35

καὶ σὺ μοι, ἐγκράτεια, ὕμνει·

⟨καρτερία . . .⟩·

δικαιοσύνη μον, τὸ δίκαιον ὕμνει δι' ἐμοῦ·

4 στὰς εκ τὰς corr. man. pr. B : τὰς ACDM Turn.

5 ἀποβλέπων om. A

5-6 καταφορὰν ἡλίου D Turn. : καταφορὰν τοῦ ἡλίου codd. celt.

8 ὕμνωδία

A : ύμνωδία κρυπτή Turn. : ύμνωδία κρυπτή λόγος δ' BCDM

9 μυχὸς B²:

hymn of praise which is appropriate to the Rebirth. I had not meant to make it known to you so readily. []¹

Let every bar² of the universe be flung open to me ; 17
and let all nature³ receive the sound of my hymn.

Be thou opened,⁴ O Earth, and ye trees, wave not your boughs ;
I am about to sing the praise of Him who is both the All
and the One.

Be ye opened,⁴ ye heavens, and ye winds, be still ;
let the immortal sphere of heaven receive my utterance.

For I am about to sing the praise of Him who created all things,
who fixed the earth, and hung heaven above ;
who made the sweet water flow from Ocean into the lands wherein
men dwell,

that it might serve for the sustenance of all mankind,⁵
and gave command that fire should come forth,
to be used by gods and men in all their works.

Let us all with one accord give praise to Him,
who is seated high upon the heavens, creator of all that is.

It is He that is the eye of my mind ; 18
may He accept the praise sung by my Powers.

Ye Powers that are within me, praise ye the One and the All ;
sing ye in concord with my will, all ye Powers that are
within me.

O holy Knowledge, by thee am I illumined,
and through thee do I sing praise to the incorporeal Light.⁶

. . . I rejoice in joy of mind ;
rejoice with me, all ye Powers.

And do thou, O Continence, sing praise ;
(and thou, Endurance;) ;
and thou, my Justice, praise the Just through me ;

¹ ['This hymn therefore is not taught, except at the end of all, but is kept hidden in silence.'] ['You must take your stand then in a place open to the sky, and worship thus, facing to the South, at the hour of sunset; and you must worship in like manner at sunrise, facing to the East.]

² Perhaps, 'every recess'.

³ Or 'each several thing (in the physical world)'.

⁴ Perhaps, 'Be silent'.

⁵ Perhaps, 'of all living creatures'.

⁶ Literally, 'the Light which mind (alone) can apprehend'.

μοχλὸς cett. 12 Fortasse σίγησον ή γῆ 16 ἀνοίγετε AB : fortasse σιγάτε | τε om. AB 17 τοῦ θεοῦ codd. : fortasse τοῦ αἰθέρος 19 τὰ πάντα om. D : τὰ om. Turn. 21 ἐπιτάξαντα codd. : fortasse ὀχετεύσαντα
23 καὶ κτῖσον Ο : καὶ κτήσον Turn. : 'scheint καὶ κτ. späterer Zusatz' Reitz.
| πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων A : fortasse πάντων τῶν ζωὴν ἔχοντων 28 νοῦς
μου Reitz. : γόμου DM : νοῦ ABC Turn. 29 μου om. AB 33 ἄνυψ
scripsi : ἄνυψ codd., Turn.

κοινωνία ἡ ἐμή, τὸ πᾶν ὑμνεῖ δι' ἐμοῦ·
ὑμνεῖ ἀλήθεια τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀγαθὸν ⟨τὸ ἐν ἐμοῖ⟩ ὑμνεῖ·
ζωὴ καὶ φῶς, ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς χωρεῖ ἡ εὐλογία.
εὐχαριστῶ σοι, πάτερ, ἐνέργεια τῶν δυνάμεών ⟨μου·⟩
εὐχαριστῶ σοι, θεέ, Γδύναμις τῶν ἐνεργειῶν μου¹.
[[δὸς λόγος δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμνεῖ σέ·]]
[[δι' ἐμοῦ]] [δέξαι τὸ πᾶν λόγῳ² λογικὴν θυσίαν.]

19 ταῦτα βοῶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν ἐμοὶ [[τὸ πᾶν ὑμνοῦσι]] τὸ σὸν
θέλημα τελοῦσι³.
⟨⟨τὸ πᾶν ὑμνοῦσ(α)ι⟩⟩ ⟨... τῇ⟩ σῇ βουλῇ ⟨...⟩ [[ἀπὸ
σοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ τὸ πᾶν.]]

⟨⟨δὸς λόγος δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμνεῖ σέ·⟩⟩
⟨⟨λόγον γὰρ τὸν ἐμὸν ποιμαίνεις σὺ⟩⟩ δὸν.]]
⟨⟨δι' ἐμοῦ⟩⟩ δέξαι ἀπὸ πάντων λογικὴν θυσίαν⁴.
τὸ πᾶν ⟨γὰρ⟩ ⟨ἀπὸ σοῦ, (καὶ) ἐπὶ σὲ τὸ πᾶν.⟩⁵
⟨τὸν νοῦν τὸν ν>⟩ ἐν ἡμῖν [[σῶσε ζωή]] φάτιζε φῶς·
⟨τὴν ψυχὴν . . .⟩ ⟨σῶσε ζωή⟩.
[πνεῦμα θεέ⁶ [[λόγον γὰρ τὸν σὸν ποιμαίνει δὸν]]]
[πνευματοφόρε δημιουργέ, σὺ εἰ δὸνες,⁷]
20 δὸς ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα βοᾷ [διὰ πυρός, δι' ἀέρος, διὰ γῆς, διὰ
νῦδατος,] [διὰ πνεύματος,] διὰ τῶν κτισμάτων σοῦ,
ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ⟨τὴν⟩ εὐλογίαν εὐρών.
[καὶ] δὲ ζητῶ ⟨εἰδον⟩·
βουλῇ τῇ σῇ ἀναπέπαυμαι [[εἰδον]].
θελήματι τῷ σῷ ⟨ἀνεγεννήθην>.—
21 Τὴν εὐλογίαν ταῦτην λέγων, δὲ πάτερ, τέθεικα(s) καὶ ἐν
κόσμῳ τῷ ἐμῷ—“Ἐν τῷ νοητῷ” λέγε, τέκνον.—Ἐν τῷ
νοητῷ, δὲ πάτερ, δύναμιν ἔκ τοῦ σοῦ ὑμνοῦ, καὶ (διὰ) τῆς σῆς
εὐλογίας ἐπιπεφώτισται μου δὸν. πλὴν θέλω κάγὼ⁸
πέμψαι ἐξ ἴδιας φρενὸς εὐλογίαν τῷ θεῷ.—Ω τέκνον, μὴ
ἀσκόπως.—
‘Ἐν τῷ νῷ, δὲ πάτερ, δὲ θεωρῷ λέγω.

1 ἡ ἐμοὶ Turn. : ἡ ἐμή cett. 4 ὑμῶν Reitz. : ὑμῶν O Turn. | ὑμᾶς
D : ὑμᾶς ex ὑμᾶς corr. man. pr. M 5 μον addidit Reitz. 7 διὰ σοῦ
D : δι' ἐμοῦ cett. Θ βοῶσαι scripsi : βοῶσιν codd., Turn. 11 τῇ σῇ
βουλῇ scripsi : σῇ βουλῇ codd. : ἡ σῇ βουλῇ Turn. 14 ἐμὸν scripsi : σὸν
codd., Turn. | ποιμαίνεις σὺ δὸν νοῦς scripsi : ποιμαίνει δὸνος codil., Turn.
19-20 Fortasse ⟨τὸ⟩ πνεῦμα ⟨ἐμπνεῖ>, θεέ⁹ [[]]] πνεύματος γὰρ δημιουργὸς σὺ εἶ
μόνος 21 δὸς ἄνθρωπος codd., Turn. : fortasse δὸς παῖς 23 διὰ

thou, my Unselfishness, praise the All through me ;
O Truth, sing praise to Truth.

O Good that is in me, praise the Good ;

O Life and Light, from you comes the song of praise, and to
you does it go forth.

I give thanks to thee, O Father, who workest in my Powers ;

I give thanks to thee, O God,

Thus crying, the Powers that are in me accomplish thy will ; 19
praising the All, they fulfil thy purpose.

It is thy Word that through me sings thy praise ;

for by thee, O Mind, is my speech shepherded.

Through me accept from all an offering of speech ;

for the All is from thee, and to thee returns the All.

O Light, illumine thou the mind that is in us ;

O Life, keep my soul alive.

Thy man¹ cries thus to thee by means of the things thou hast 20
made ;²

but he has got from thine eternity³ the praises which he
utters.

I have seen that which I seek ;

I have found rest according to thy purpose ;

by thy will I am born again.—

Tat. Father, by your song of praise to God you have put into 21
my world also ——⁴ *Hermes*. Nay, my son, say rather ‘my incor-
poreal world’.—*Tat.* By your hymn you have put fresh power
into my incorporeal world, and through your song of praise my
mind has been further illumined. But now I too wish to
present to God an offering of praise of my own devising.—
Hermes. My son, venture not heedlessly.—*Tat.* Nay, father, it is
that which I behold in Mind that I would utter in speech.

¹ Perhaps, ‘Thy son’, or ‘The man, thy son’.

² I. e. by means of his corporeal organs.

³ I. e. from the incorporeal world. It is the divine Mind that puts into him
the thoughts which his lips utter.

⁴ Tat’s sentence is here interrupted by Hermes, but is resumed and completed
after the interruption. Tat’s ‘world’ is Tat himself, regarded as a microcosm ;
and his ‘incorporeal world’ is his mind.

τοῦ Πατρ.: ἀπὸ σοῦ codd., Turn. : ἀπὸ τοῦ σοῦ Reitz. | εὐράνιον scripsi : εὐρών
codd., Turn. 27 λέγοντα scripsi : λέγομεν B : λεγομένην cett. | τέθεικας
scripsi : τέθεικα codd., Turn. 29 δύναμιν scripsi : δύναμαι codd., Turn.
| δα addidi (ἐκ add. Reitz.) 30 πλήν Turn. : πλέον codd. 38-1 infra :
λέγω. σοὶ Reitz : λέγε σὺ D : λέγω σοι codd. cett., Turn.

Σοὶ (έγώ, ὁ) γενάρχα τῆς γενεσιουργίας,
Τὰτ θεῷ πέμπω λογικὰς θυσίας.

θεέ, σὺ (ό) πατήρ·

[σὺ δ] κύριε, σὺ δ νοῦς.

δέξαι (εὐ)λογί[κ]ας ἀς θέλεις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·
σοῦ γὰρ βουλομένου πάντα (μοι) τελεῖται.—

Εὖ, ω τέκνον· (έ)πεμψας δεκτὴν θυσίαν τῷ πάντων πατρὶ⁵
θεῷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεις, ω τέκνον, “διὰ τοῦ λόγου.”—
Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, πάτερ ([δι]τι) ταῦτά μοι αἰνεῖς εὐξαμένῳ.—

22 a Χαίρω, τέκνον, (ώς) καρποφορήσοντος (σου . . .) ἐκ τῆς¹⁰
ἀληθείας [τὰ ἀγαθὰ] τὰ ἀθάνατα (τῆς ἀρετῆς) γεννήματα·
(έπει) (νοερῶς ἔγνως σεαυτὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἡμέτερον.)

22 b τοῦτο μαθὼν παρ' ἐμοῦ, [[τῆς ἀρετῆς]] σιγὴν ἐπάγγειλαι,¹⁵
(ώ) [[τέκνον,]] μηδενὶ [[τέκνον]] ἐκφα[ι]νεῖν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας
τὴν παράδοσιν, ἵνα μὴ ως διάβολοι (τοῦ παντὸς) λογισθῶμεν.¹⁵
(. . .) ἵκανῶς γὰρ ἔκαστος ἡμῶν (έαυτοῦ) ἐπεμελήθη, ἔγώ
τε [δ] λέγων σύ τε [δ] ἀκούων. [[νοερῶς ἔγνως σεαυτὸν καὶ
τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἡμέτερον.]]

13 b (ι)δίᾳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τὸν περὶ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας [εἰς
δν] (εἰς οὐς ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς θέλει) ὑπεμνηματισάμην, (οὐκ)²⁰
(εἰς τὸν πολλούς,) ἵνα μὴ (λογισθῶμεν διάβολοι τοῦ
παντός. [[εἰς τὸν πολλούς]] [[εἰς οὐς ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς θέλει.]])

1 Fortasse τελεσιουργίας 3 σὺ ὁ πατήρ scripsi : σὺ πάτερ Ο Turn.
4 κύριε scripsi : σὺ δ κύριος codd., Turn. 5 εὐλογίας scripsi : λογικὰς codd.,
Turn. | Fortasse ἀ (σὺ) θέλεις 6 Fortasse τάντα μοι τετέλεσται 7 εὗ,
ω τέκνον, ἐπεμψας Keil : σύ, ω τέκνον, πέμψον codd., Turn. 8 Fortasse διὰ
τοῦ (σοῦ) λόγου 9 ὅτι ταῦτα μοι αἰνεῖς scripsi : ταῦτα μοι αἰνεῖν
codd., Turn. 10 καρποφορήσοντος scripsi : καρποφορήσαντος codd., Turn.
12 Fortasse νοερός (γενόμενος) | ἔγνων Δ : ἔγνως cett. 13 ἐπάγγειλαι
Flussas : ἐπάγγειλε ACDM Turn.: ἐπήγγειλε B 14 ἐκφανεῖν scripsi :
ἐκφαίνων codd., Turn. 16 Fortasse (τοσάντα ἡμίν εἰρήσθω) ἵκανῶς γὰρ
19 idīa scripsi : διὰ codd., Turn. 19-20 Fortasse ([διά]) τὸν λόγον τοῦτον
τὸν περὶ τῆς παλιγγ. (ιδία) εἰς οὐς ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς θέλει ὑπεμν. 21 λογισθῶ-
μεν scripsi : ὅμεν codd., Turn.

O thou first author of the work by which the Rebirth has been wrought in me,
to thee, O God, do I, Tat, bring offerings of speech.

O God, thou art the Father ;
O Lord, thou art Mind.

From me accept praises such as thou willest ;
for by thy will it is that all is accomplished for me.¹—

Hermes. Good, my son ; you have presented an offering acceptable to God the Father of all. But add, my son, ‘by thy Word’.

—*Tat.* I thank you, father.—

Hermes. I rejoice, my son, that you are like to bring forth **22 a** fruit. Out of the Truth will spring up in you the immortal brood of virtue ;² for by the working of mind³ you have come to know yourself and our Father.

Now that you have learnt this from me, my son, you must **22 b** promise to keep silence, and not to reveal to any one how the Rebirth is transmitted, that we may not be deemed maligners of the universe.

And now, no more ; for we have both of us done enough to satisfy our wants, I as teacher, and you as learner.

This discourse about the Rebirth⁴ I have set down in writing **13 b** privately, to be read by those to whom God himself wills it to be made known, and not by the many, that we may not be deemed maligners of the universe.

¹ I. e. that I am born again.

² The ‘brood of virtue’ probably means good deeds.

³ Perhaps, ‘now that you have got mind’.

⁴ This sentence is not spoken by Hermes; it is an appended note, in which the writer of the dialogue speaks in his own person

LIBELLVS XIV

Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου Ἀσκληπιῷ
εὖ φρονεῖν.

- 1 Ἐπεὶ ὁ νιός μου Τὰτ ἀπόντος σου τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἡθέλησε φύσιν μαθεῖν, ὑπερθέσθαι δέ μοι οὐκ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὡς [νιὸς] [[καὶ]] νεωτέρῳ {{καὶ}} ἄρτι παρελθόν(τι) ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν 5 [τῶν] περὶ ἐνδε ἔκάστου ἡναγκάσθην πλείονα εἰπεῖν, ὅπως εὐπαρακολούθητος αὐτῷ γένηται ἡ θεωρία. σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ τῶν λεχθέντων τὰ κυριώτατα κεφάλαια ἐκλεξάμενος δι' ὀλίγων ἡθέλησα ἐπιστεῖλαι [μυστικώτερον αὐτὰ ἐρμηνεύσας], ὡς ἀν τηλικούτῳ καὶ ἐπιστήμονι τῆς φύσεως.
- 2 εἰ τὰ φαινόμενα πάντα γέγονε καὶ γίνεται, [τὰ δὲ γεννητὰ οὐχ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἑτέρου γίνεται,]—πολλὰ δὲ [γεννητά, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα] τὰ φαινόμενα, καὶ πάντα [τὰ] διάφορα καὶ οὐχ ὅμοια,—γίνεται δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρου τὰ γινόμενα, ἔστι τις δὲ ταῦτα ποιῶν· καὶ οὗτος ἀγέννητος, ἵνα ἦ πρεσβύτερος τῶν 15 γεννητῶν. τὰ γὰρ γεννητά φημι ὑφ' ἑτέρου γίνεσθαι· τῶν δὲ γεννητῶν ὄντων ἀδύνατόν τι πρεσβύτερον πάντων εἶναι ἡ 3 μόνον τὸ ἀγέννητον. οὗτος δὲ {{εἰς, καὶ}} {{πάντων}} κρείττων, καὶ [[εἰς καὶ]] μόνος ὄντως σοφὸς τὰ πάντα, ὡς μὴ ἔχων μηδὲν πρεσβύτερον· ἄρχει γὰρ καὶ τοῦ πλήθος {{τῶν γινομένων}} {{καὶ}} τῷ μεγέθει, καὶ τῇ(s) διαφορᾷ(s) [[τῶν γενομένων]] {{καὶ}} τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ποιήσεως. ἐπεὶ [τα] δὲ τὰ γεννητὰ ὄρώμενά ἔστι, κἀκεῖνος δὴ [α] ὀρατός· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖ, ἵνα [α] ὀρατὸς ἥ. ἀεὶ οὖν ποιῶν, ἀ^{εὶ} ὀρατός [τοιγαροῦν] ἔστιν.
- 25 4 οὕτως ἀξιόν ἔστι νοῆσαι, καὶ νοήσαντα θαυμάσαι, καὶ θαυμάσαντα ἑαυτὸν μακαρίσαι {{ώς}} τὸν πατέρα γνωρίσαντα·

In Libello XIV, codicis R et Turnebi lectiones adhibui.

1 Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου Ἀσκληπιῷ εὖ φρονεῖν Turn. (etiam MC teste Reitz.) : Ἐρμοῦ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν R (etiam A teste Reitz.) 3 ὄντων Turn. : ὅλων R (etiam MC teste Reitz.) 4 ἐπέτρεψεν R Turn. : ἐπέτρεψεν M¹ teste Reitz. | ὡς νιὸς Turn. : ὁ νιὸς man. pr. R (etiam AC teste Reitz.): ὡς 5 νιὸς R²: νιὸς seclusi 5 νεωτέρῳ καὶ ἄρτι παρελθόντι scripsi: καὶ νεώτερος ἄρτι παρελθὼν R Turn. 6 τῶν seclusit Reitz, 12 οὐχ ὑφ' ἑτέρου (om. ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ') man. pr. R: οὐχ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐχ ὑφ' ἑτέρου R² 13 τὰ (ante φαινόμενα) om. R 18-19 οὗτος δὲ εἰς, καὶ πάντων κρείττων, καὶ μόνος scripsi: οὗτος δὲ κρείττων, καὶ εἰς, καὶ μόνος Turn. : οὗτος 20-21 τοῦ πλήθους τῶν γινομένων τῷ scripsi:

LIBELLVS XIV

Hermes Trismegistus writes to Asclepius, wishing him health of mind.

In your absence, my son Tat desired to be taught the nature of ¹ things, and would not let me postpone his instruction ; and as he was young, and had only just begun to learn the *gnosis*, I was obliged to discourse to him on each several matter at some length, in order to make it easy for him to understand the doctrine. But since you are older, and have knowledge of the nature of things, I have thought fit to select and send to you in writing, in the form of a short summary, the most important of the truths I taught him.

The things presented to our sight are many, and all different, ² and not like to one another ; and seeing that all these things have come into being, and are ever coming into being, and that things which come into being are brought into being by another, there must be one who makes these things. And he who makes them cannot have been generated ; for he must be prior to the things that are generated. These things, as I said, are brought into being by another ; and it is impossible that anything should be prior to them all, save only that which has not been generated. And the Maker is one ; he is mightier than all, and he alone is ³ truly wise in all things, for there is nothing that is prior to him. He rules over the multitude of things made, in virtue of his greatness ; and he rules over all their differences, because he makes things without intermission. And inasmuch as the things generated are seen, the Maker also can be seen ; for to this end he makes them, that he may be seen. Since then he is at all times making things, he can be seen at all times.

Thus is it meet for us to think, and thus thinking, to marvel, ⁴ and marvelling, to deem ourselves blest, in that we have come to

τῷ πλήθει, καὶ τῷ R Turn. 21-22 τῆς διαφορᾶς τῇ scripsi : τῷ διαφορᾷ τῶν γενομένων καὶ τῇ R Turn. 23 ἔπειτα scripsi : ἔπειτα R Turn. 23 ἐστι, κάκινος δὴ δρατός scripsi: ἐστιν, ἐκίνος δὲ δάρατος R Turn. 24 δρατός γῇ scripsi : δάρατος δὲ R Turn. 24-25 ποιῶν, δεὶ δρατός ἐστιν scripsi : ποιεῖ δάρατος τοιγαροῦν (τοιγαροῦν Turn.) ἐστιν R Turn. 26 ἀξιόν ἐστι Turn. : ἐστιν ἀξιός R

τί γάρ γλυκύτερον πατρὸς γνησίου; τίς οὖν ἔστιν οὗτος, καὶ πῶς αὐτὸν γνωρίσωμεν; ἦ (γάρ) τούτῳ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προσ-
ηγορίαν μόνον δίκαιον ἀνακεῖσθαι, ἢ τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ἢ τὴν
τοῦ πατρός; ἦ καὶ τὰς τρεῖς, θεὸν μὲν διὰ τὴν δύναμιν,
ποιητὴν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, πατέρα δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀγαθόν. 5
δυνάμει γάρ ἔστι διάφορος τῶν γινομένων, ἐνέργει[α] δὲ ἐν τῷ
πάντα γινέσθαι, (ἀγαθὸς δέ ἔστι . . .).

5 διὸ τῆς πολυλογίας τε καὶ ματαιολογίας ἀπαλλαγέντας
χρὴ νοεῖν δύο ταῦτα, τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τὸν ποιοῦντα· μέσον
γάρ τούτων οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τρίτον τι. πάντα οὖν νοῶν, καὶ 10
πάντα ἀκούων, τῶν δύο τούτων μέμνησο, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι
νόμιμε τὰ πάντα, μηδὲν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ (ἢ ἐν μυχῷ) τιθέμενος,
μὴ τῶν ἀνώ, μὴ τῶν κάτω, μὴ τῶν θεών, μὴ τῶν μεταβλητῶν
[[ἢ [τῶν] ἐν μυχῷ]]. δύο γάρ ἔστι τὰ πάντα, τὸ γινόμενον καὶ
τὸ ποιοῦν. καὶ διαστῆναι τὸ ἔτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔτερου οὐ 15
δύναται· οὔτε γάρ τὸν ποιοῦντα χωρὶς τοῦ γινομένου δυνα-
τὸν εἶναι, (οὔτε τὸ γινόμενον χωρὶς τοῦ ποιοῦντος.) ἐκάτερον
γάρ αὐτῶν αὐτὸ τούτῳ ἔστι· διὸ οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἔτερον τοῦ ἔτερου
6 χωρισθῆναι, [ἄλλ'] (ὧσπερ οὐδὲ) αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ. εἰ γάρ ὁ
ποιῶν ἄλλο οὐδέν ἔστιν ἢ τὸ ποιοῦν μόνον, ἀπλοῦν, ἀσύν- 20
θετον, ποιεῖν ἀνάγκη Γτούτο αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ φέ γένεσίς ἔστι τὸ
ποιοῦν τοῦ ποιοῦντος¹. καὶ πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀδύνατον ὑφ'
ἑαυτοῦ γινόμενον εἶναι, γινόμενον δέ, ὑφ' ἔτερου ἀνάγκη
γίνεσθαι· τοῦ δὲ ποιοῦντος ἀνευ τὸ γεννητὸν οὔτε γίνεται
οὔτε ἔστι. τὸ γάρ ἔτερον τοῦ ἔτερου ἀνευ ἀπώλεσε τὴν 25
ἰδίαν φύσιν [στερήσει τοῦ ἔτερου]. εἰ τοίνυν δύο ώμολόγηται
τὰ δύο ταῦτα, τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν, ἐν ἔστι τῇ ἐνώσει, τὸ
μὲν προηγούμενον, τὸ δὲ ἐπόμενον, προηγούμενον μὲν ὁ ποιῶν
θεός, ἐπόμενον δὲ τὸ γινόμενον, ὁποῖον ἀν ἥ.

7 καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν ποικιλίαν τῶν γινομένων φυλάξῃ, φοβού- 30
μενος μὴ ταπεινότητα καὶ ἀδοξίαν τῷ θεῷ περιάψης. μία
γάρ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δόξα, τὸ ποιεῖν τὰ πάντα, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι τοῦ

1-2 καὶ πῶς αὐτὸν ομ. R 2 γνωρίσωμεν scripsi: γνωρίσομεν R Turn.
| ἦ γάρ τούτῳ scripsi: ἦ τούτῳ R Turn. 3 μόνον Flussas: μόνῳ R Turn.

6 δυνάμει scripsi: δύναμις R Turn. | γινομένων scripsi: γενομένων R Turn.
| ἐνέργει[α] scripsi: ἐνέργεια R Turn. 10 οὐδὲ (ante τρίτον) Turn.: οὐδὲν R
15 ἀπὸ Turn. R²: om. man. pr. R 15-18 οὐ δύναται. οὔτε Turn.: ἀδύνατον.
οὐδὲ R 17 ἐκάτερον scripsi: ἐκάτερος R Turn. 21 φέ γένεσίς ἔστι
Turn.: ὡς γένεσις δὲ R 26 εἰ τοίνυν δύο . . . οὔτε τὸν βύνον οἱ γεννήσαντες
(§ 7) citat Cyrillus c. Julianum 2. 63, Migne Patrol. tom. 76, 597 D (vide
Testim.) 27 τὰ δύο Cyril.: om. R Turn. | τὸ (ante γινόμενον) R

recognize our Father ; for what is dearer to a son than his true father? Who is he then, and how are we to recognize him? Are we to say that it is right that the name of God alone should be assigned to him, or that of Maker, or that of Father? Nay, all three names are his ; he is rightly named God by reason of his power, and Maker by reason of the work he does, and Father by reason of his goodness. In power he surpasses the things that come into being ; he is at work in bringing all things into being ; (and his goodness is shown in . . .).

We ought therefore to get rid of superfluous and idle talk, and 5 keep our thoughts fixed upon these two, the thing made and the Maker. Between them there is nothing ; there is no third. In all your thoughts then, and in all that you are told, keep in mind these two, and hold them to be all that is, making no difficulty or mystery about anything in heaven above or here below, divine or mutable. All things are but two, that which is made and that which makes. And the one cannot be separated from the other ; the Maker cannot exist apart from the thing made, nor the thing made, apart from the Maker. Each of them is just that and nothing else ; and so the one can no more be parted from the other than it can be parted from itself. For 6 if the Maker is nothing else but that which makes, and that alone, simple and incomposite, he must of necessity make . . . And again, what is made cannot be made by itself ; if it is made, it must of necessity be made by another ; without the Maker, the thing made can neither come into being nor exist. If the one is wanting, the other ceases to be itself. If then it is admitted that there are two things, that which is made and that which makes, these two are one in virtue of their union, the one of them going before, and the other following after. It is the Maker, that is, God, that goes before : and it is the thing made, whatsoever it be, that follows after.

And if the things made vary in quality, do not for that reason 7 hesitate through fear of degrading God, or impairing his glory. For God's glory is this, and this alone, that he makes all things ;

Turn. : τό τε Cyril. 28 μὲν (ante δ ποιῶν) om. R 29 δποῖον R Turn. : δ τι Cyril. | ἀν ex τὰν corr. R 30-31 φυλάξῃ, φοβούμενος Cyril. : φυλάξῃ φοβούμενος R Turn. 31 μη̄ Turn. : om. R Cyril. | τῷ (ante θεῷ) om. Cyril. | περάψῃ Turn. : περάψῃ R : περιγράψαι Cyril. 32 γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῷ R Turn. : γάρ αὐτῷ ἐστι Cyril. | τὰ (ante πάντα) om. Cyril | ἐστι τοῦ R Turn. : ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Cyril.

θεοῦ ὥσπερ ογκία, ἡ ποίησις· αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ποιοῦντι ογδέν κακὸν οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν νομιστέον. ταῦτα γάρ ἔστι τὰ πάθη [τὰ] τῇ γενέσει παρεπόμενα, ὥσπερ ὁ ἴὸς τῷ χαλκῷ, καὶ ὁ βύπος τῷ σώματι· ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸν ἴὸν ὁ χαλκουργὸς ἐποίησεν, οὔτε τὸν βύπον ὁ (τὸ σῶμα) γεννήσα[ντε]ς [[γεγέννηκεν]]. 5 οὐδὲ τὴν κακίαν (γεγέννηκεν) ὁ θεός, ἡ δὲ τῆς γενέσεως διαμονὴ καθάπερ ἔξαιρθεῖν ποιεῖ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησε τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ θεός, ὥσπερ ἀνακάθαρσιν τῆς γενέσεως.

8 εἴτα τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ ζωγράφῳ ἔξεστι καὶ οὐρανὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ ιο ἀλογα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, τῷ δὲ θεῷ οὐ δυνατὸν πάντα ποιεῖν; ὁ τῆς πολλῆς ἀνοίας καὶ ἀγνωσίας τῆς περὶ τὸν θεόν. τὸ γάρ πάντων καινούτατον πάσχοντιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι· τὸν γὰρ θεὸν φάσκοντες εὐλογεῖν τῷ μὴ τὴν τῶν πάντων ποίησιν αὐτῷ ἀνατιθέναι, οὔτε τὸν θεὸν ἵσασι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ μὴ 15 εἰδέναι, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσεβοῦσι, πάθος αὐτῷ περιτιθέντες, ὑπεροψίαν ἡ ἀδυναμίαν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ πάντα ποιεῖ, ἡ ὑπερηφανῶν οὐ ποιεῖ, ἡ μὴ δυνάμενος δπερ ἔστιν 9 ἀσεβέσ. ὁ γὰρ θεός ἐν μόνον ἔχει πάθος, τὸ ἀγαθόν· ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς οὔτε ὑπερῆφανος οὔτε ἀδύνατος. [[τοῦτο γάρ ἔστιν 20 ὁ θεός, τὸ ἀγαθόν· φησι πᾶσα δύναμις τοῦ ποιεῖν πάντα.]] πᾶν δῆ τὸ γεννητὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονεν, δπερ ἔστιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ [τοῦ] πάντα δυναμένου ποιεῖν. (τοῦτο γάρ ἔστιν ὁ θεός, τὸ ἀγαθόν· (τῷ δὲ ἀγαθῷ) πᾶσα δύναμις τοῦ ποιεῖν πάντα.)²⁵

10 εἰ δὲ πῶς μὲν αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, πῶς δὲ τὰ γενόμενα γίνεται βούλει μαθεῖν, ἔξεστι σοι ἵδεν εἰκόνα καλλίστην καὶ δμοιτάτην. ἵδε γεωργὸν σπέρμα καταβάλλοντα εἰς γῆν, ὃπου μὲν πυρόν, ὃπου δὲ κριθήν, ὃπου δὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν σπερμάτων· ἵδε

1 οὐσία scripsi: σῶμα R Turn.: τὸ σῶμα Cyril. | δὲ Turn., Cyril.: δῆ R 2 νομιστέον scripsi: νομιζόμενον R Turn., Cyril. 2-3 τὰ πάθη τὰ τῇ Turn., Cyril.: τὰ παθητὰ τῇ R 3 ὁ (ante ἴὸς) Cyril.: om. R Turn. 4 οὔτε ἴὸν ὁ χαλκουργὸς R Turn.: οὔτε ὁ χαλκουργὸς τὸν ἴὸν Cyril. 5 ὁ τὸ σῶμα γεννήσας scripsi: οἱ γεννήσαντες Cyril.: ὁ ποιητὴς γεγέννηκεν R Turn. 6 οὐδὲ scripsi: οὔτε R Turn. 7 ἐπιδιαμονὴ R: διαμονὴ cett. 9 εἴτα τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ ζωγράφῳ . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ζῷῳ καὶ κίνησιν (§ 10) citat Cyrilus c. Julianum 2. 64, Migne 76. 600 A (vide Testim.) 9-10 ποιῆσαι καὶ γῆν Cyril.: ποιῆσαι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ γῆν R Turn. 10 θάλασσαν καὶ R Turn.: θάλασσαν ταῦτα καὶ Cyril. | θεός καὶ Cyril.: om. R Turn. 10-11 καὶ τὰ ἀλογα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα R Turn.: καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀλογα καὶ ἄψυχα Cyril. 11 οὐ δυνατὸν πάντα Cyril.: ἀδύνατον ταῦτα Turn. 12 τῆς (ante πολλῆς) Turn.: om. Cyril. 12-13 ὁ τῆς . . . τὸν θεόν om. man. pr. R 13 καινότατον R Turn.: δεινότατον Cyril. 14 φάσκοντες εὐλογεῖν R Turn.:

and the making of things is, so to speak, God's very being. In relation to the Maker himself, nothing is to be deemed evil or foul. Evil and foulness are accidents which follow on the making of things, just as rust forms on metal, or dirt collects on a man's body ; but the metal-worker did not make the rust, nor did the father who begot the body make the dirt. And even so, God is not the author of evil ; but it is the lasting on of the things made that causes evil to break out on them. And that is why God has subjected things to change ; for by transmutation the things made are purged of evil.

The same painter can make heaven and earth and sea, gods 8 and men, and beasts of every kind, and things without life ; and is it impossible for God to make all things ? What fools men are ! How little they know of God ! It is a strange mistake ; such men profess to honour God by refusing to ascribe to him the making of all things ; but they know not God, and not only that, but they are guilty of the worst impiety against him ; for they attribute a bad quality to God ; they make him out to be either disdainful or incapable. If God does not make all things, it must be either because he despairs to make things, or because he is not able ; and it is impious to say that. God has one quality, 9 and one alone, the quality of goodness ; and he who is good is neither disdainful nor incapable. All that has come into being then has been brought into being by God, that is, by him who is good, and is able to make all ; for God is the Good, and the Good has all power to make all.

And if you wish to know how God makes things, and how the 10 things made come into being, you may see an image of it,—a goodly sight, and very like. Look at a husbandman sowing seed, here wheat, there barley, and elsewhere some other kind of

φάσκοντες εἰσεβεῖν τε καὶ εὐλογεῖν Cyril. | τῶν (ante πάντων) R Turn. : om. Cyril.
 15 αὐτῷ ἀνατίθεναι R Turn. : ἀνατίθέναι αὐτῷ Cyril. | οὐρὲ
 R Turn. : οὐδὲ Cyril. | ισαοι Cyril. : οἴδαι Turn. : οἴδαιν R | πρὸς δὲ
 τὸ R : πρὸς δὲ τῷ cett. 16 πάθος Cyril. (Aub.): πάθη Turn. 17 εἰ
 γάρ μὴ R Cyril. : εἰ μὴ γάρ Turn. 18 ἡ (post πάντα ποιεῖ) R Turn. : om.
 Cyril. (Aub.) | ὑπερῆργαν ὁ ποιεῖ Cyril. : ὑπερῆργανός ἐστιν R Turn.
 19 πάθος secludendum ? 22 δὴ scripsi: δὲ R Turn., Cyril. | ἐστιν
 ὥπε τοῦ Cyril. : ἐστὶ τοῦ R Turn. 23 πάντα Cyril. : τὰ πάντα R Turn.
 24 τὸ ἀγαθὸν Cyril. : τὸ γάρ ἀγαθὸν R Turn. | τῷ δὲ ἀγαθῷ πάσα scripsi :
 ὁ πάσα Cyril. : ἡ πάσα R Turn. 24-25 ποιεῖ πάντα Cyril. : ποιεῖ τὰ πάντα
 R Turn. 26 εἰ δὲ Cyril. : ίδε R Turn. 26-27 γίνεται, βούλει Cyril. :
 γίνεται, καὶ εἰ βούλει R Turn. 27 ἔφεστι σοι ίδειν εἰκόνα R Turn. : ἔφεστι
 σοι. ίδε εἰκόνα Cyril. 28 ίδε R Turn. : om. Cyril. | καταβαλόντα R
 | εἰς γῆν Turn. : εἰς τὴν γῆν R Cyril.

τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμπελον φυτεύοντα καὶ μηλέαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν δένδρων. οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μὲν οὐρανῷ ἀθανασίαν σπείρει, ἐν δὲ γῇ μεταβολήν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ζωὴν καὶ κίνησιν. [ταῦτα δὲ οὐ πολλά ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγα καὶ εὐαρίθμητα· τὰ γὰρ πάντα τέσσαρα.] *(δύο γάρ) ἔστιν, αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ 5 γένεσις, ἐν οἷς τὰ ὄντα ἔστιν.*

LIBELLVS XVI

[*ὅροι*] Ἀσκληπιοῦ πρὸς Ἀμμωνα βασιλέα

[περὶ θεοῦ, περὶ ὅλης, περὶ κακίας, περὶ εἰμαρμένης, περὶ ἥλιου, περὶ νοητῆς οὐσίας, περὶ θείας οὐσίας, περὶ ἀνθρώπου, περὶ οἰκονομίας τοῦ πληρώματος, περὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀστέρων, το περὶ τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπου.]

Ι α μέγαν σοι (τοῦτον) τὸν λόγον, διεπεμψάμην,
πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ὕσπερ κορυφὴν καὶ ὑπόμνημα, οὐ κατὰ
τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν συγκείμενον, ἔχοντα δὲ πολλὴν
ἐκείνοις ἀντίλε[ι]ξιν. *Γ*φανήσεται γάρ σοι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ¹⁵
Ι β ἐνίοις λόγοις ἀντίφωνος.⁷ *(. . .)* Ἐρμῆς μὲν γάρ ὁ διδά-
σκαλός μου πολλάκις μοι διαλεγόμενος καὶ ἴδιᾳ καὶ τοῦ Τὰτ
ἐνίστε παρόντος ἔλεγεν ὅτι δόξει τοῖς *(. . .)* ἐντυγχάνουσί μου
τοῖς βιβλίοις ἀπλοντάτη ἔναι ἡ σύνταξις καὶ σαφής, ἐκ δὲ
τῶν ἐναντίων *(ὅρμωμένοις διαβληθῆσεται ως)* ἀσαφῆς οὖσα, ²⁰
καὶ κεκρυμμένον τὸν νοῦν τῶν λόγων ἔχουσα. καὶ ἔτι ἀσ-
φεστέρα *(φανήσεται)* τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον βουληθέντων
τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν μεθερμηνεύσαι, διερ
ἔσται τῶν γεγραμμένων μεγίστη διαστροφή τε καὶ ἀσάφεια.
2 δ δὲ λόγος τῇ πατρῷα διαλέκτῳ ἐρμηνευόμενος ἔχει σαφῆ ²⁵

2 οὗτος καὶ δ Cyril.: οὗτος δ R Turn.

5 ἔστιν, αὐτὸς scripsi: ἔστι,

καὶ αὐτὸς R Turn.

In Libellis XVI-XVIII, codicum BCDMR et Turnebi lectiones adhibui.
O = codicum BCDM prima manus teste Reitzenstein.

7 "Αμμων B: "Αμμονα cett. 8 περὶ κακίας om. DR Turn. 10 περὶ⁸
(ante τῶν ἐπτὰ) om. DR Turn. 12 τὸν om. DR Turn. 15 ἀντί-
λεξιν scripsi: ἀντίδεξιν codd., Turn. 16 γὰρ DR Turn.: om. BC
16-17 δὲ ἐμὸς διδάσκαλός DR Turn.: δ διδάσκαλός μου cett. 18 τοῖς
om. man. pr. M | Fortasse *(εὐσεβῶς)* 21 λόγον R: λόγων cett.
ἔχοντα ex ἔχοντα corr. R 21-22 ἀσφεστάτη codd., Turn.: 'viel-
leicht ἀσφεστέρα' Reitz. 24 ἔστι B: ἔσται cett. 25-8 infra: δὲ
λόγος τῇ πατρῷα διαλέκτῳ ἐρμηνευόμενος ἔχει . . . ἔχει τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν λεγο-
μένων. οὖν δυνατόν ἔστι σοι . . . ὀνομάτων φράσιν codd. Corp. Apud

seed. Look at him planting now a vine, and now an apple-tree, and trees of other kinds; the same man plants them all. And even so, God sows immortality in heaven, and change on earth, and in all the universe, life and movement. For in these two,—God, and the world of things made,—is comprised all that exists.

LIBELLVS XVI

An epistle of Asclepius to King Ammon.

Of weighty import is this discourse which I send to you, my **1 a** King; it is, so to speak, a summing up of all the other discourses, and a reminder of their teaching. It is not composed in accordance with the opinion of the many; it contains much that contradicts their beliefs. . . . For my teacher¹ Hermes often used **1 b** to say in talk with me when we were alone, and sometimes when Tat was with us, that those who read my² writings . . . ³ will think them to be quite simply and clearly written, but those who hold opposite principles to start with will say that the style is obscure, and conceals the meaning. And it will be thought still more obscure in time to come, when the Greeks think fit to translate these writings from our tongue⁴ into theirs. Translation will greatly distort the sense of the writings, and cause much obscurity. Expressed in our native language,⁵ the teaching conveys its mean- **2**

¹ Perhaps, ‘(And some people will find it difficult to understand.) For my teacher’, &c.

² Perhaps, ‘his’, or ‘our’.

³ Perhaps, ‘with a devout mind’.

⁴ I. e. from the Egyptian language.

⁵ ‘Expressed in our native language . . . the cogent force of the words.’ This passage is quoted in a different form by Nicephorus Gregoras. Accordinging to him, it runs thus: ‘As far as it is in your power, my King, keep (untranslated) the teaching which I have transmitted to you, in order that secrets so holy may not be revealed to Greeks, and that the disdainful mode of speech of the Greeks, with its showy tricks of style, may not reduce to impotence the impressive strength of the language, and the cogent force of the words. For such teachings, when expressed in our native language, convey their meaning clearly; for the very quality of the sounds, and the power of the Egyptian words, have in it (i. e. in our native language!) the efficacy of the things signified; but when distorted (by translation), these teachings become obscure and ineffectual.’

Nicephorum Gregoram (vide *Testim.*) inverso ordine legitur ὅσον δυνατόν ἔστι σοι . . . ὀνομάτων φράσιν. οἱ γὰρ τοιούτοι λόγοι τῇ πατρῷ διαλέκτῳ ἐμμηνόμενοι ἔχουσι . . . τὴν τῶν λεγομένων ἐνέργειαν ἔχουσι | Post ἐνέργειαν ἔχουσι add. Niceph. διαστρεφόμενοι δὲ ἀσφαῖς τε γίνονται καὶ ἀνενέργητοι

τὸν τῶν λόγων νοῦν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸ τῆς φωνῆς ποιὸν (.),
καὶ ἡ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων ὄνομάτων Γύναμις¹ ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἔχει τὴν
ἐνέργειαν τῶν λεγομένων. δόσον οὖν δύνατόν ἔστι σοι,
βασιλεῦ,—πάντα δὲ δύνασαι,—τὸν λόγον διατήρησον ἀνερ-
μήνευτον, ἵνα μήτε εἰς "Ελληνας ἔλθῃ τοιαῦτα μυστήρια,
μήτε ἡ τῶν 'Ελλήνων Γύνερήφανος² φράσις καὶ ἐκλελυμένη
καὶ ὥσπερ κεκαλλωπισμένη ἔξιτηλον ποιήσῃ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ
στιβαρὸν καὶ τὴν ἐνεργητικὴν τῶν ὄνομάτων φράσιν.
"Ελληνες γάρ, ὁ βασιλεῦ, λόγους ἔχουσι κενοὺς ἀποδείξεων
[ἐνεργητικούς]: καὶ αὕτη ἔστιν (ἢ) 'Ελλήνων φιλοσοφία,¹⁰
λόγων ψόφος. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ λόγοις χρώμεθα, ἀλλὰ φωναῖς
με[γι]σταῖς [τῶν] ἔργων.

3 ἅρξομαι δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἔνθεν, τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν
τῶν ὄλων δεσπότην καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα καὶ περίβολον,
[καὶ πάντα δύτα] τὸν [ἔνα] καὶ ἔνα δύτα (καὶ) τὰ πάντα,¹⁵
[[τῶν πάντων γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα ἐν ἔστι]] [καὶ ἐν ἐνί] οὐ
Γδευτεροῦντος³ τοῦ ἐνός, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐνὸς δύτος· «τῶν
πάντων γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα ἐν ἔστι.» καὶ τοῦτον μοι τὸν νοῦν
διατήρησον, ὁ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ὅλην τὴν τοῦ λόγου πραγ-
ματείαν. ἔὰν γάρ τις ἐπιχειρήσῃ τὰ πάντα [καὶ ἐν Γδοκοῦντι]²⁰
καὶ ταῦτὸν εἶναι] τοῦ ἐνὸς χωρίσαι, ἐκδεξάμενος τὴν τῶν
πάντων προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ πλήθους, οὐκ ἐπὶ πληρώματος,
[[ὅπερ ἔστιν ἀδύνατον,]] τὸ πᾶν τοῦ ἐνὸς λύσας ἀπολέσει τὸ
πᾶν· «ὅπερ ἔστιν ἀδύνατον.» πάντα γὰρ ἐν εἶναι δεῖ, εἴ γε
[ἐν] ἔστιν,—ἔστι δέ, καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται [ἐν] δύτα,—ἵνα μὴ²⁵
τὸ πλήρωμα λυθῇ.

4 ἴδοις ἀν ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλὰς πηγὰς ὑδάτων καὶ ἀέρος ἀνα-
βρυσούσας ἐν τοῖς μεσαιτάτοις μέρεσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τὰς
τρεῖς φύσεις δρωμένας ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς, ἐκ μιᾶς
ῥίζης ἡρτημένας. θθεν καὶ (ἢ γῆ) πάσης ὅλης πεπίστευται³⁰
εἶναι ταμεῖον· καὶ ἀναδίδωσι μὲν αὐτῆς τὴν χορηγίαν,
5 ἀνταπολαμβάνει δὲ τὴν ἀνωθεν ὑπαρξίαν. οὕτω γὰρ οὐρανὸν

1 τῶν λόγων secludendum! 2 δύναμις Turn. et Niceph.: om. codd.
Corp. (συνθήκη B²): φράσις Reitz. | αὐτῷ B: ἑαυτῷ codd. Corp. cett.: αὐτῷ
Niceph. 4 πάντα δὲ δύνασαι om. Niceph. | τὸν λόγον codd. Corp.
τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν παραδεδομένον σοι λόγον Niceph. 4-5 ἀνερμήνευτον om.
Niceph. 6 η om. Turn. 6-7 καὶ ἐκλελυμένη καὶ ὥστερ om. Niceph.
Θ κενοὺς B²: κανοὺς BCMR Turn.: καὶ νοῦς D 9-10 (οὐδὲ) ἀποδέξεων
ἐνεργητικούς Reitz. 10 η addidit Reitz. 12 μεσταῖς Tiedemann: μεγί-
σταῖς OR: μεγίστας Turn. 14 τῶν (ante δλων) om. B | ὅλων R
14-15 περίβολον καὶ πάντα δύτα [τὸν ἔνα] καὶ ἔνα [δύτα τὰ πάντα] Reitz.

ing clearly ; for the very quality of the sounds . . . ; and when the Egyptian words are spoken, the force of the things signified works in them. Therefore, my King, as far as it is in your power, (and you are all-powerful,) keep the teaching untranslated, in order that secrets so holy may not be revealed to Greeks, and that the Greek mode of speech, with its . . .,¹ and feebleness, and showy tricks of style, may not reduce to impotence the impressive strength of the language, and the cogent force of the words. For the speech of the Greeks, my King, is devoid of power to convince ; and the Greek philosophy is nothing but a noise of talk. But *our* speech is not mere talk ; it is an utterance replete with workings.

I will begin by invoking God, the Master and Maker and 3 Father and Encompasser of all, who is both One and all things ; not that the One is two, but that these two² are one ; for the whole which is made up of all things is one. And I beg you to keep this in mind, my King, throughout your study of my teaching. For if any one attempts to separate all things from the One, taking the term ‘all things’ to signify a mere plurality of things, and not a whole made up of things, he will sever the All from the One, and will thereby bring to naught the All ; but that is impossible. It needs must be that all things are one, if they exist, (and they do exist, and never cease to exist,) in order that the whole which is made up of them may not be dissolved.

You can see that in the earth there gush forth many springs of 4 water and of air in its midmost parts, and that these three things, air, water, and earth, are found in the same place, being attached to one single root. Hence we believe that the earth is the store-house of all matter ; it gives forth the supply of matter, and in return receives that thing which comes from above.³ For in this 5

¹ MSS., ‘arrogance’ or ‘disdainfulness’.

² Viz. ‘the One’ and ‘all things’.

³ Viz. light, which is the vehicle of life.

15 καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα Β : καὶ πάντα ὄντα cett. | καὶ τὰ scripsi : τὰ Turn. : τὸν
codd. 16 τὰ (ante πλήραμα) om. R 17 δευτεροῦντος codd., Turn. : δευτέρου ὄντος Reitz. : fortasse δύο ὄντος 18 μοι D : μοι cett. 19 διατή-
ρισον R 20 τὰ scripsi : τῷ OR : τὰ Turn. | δοκοῦντι OR : δοκοῦν τε
Turn. 21 χωρίσαι MR Turn. : χωρῆσαι BD : χωρίσαι εξ χωρῆσαι corr.
man. pr. C 22 ἀπολέσει Turn. : ἀπολέσεις CMR : ἀπολέσης D 24-26
Fortasse πάντα γάρ ἐν εἶναι δεῖ [εἴ γε . . . ὄντα], ἵνα μὴ τὰ πλήραμα λυθῇ
25 ἐν (post εἴ γε) seclusit Reitz. | εἴγε ἔνεστιν BR | μὴ om. DR Turn.
27 ἰδοις ἀν ἐπὶ Turn. : ἰδης οὖν ἐπὶ DR : ίδε οὖν ἐν cett. | ἀέρος scripsi
(vide § 8) : πυρὸς codd., Turn. 28 ἀέρος scripsi : πυρὸς codd., Turn.

καὶ γῆν ⟨συν⟩άγει ὁ δημιουργός, λέγω δὴ ὁ ἥλιος, τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν κατάγων, τὴν δὲ ὄλην ἀνάγων· καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ⟨. . .⟩, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα¹ ἔλκων, καὶ ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πάντα² διδούς· πᾶσι γὰρ τῷ φῶς ἀφθονον χαρίζεται. αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἀγαθὰ³ ἐνέργεια οὐ μόνον ἐν οὐρανῷ [καὶ ἀέρι],⁴ 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ⟨. . ., καὶ⟩ εἰς τὸν κατώτατον βυθὸν [καὶ 6 ἄβυσσον]⁵ διήκουσιν. ⟨. . .⟩ ⟨ἐστιν ὁ τούτου ὅγκος·⟩ εἰ δέ τις ἐστι καὶ νοητὴ οὐσία, ⟨τ>αὐτή(;)s [[ἐστιν ὁ τούτου ὅγκος]] [ῆς] ὑποδοχὴ ἀν εἴη τὸ τούτου φῶς. πόθεν δὲ αὕτη συνίσταται ἡ ἐπιρρεῖ, αὐτὸς μόνος οἶδεν ὃ θεός. ὁ δὲ ἥλιος,> [ῆ] καὶ τῷ¹⁰ τόπῳ καὶ τῇ φύσει ἐγγὺς ὡν ⟨ἡμῶν, ὅψιν⟩ ἑαυτοῦ παρέχει. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἀφανῆς,⁶ μὴ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὀρώμενος, στοχασμῷ δὲ⁷ βιαζομένων νοούμ^(ενος). ἡ δὲ τούτου θέα οὐκ ἐστι στοχά-
ζοντος, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ ⟨τ>ῇ ὅψει ⟨ὅραται⟩. λαμπρότατα γάρ περιλάμπει πάντα τὸν κόσμον τὸν ὑπερκείμενον καὶ ὑποκεί-¹⁵ μενον· μέσος γὰρ ἴδρυται, στεφανηφορῶν τὸν κόσμον. ⟨ἀφῆκεν οὖν φέρεσθαι ⟨αὐτὸν⟩ οὐ πόρρωθεν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰ χρὴ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, σὺν ἑαυτῷ,> [καὶ] καθάπερ ἡνίοχος ἀγαθός, τὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρμα ἀσφαλισάμενος καὶ ἀναδῆσας εἰς ἑαυτόν, μὴ πως ἀτάκτως φέροιτο· εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ ἡνίαι ⟨. . .⟩²⁰ [ζωὴ καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ πνεῦμα] [καὶ ἀθανασία καὶ γένεσις]. [ἀφῆκεν οὖν φέρεσθαι οὐ πόρρωθεν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰ χρὴ τὸ²⁵ 8 ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, σὺν ἑαυτῷ.] καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον δη-
μιουργεῖ τὰ[ι α]πάντα, τοῖς μὲν ἀθανάτοις τὴν αἰδίον διαμονὴν ἀπονέμων, καὶ τῇ ἀνωφερείᾳ [τῇ] τοῦ φωτὸς [ε]αύτοῦ, δσον²⁵ ἀναπέμπει ἐκ τοῦ θατέρου μέρους τοῦ πρὸς οὐρανὸν βλέ-
ποντος, τὰ ἀθάνατα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου τρέφωντος, τῷ δὲ κατα[λαμ]βαλλομένῳ, καὶ περιλάμποντι τὸ πᾶν ὕδατος καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀέρος κύτος, ⟨τὰ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ κόσμου⟩³⁰
ζωοποιῶν καὶ ἀνακινῶν ⟨εἰς⟩ γένεσιν, καὶ μεταβολαῖς [[τὰ ἐν

1 συνάγει scripsi: δεὶ codd. (om. R), Turn.: ἄγει Flussas
περὶ αὐτὸν ⟨τὸν κόσμον διουκεῖ⟩

3 καὶ (ante εἰς) om. R

3-4 πάντα

διδοὺς πᾶσι [καὶ τὸ φῶς ἀφθονον χαρίζεται] Reitz.

5 Fortasse πᾶσι ζωὴν διδοὺς

4 γάρ (ante τὸ φῶς) scripsi: καὶ codd., Turn.

5 οὐδὲ ἀγαθαὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι

D: fortasse οὐ αἱ ἐνέργειαι

7 Fortasse ⟨τῆς γάρ αἰσθητῆς τοῦ φωτὸς οὐσίας

πηγῆ⟩ ἐστιν ὁ τούτου ὅγκος

8-9 ταῦτης ὑποδοχὴ scripsi: αὐτῇ ἐστιν ὁ

τούτου ὅγκος ἡς ὑποδοχὴ codd., Turn.

11 φύσι R

12 μὴ om. B

13 νοού-

μενος scripsi: νοεῖ codd.: νοεῖ Turn.

14 αὐτῇ τῇ ὅψει ὅραται scripsi:

αὐτῇ ἡ ὄψις codd., Turn.

15-16 καὶ ὑποκείμενον om. DK Turn.

23-24 δη-
μιουργεῖ τὰ πάντα Reitz.: δημιουργεῖται πάντα OR: δημιουργεῖ τὰ πάντα Turn.

25 τῇ ἀνα περιφερείᾳ DR Turn.

2 Fortasse

3-4 πάντα

5 Fortasse πᾶσι ζωὴν διδοὺς

7 Fortasse τοῦ φωτὸς οὐσίας

πηγῆ⟩

8-9 ταῦτης ὑποδοχὴ

11 φύσι R

12 μὴ om. B

13 νοού-

μενος scripsi: νοεῖ codd.: νοεῖ Turn.

14 αὐτῇ τῇ ὅψει ὅραται scripsi:

αὐτῇ ἡ ὄψις codd., Turn.

15-16 καὶ ὑποκείμενον om. DK Turn.

23-24 δη-
μιουργεῖ τὰ πάντα Reitz.: δημιουργεῖται πάντα OR: δημιουργεῖ τὰ πάντα Turn.

25 τῇ ἀνα περιφερείᾳ DR Turn.

way the Demiurgus (that is, the Sun) brings together heaven and earth, sending down true being¹ from above, and raising up matter from below. And he . . .² in connexion with himself, both drawing . . . to himself, and giving forth . . . from himself; for he lavishes light on all things without stint.³ For the Sun is he whose beneficent workings operate not only in heaven, but also upon earth, and penetrate even to the lowest depths. The material body of the Sun is . . .;⁴ and if there is such a thing as a substance not perceptible by sense,⁵ the light of the Sun must be the receptacle of that substance. But of what that substance consists, or whence it flows in, God only knows. The Sun, being near to us in position, and like to us in nature, presents himself to our sight. God does not manifest himself to us; we cannot see him, and it is only by conjecture, and with hard effort, that we can apprehend him in thought. But it is not by conjecture that we contemplate the Sun; we see him with our very eyes. He shines most brightly on all the universe, illuminating both the world above and the world below; for he is stationed in the midst, and wears the Kosmos as a wreath around him. And so he lets the Kosmos go on its course, not leaving it far separated from himself, but, to speak truly, keeping it joined to himself; for like a skilled driver, he has made fast and bound to himself the chariot of the Kosmos, lest it should rush away in disorder. And the reins are . . .⁶

In this wise he makes all things.⁷ He assigns to the immortals their everlasting permanence, and with that part of his light which tends upwards (that is, the light which he sends forth from that side of him which faces heaven), he maintains the immortal parts of the Kosmos;⁸ but with the light which is shed downward, and illuminates all the sphere of water, earth, and air, he puts life into the things in this region of the Kosmos, and stirs them up to

¹ I. e. light, or life.

² Perhaps, 'And he orders all things'.

³ The sense required by the context is 'both drawing life to himself and giving forth life from himself'.

⁴ Perhaps, 'composed of visible light', or 'the source of visible light'.

⁵ Literally, 'intelligible substance'.

⁶ Perhaps, 'And the reins with which he controls it are his light-rays'.

⁷ I. e. gives life to all things. * I. e. the heavenly bodies.

τούτοις τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ κόσμου]] <τὰ> σφα [ἔλικος τρόπον] 9 μεταποιῶν καὶ μεταμορφῶν Γείς ἀλληλα γένη γενῶν καὶ εἰδῆ εἰδῶν ἀντικαταλασσομένης τῆς εἰς ἀλληλα μεταβολῆς, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων σωμάτων ποιεῖ δημιουργῶν.¹ παντὸς γὰρ σώματος διαμονὴ μεταβολή, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀθανά- 5 του ἀδάλυτος, τοῦ δὲ θνητοῦ μετὰ διαλύσεως· καὶ αὕτη ἡ διαφορά ἔστι τοῦ ἀθανάτου πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν [καὶ ἡ τοῦ θνητοῦ 10 α πρὸς τὸ ἀθανάτον]. ὕσπερ δὲ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ πυκνόν, οὗτο καὶ ἡ ὥσιονία αὐτοῦ πυκνή τις καὶ ἀδιάλειπτος Γῷ τόπῳ καὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ¹. 10

10 b καὶ γὰρ δαιμόνων χοροὶ περὶ αὐτὸν πολλοὶ καὶ ποικίλαις στρατ[ε]ιαις ἑουκότες, οἱ Γύναιοι καὶ τῶν ἀθανάτων οὐκ εἰσὶ πάρω ἐνθένδε. ¹ (οὗτοι,) λαχόντες τὴν (μεταξὺ) [τούτων] χώραν, τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφορῶσι, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταπτόμενα ἐνεργοῦσι, θυέλλαις καὶ καταγίσι καὶ πρηστήρσι καὶ μεταβολαῖς ἀρέος καὶ σεισμοῖς ἔτι δὲ λιμοῖς ¹⁵ **II** καὶ πολέμοις ἀμυνόμενοι τὴν (εἰς θεούς) ἀτέβειαν. αὕτη γὰρ ἀνθρώ- ποις [[εἰς θεούς]] ἡ μεγίστη κακία. [θεῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν, [ἀνθρώπων δὲ τὸ εὐσεβεῖν,] δαιμόνων δὲ τὸ (τοῦς θεούς) ἐπαμύνειν.] τὰ γὰρ ἀλλα τὰ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων τολμώμενα ἡ πλάγη [ἥ] τολμᾶ(ται) ἡ ἀνάγκη [ἥ] καλοῦσιν εἰμαρμένην] ἡ ἀγνοία· (καὶ) ταῦτα πάντα παρὰ θεοῖς ἀνεύ- 20 θυνα, μόνη δὲ ἡ ἀσέβεια δίκη ὑποπέπτωκε.

12 σωτὴρ δὲ καὶ τροφεύς ἔστι παντὸς γένους ὁ ἡλιος· καὶ ὕσπερ ὁ νοητὸς κόσμος, τὸν αἰσθητ[ικ]ὸν κόσμον περιέχων, πληροῖ [αὐ]τὸν ὄγκον [ταῖς] ποικίλαις καὶ παντομόρφοις ἰδέαις, οὗτοι καὶ ὁ ἡλιος πάντα (τὰ) ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ [περιέχων] <. . .> ²⁵ ὄγκοι Γάντων τὰς γενέσεις¹ καὶ ἴσχυροποιεῖ, καμόντων δὲ καὶ ρευσάντων <. . .> ὑποδέχεται.

13 ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ ἐτάγη ὁ τῶν δαιμόνων χορός, μᾶλλον δὲ χοροί πολλοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ ποικίλοι, ὑπὸ τῇ τῶν ἀστέρων [[πλινθίδας]] (ἥγεμονία) τεταγμένοι, ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἴσαριθμοι. ³⁰ διατεταγμένοι οὖν (κατὰ) (πλινθίδας) ὑπηρετοῦσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀστέρων, ἀγαθοὶ καὶ κακοὶ δύντες τὰς φύσεις, τοιτέστι

2 ἀλληλα γένη Turn. : ἀλληλογενῆ OR 3 ἀντιτασσομένης DR Turn. : ἀντικαταλλασσομένης cett. 8-9 Fortasse ὕσπερ δὲ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ πυκνὸν (τῇ χορηγίᾳ), οὗτοι καὶ ἡ ὥσιονία αὐτοῦ πυκνή τις καὶ ἀδιάλειπτος ⁹ ἀδιά- λειπτος K : ἀδιάλειπτος codd. cett. : ἀδάλυτος Turn. 11 Fortasse αὐτοῦς (sc. τοῦ θεού) | στρατίας K : στρατείας O Turn. 12 οἱ (τοῦ θνητοῦ ὄντες) σύνοικοι Reitz. 13 οὗτοι λαχόντες τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν scripsi : λαχόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν DR Turn. : λαχόντες τούτων χώραν codd. cett. : (ἄλλ.) ἐνθένδε λαχόντες (μέχρι) τούτων χώραν Reitz. 15 ἀρέος scripsi : πυρὸς codd., Turn. : πυεύματος (= ἀρέος) conj. Reitz. 17 ποιεῖ R : ποιεῖν

birth, and by successive changes remakes the living creatures and transforms them. . . . For the permanence of every kind of body is 9 maintained by change. Immortal bodies undergo change without dissolution, but the changes of mortal bodies are accompanied by dissolution; that is the difference between immortals and mortals. And as the light of the Sun is poured forth continuously, so his 10 a production of life also is continuous and without intermission . . .

For¹ about him² are many troops of daemons, like to armies of divers sorts, 10 b . . .³ To them is assigned the intermediate region. They watch over the affairs of men, and execute the orders of the gods. By means of storms and hurricanes and fiery blasts, and corruptions of the air,⁴ and earthquakes, and famines also and wars, they punish men's impiety. For impiety is the supreme II wickedness of men. All men's other sins are committed either by reason of misleading, or under compulsion, or through ignorance, and for all these the gods do not call them to account; impiety alone is subject to punishment.

The Sun then is the preserver and maintainer of every kind of 12 living beings; and as the intelligible Kosmos, encompassing the sensible Kosmos, fills its material mass with manifold forms of every shape, so the Sun also . . . all things in the Kosmos . . . gives mass and strength to . . ., and when they fail and sink away, receives . . . into itself.⁵

And to the Sun is subject the troop of daemons,—or rather, 13 troops; for there are many and diverse troops of them, placed under the command of the planets, an equal number of daemons being assigned to each planet. Thus marshalled in separate corps, the daemons serve under the several planets. They are both good and bad in their natures, that is, in their workings;

¹ This passage (§§ 10 b-11) cannot have been written by the author of *Corp. XVI*; it must have been inserted by a transcriber.

² Perhaps, 'about them' (*sc.* the planet-gods).

³ Perhaps, 'They dwell with us mortals, and yet are not far separated from the immortals'.

⁴ I. e. pestilences.

⁵ Perhaps, 'so the Sun also fills all things in the Kosmos with his light, and makes them live. And the Earth, supplying matter for the births of things, gives mass and strength to all things, and when they fail and sink away, receives the matter back into herself'.

cett. 19 ἀλλα τὰ om. DR Turn. | πλάνη τολμᾶται scripsi: πλάνη ή τόλμη codd., Turn. 20 ἄγνοιαν R 22 δὴ scripsi: δὲ codd., Turn. 23 αἰσθῆτὸν Hermippus: αἰσθητικὸν OR Turn. 24 τὸν δύκον scripsi: αὐτὸν δύκων codd., Turn. (ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντα Hermippus) 25-27 Fortasse οὗτοι καὶ δὴ θύλοι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (τῷ φαντὶ πληρῶν ἵωσοσεῖ. ή δὲ γῆ
ἄλην παρέχουσα εἰς) {τὰς γενέσεις} δύκοι πάντα [[]] καὶ ισχυροτάτει,
καρδίντων δὲ καὶ βενσάντων (τὴν ὑλὴν) ὑποδέχεται 28 τούταν R: τούτη.
cett. 29 τῇ scripsi: τὰς codd., Turn. 31 διατεταγμένον R Turn.

τὰς ἐνέργειας· δαίμονος γὰρ οὐσία ἐνέργεια. [εἰσὶ δέ τινες
 14 αὐτῶν κεκραμένοι ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ.] οὗτοι, πάντων τῶν
 ἐπὶ γῆς πραγμάτων τὴν ἔχουσίαν κεκληρωμένοι, (. . . αἴτιοι
 δέ) εἰσι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θορύβων, καὶ ποικίλην ταραχὴν
 ἐργάζονται καὶ κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἴδιᾳ 5
 ἐκάστῳ. ἀναπλάττονται γὰρ καὶ ἀνθέλκουσι τὰς ψυχὰς
 ἡμῶν εἰς ἑαυτούς, ἐγκαθήμενοι ἡμῶν νεύροις καὶ μυελοῖς καὶ
 φλεψὶ καὶ ἀρτηρίαις [καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ], διήκοντες
 15 μέχρι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν σπλαγχνῶν. γενόμενον γὰρ ἡμῶν
 ἐκαστον καὶ ψυχωθέντα παραλαμβάνουσι δαίμονες οἱ κατ’¹⁰
 ἐκείνην τὴν (σ)τι(γ)μὴν τῆς γενέσεως ὑπηρέται, οἱ (ὑπ)-
 ετάγησαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀστέρων οὗτοι γὰρ κατὰ στιγμὴν
 ἐναλλάσσονται, οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπιμένοντες, ἀλλ’ ἀνακυκλού-
 μενοι. οὗτοι οὖν εἰς τὰ δύο (ἄλογα) μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς δύντες
 διὰ τοῦ σώματος στροβοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἐκαστος πρὸς τὴν ἴδιαν¹⁵
 ἐνέργειαν. τὸ δὲ λογικὸν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀδέσποτον τῶν
 16 δαιμόνων ἔστηκεν, ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ θεοῦ. (ὅ)τῳ
 οὖν ἐν τῷ λογικῷ ἀκτὶς ἐπιλάμπει [διὰ τοῦ ἡλίου] (ἀπὸ τοῦ
 θεοῦ), [[οὗτοι δὲ πάντες ὀλίγοι εἰσί,]] τούτῳ[ν] καταργοῦνται
 οἱ δαίμονες· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲν δύναται οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε²⁰
 θεῶν πρὸς μίαν ἀκτίνα τοῦ θεοῦ. «Οὗτοι δὲ πάντως ὀλίγοι
 εἰσὶ(ν).» οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄγονται καὶ φέρονται καὶ τὰς
 ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, ἀγαπῶντες καὶ
 στέργοντες τὰς ἐκείνων ἐνέργειας· καὶ δὲ λόγον οὐκ (ἔχων)
 ἔρως (. . .) ἐστίν, δὲ πλανώμενος καὶ πλανῶν. τὴν οὖν²⁵
 ἐπίγειον Γδιοίκησιν¹ ταύτην πᾶσαν διοικοῦσι δι’ ὄργάνων τῶν
 ἡμετέρων σωμάτων. ταύτην δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν Ἐρμῆς είμαρ-
 μένην ἐκάλεσεν.

17 ἥρτηται οὖν ὁ νοητὸς κόσμος τοῦ θεοῦ [ὁ δὲ αἰσθητὸς τοῦ
 νοητοῦ]. ὁ δὲ ἡλιος διὰ τοῦ νοητοῦ [καὶ αἰσθητοῦ] κόσμου τὴν³⁰
 ἐπιρροὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χορηγεῖται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τουτέστι τῆς

1 οὐσία ἡ ἐνέργεια B 2 κεκραμένοι BDR | πάντων Reitz.: πάντες
 OR Turn. 3-4 αἴτιοι δέ addidi (αἴτιοι addidit Reitz.) 3 ἀνθέλκουσι
 scripsi: ἀνεγέρεσσι codd., Turn. | ταῖς ψυχαῖς B: τὰς ψυχὰς cett.
 7 ἑαυτούς B: αὐτούς CDMR Turn. 9 σπλαγχνῶν CD | γενόμενον εχ-
 γενομένων (?) corr. R 11 στιγμὴν Reitz.: τιμὴν OR Turn. 11-12 ὑπερά-
 γησαν scripsi: ἐτάγησαν ἐν R Turn.: ἐτάγησαν codd. cett.: ἐτάγησαν ὑφ' Reitz.
 14 ἄλογα addidi. Fortasse εἰς τὰ ἄλογα μέρη 17 διφ' Keil: τῷ CDMR
 Turn.: τῶν B 19 τούτῳ scripsi: τούτων codd., Turn. 24-25 ὁ λόγον οὐκ

for the being of a daemon consists in his working. To these ¹⁴ daemons is given dominion over all things upon earth, . . . They are also the authors of the disturbances upon earth, and work manifold trouble both for cities and nations collectively and for individual men. For they mould our souls into another shape, and pull them away to themselves, being seated in our nerves¹ and marrow and veins and arteries, and penetrating even to our inmost organs. For at the time when each one of us is born and ¹⁵ made alive, the daemons who are at that moment on duty as ministers of birth take charge of us,—that is, the daemons who are subject to some one planet. For the planets replace one another from moment to moment; they do not go on working without change, but succeed one another in rotation. These daemons then make their way in through the body, and enter into the two irrational parts² of the soul; and each daemon perverts the soul in a different way, according to his special mode of action. But the rational part of the soul remains free from the dominion of the daemons, and fit to receive God into itself. If ¹⁶ then the rational part of a man's soul is illumined by a ray of light from God,³ for that man the working of the daemons is brought to naught; for no daemon and no god⁴ has power against a single ray of the light of God. But such men are few indeed; and all others are led and driven, soul and body, by the daemons, setting their hearts and affections on the workings of the daemons. This is that love which is devoid of reason, that love which goes astray and leads men astray. The daemons then govern all our earthly life, using our bodies as their instruments; and this government Hermes called 'destiny'.

The intelligible Kosmos then is dependent on God; and the ¹⁷ Sun receives from God, through the intelligible Kosmos, the influx of good (that is, of life-giving energy), with which he is

¹ Or 'sinews'.

² Viz. the part which feels desire, and the part which feels repugnance.

³ The 'light' here spoken of is not the visible sunlight, but the divine and incorporeal light of Mind.

⁴ I. e. no planet-god. Such a man is freed from astral influences, or in other words, is not subject to Heimarmene.

Ἐχων ἔπος scripsi: ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἔπος codd., Turn. | Fortasse (οὐτός) ἐστιν
26 διοίκησιν codd., Turn.: fortasse διαγωγὴν | διοικοῦσι καὶ δι' R Turn.

δημιουργίας. περὶ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον αἱ ὀκτώ εἰσι σφαιραὶ, τούτου ἡρτημέναι, ἡ τε τῶν ἀπλανῶν καὶ (αἱ) ἐξ τῶν πλανωμένων καὶ ἡ μία περίγειος. τούτων δὲ τῶν σφαιρῶν ἡρτηνται οἱ δαίμονες, τῶν δὲ δαιμόνων οἱ ἀνθρώποι· καὶ οὕτω πάντα 18 τε καὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν ἡρτημένοι. διὸ πατὴρ μὲν πάντων ὁ θεός, δημιουργὸς δὲ ὁ ἥλιος· ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὅργανον τῆς δημιουργίας. καὶ Γούρανὸν μὲν ἡ νοητὴ οὐσία διοικεῖ, οὐρανὸς¹ δὲ θεούς, δαίμονες δὲ θεοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοι ἀνθρώπους 19 διοικοῦσιν. αὗτη ἡ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων στρατιά. (πάν)τα δὲ ὁ θεὸς ποιεῖ διὰ τούτων ἔαυτῷ, καὶ μόρια τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα ἐστίν· 10 εἰ δὲ πάντα μόρια, πάντα ἄρα ὁ θεός. πάντα οὖν ποιῶν ἔαυτὸν ποιεῖ· καὶ οὐκ ἀν ποτε παύσαιτο (ποιῶν), ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαυστος. [καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ θεὸς οὐ τέλος ἔχει, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ ποίησις αὐτοῦ [ἀρχὴν ἡ] τέλος ἔχει].

LIBELLVS XVII

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εἰ δὲ νοεῖς, ἐστιν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ σωμάτων (εἴδωλα) ἀσώματα. 15 —Ποῖα; ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς.—Τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐσόπτροις φαινόμενα [σώματα] οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἀσώματα εἶναι;—Οὕτως ἔχει, ὁ Τάτ., [θείως νοεῖς,] ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν.—Ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἀσώματα ἀλλα· οἶνον αἱ ἰδέαι οὐ δοκοῦσι σοι ἀσώματοι εἶναι, δ[u]σαι ἐν σώμασι φαίνονται οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐμψύχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 20 ἀψύχων;—Ἐν λέγεις, ὁ Τάτ.—(. . .), οὕτως ἀντανακλάστεις εἰσὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων πρὸς τὰ σώματα, [καὶ τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς τὰ ἀσώματα, τουτέστι τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ πρὸς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον,] καὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ (κόσμου) πρὸς τὸν αἰσθητόν. διὸ προσκύνει τὰ ἀγάλματα, ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ ἰδέας ἔχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ 25 [αἰσθητοῦ] (νοητοῦ) κόσμου.—

1 δημηουργία R : δημιουργία Turn. 2 καὶ αἱ ἐξ scripsi : καὶ ἐξ Turn. : ἐξ codd. : αἱ τε ἐξ Reitz. 4-6 τῶν δὲ δαιμόνων . . . δὲ κόσμος om. R 7-8 Fortasse καὶ ἥλιον μὲν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς νοητῆς οὐσίας διοικεῖ, ἥλιος δὲ τοὺς ἀλλούς θεούς 9 δοκοῦσιν B : διοικοῦσιν cett. | πάντα δὲ Reitz. : τὰ δὲ O : τάδε Turn.

15 εἴδωλα addidi ('Ergänze: εἴδωλα oder εἴδη oder εἰκονίσματα oder dergl.' Reitz.) 16 ἐνόπτροι DR Turn. 17 εἶναι DR Turn. : οὖν BCM 19 δοκοῦσι σοι scripsi : δοκεῖ οὖν σοι codd. | ἀσώματι D | εἶναι, δοσαι scripsi : εἶναι R : εἶναι οὖναι cod. Bodl. 16987 : οὖναι cett. 19-20 Αἱ ἀσώματοι εἶναι οὐσίαι, (αἱ) ἐν σώμασι φαινόμεναι? 20 σώμασι Reitz. : σώματι OR Turn. | φαίνονται scripsi : φαινόμεναι codd. | μόνων R : μόνον cett.

supplied. And round about the Sun, and dependent on the Sun, are the eight spheres, namely, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the six planet-spheres, and the sphere which surrounds the earth;¹ and the daemons are dependent on these spheres; and men are dependent on the daemons. Thus all things and all persons are dependent on God. God then is the Father of all; the Sun is ¹⁸ the Demiurgus;² and the Kosmos³ is the instrument by means of which the Demiurgus works . . . The . . . governs the gods;⁴ and the daemons are subject to the gods, and govern men. Thus is marshalled the army of gods and daemons. Working through ¹⁹ gods and daemons, God makes all things for himself; and all things are parts of God. And inasmuch as all things are parts of him, God is all things. Therefore, in making all things, God makes himself. And it is impossible that he should ever cease from making; for God himself can never cease to be.

LIBELLVS XVII

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'... And if you think of it, my King, there are incorporeal images of bodies also.'—'What sort of things do you mean?' asked the King.—'Do you not think that the images seen in mirrors are incorporeal?'—'Yes, Tat, it is so,' said the King.—'And there are other things also that are incorporeal; for instance, do you not think that the forms which are seen not only in the bodies of living beings, but also in those of lifeless things, are incorporeal?'—'Yes, Tat, you are right.'—'(Well then, as bodies are reflected in mirrors,) so incorporeal things are reflected in bodies, and the intelligible Kosmos is reflected in the sensible Kosmos. Therefore, my King, worship the statues of the gods, seeing that these statues too have in them forms which come from the intelligible Kosmos.'—

¹ I. e. the atmosphere.² I. e. Maker of things; but for this writer, 'making things' means giving life to them.³ I. e. the system of spheres which has just been described.⁴ The sense required by the context is: 'God, by means of the intelligible substance, governs the Sun, and the Sun governs the other gods (i. e. the gods who preside over the eight spheres)'.

20-21 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων om. D 21 Φορτάσσε (οὐκοῦν ὄσπερ . . .) οὔτε
| ἀνακλάσσεις R 26 αἰσθητοῦ OR Turn. : νοητοῦ B³, Reitz.

ὅ οὖν βασιλεὺς ἔξαναστὰς ἔφη· "Ωρα ἐστίν, ὁ προφῆτα,
περὶ τὴν τῶν ἔνων ἐπιμέλειαν γενέσθαι· τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ⁵
τῶν ἔξῆς θεολογήσομεν.

LIBELLVS XVIII

[περὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ σώματος ἐμποδιζομένης
ψυχῆς.]

1 τοῖς τῆς παμμούσου μελῳδίας τὴν ἀρμονίαν ἐπαγγελλο-
μένοις εἰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐμπόδων τῇ προθυμίᾳ γένηται ἡ
τῶν ὄργάνων ἀναρμοστία,

[καταγέλαστον τὸ ἐπιχείρημα τῶν γὰρ ὄργάνων ἔξασθε-
νούντων πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, τὸν μουσουργὸν ἀνάγκη παρὰ¹⁰
τῶν θεωρῶν ἐπιτωθάζεσθαι.]

[ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκάματον [εὐγνωμόνως] ἀποδίδωσι τὴν τέχνην,
τῶν δὲ τὸ ἀσθενὲς καταμέμφεται <...>.]

[[ὸ γάρ τοι κατὰ φύσιν μουσικὸς θεὸς καὶ τῶν φόδων
ἀρμονίαν οὐ μόνον ἐργαζόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀχρι τῶν κατὰ¹⁵
μέρος ὄργάνων τῆς οἰκείας μελῳδίας τὸν ρυθμὸν παραπέμπων
ἀκάματός ἐστιν]] [ὸ θεός· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς θεοῦ τὸ κάμνειν.]

2 [εἰ δέ ποτε θελήσαντι τῷ τεχνίτῃ ὡς[περ] μάλιστα ἐναγωνί-
ζεσθαι περὶ μουσικήν]

[ἄρτι μὲν [καὶ] σαλπιγκτῶν τὴν [αὐτὴν] ἐπίδειξιν τῆς²⁰
ἐπιστήμης ποιησαμένων, ἄρτι δὲ καὶ αὐλήτῶν τοῖς μελικοῖς
ὄργάνοις τὸ [τῆς μελῳδίας] λιγυρὸν ἐργασαμένων, (τῶν δὲ)
καὶ καλάμῳ καὶ πλήκτρῳ [τῆς φόδης] τὴν μολπὴν ἐπιτελούν-
των, οὐ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ μουσικοῦ τις ἀναπέμπεται τὴν
αἰτίαν, [οὐ τῷ κρείττονί τις ἀναπέμπεται] τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ²⁵
τῷ μὲν ἀποδίδωσι πρέπον τὸ σέβας,] τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὄργάνου
καταμέμφεται σαθρότητα, ὅτι δὴ τοῖς μάλιστα καλοῖς ἐμπο-
δῶν κατέστη, τῷ μὲν μουσουργῷ πρὸς τὴν μελῳδίαν Γέμπο-
δίσασ(α)¹, τῷ δὲ ἀκροατῶν τὴν λιγυρὰν φόδην συλήσασ(α).

3 οὐτωσὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀσθενείας χάριν μῆ³⁰
τις τῶν θεωρῶν καταμέμψηται (τὴν τέχνην) [εὐσεβῶς] [[τὸ
ἡμέτερον γένος]], ἀλλὰ γινωσκέτω ὡς ἀκάματον μὲν [έστι]
(τὸ) πνεῦμα <...> ὁ θεὸς <εἰς> <(τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος)>. <(ό γάρ
τοι <(θεός)>, κατὰ φύσιν μουσικὸς [[θεὸς]] <ὑπάρχων>, καὶ

1 ἄρα B: ἄρα CDR: ἄρα Tum.

2 γίνεσθαι cod., Tum.: γενέσθαι B²

Thereupon the King rose from his seat, and said, ' Prophet, it is time for me to see to the entertainment of my guests;¹ but tomorrow we will continue our discussion about the gods, and deal with the next part of the subject.'

LIBELLVS XVIII

When musicians undertake to make harmonious melody, then, if in the performance their good intent is thwarted by the discordance of their instruments, []² one does not impute the blame to the musician's inspiration, but one ascribes the fault to the unsoundness of the instrument ; it is this, we say, that has made the music fall short of perfect beauty, obstructing the musician in his rendering of the melody, and depriving the audience of the joy of hearing the clear sweet strain. And even so, let no man who is present at this festival find fault with my art by reason of my personal defects ; but be it known that the spirit which God breathes into men of my sort is unfailing. For God, who is by nature a musician, and not only works harmony in the universe at

¹ I. e. 'it is dinner-time; I must go'.

² ['The writer's argument is absurd ; for when the instruments are defective, and fail to do what is required of them, the musician is bound to be jeered at by the audience.'] This must be a note written by a dissentient reader.

4-5 περὶ . . . ψυχῆς seclusit Reitz.	7 Fortasse γίνοιτο	10 περὶ C :
παρὰ cett.	13 Fortasse καταμέμφεται (δὲ ἀκροατής)	14-17 δὲ γάρ . . .
ἀκάματός ἐστιν hinc ad § 3 transposui	17 πρὸς θεῶν Turn.	18 εἰ δὲ
rōtē BCMR	23-24 Fortasse ἐπιτελεσάντων	25 οὐ τῷ κρείττονι
τὴν alrīav seclusit Reitz.	26-27 τὴν . . . σαθρότητα scripsi : τῇ . . . σαθρό-	
τητι codd., Turn.	28-29 ἐμποδίσασα Reitz. : ἐμποδίσας OR Turn. : fortasse	
ἐνοχλήσασα	30 Fortasse τοὺς δὲ ἀπορᾶς συλήσασα Reitz. : συλήσας	
OR Turn.	30-31 μόγις DR Turn. : μή τις cett.	31 καταμέμφεται
Turn.	33 (χορηγεῖ) δὲ θεός?	33-3 infra : δὲ γάρ . . . ἀκάματός ἐστιν
huc a § 1 transposui		

[τῶν φόδῶν] ἀρμονίαν οὐ μόνον {ἐν τῷ παντὶ} ἐργαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄχρι τῶν κατὰ μέρος [δργάνων] τῆς οἰκείας μελῳδίας τὸν ρυθμὸν παραπέμπων, ἀκάματός ἔστιν,») δὲ [δὲ καὶ] ὡσαύτως ἔχων τῆς [οἰκείας] ἐπιστήμης, [διηνεκὴς δὲ ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις,] εὐεργεσίαις δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς διὰ παντὸς κεχρημάτου μένος. εἰ δὲ μάλιστα [τῷ Φειδίᾳ] τῷ δημιουργῷ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν ἡ τῆς ὅλης χρεία πρὸς ἐντελῆ τὴν ποικιλίαν (. . . τοιγαροῦν εἴ ποτε . . .,) διήρκεσε δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ μουσουργὸς κατὰ δύναμιν, μὴ εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναφέρωμεν, τῆς δὲ χορδῆς καταμερφώμεθα τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν τόνον ὑποχαλάσσοντα σασα [ὅτι δὴ τὸν τόνον ὑπαραιώσασα] τῆς εὐμουσίας τὸν γρύθμον¹ ἥψαντεν.

5 [ἀλλὰ δὴ] [τοῦ συμπτώματος περὶ τὸ δργανον γεγενημένου οὐδεὶς ποτε τὸν μουσουργὸν ὑτιάσατο, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσπερ τὸ δργανον ἔκακιστε, τοσούτῳ τὸν μουσουργὸν ηὔξησεν ὅπότε τῆς κρούσεως πολλάκις πρὸς τὸν τόνον ἐμπεσούσης². καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα οἱ ἀκροαταὶ πλείονα εἰς ἔκεινον [τὸν μουσουργὸν] ἀναφέρονται.]

[καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἔσχον [τὴν] κατ' αὐτοῦ αἰτίασιν.]

[οὗτοι καὶ ήμεῖς, ὡς τιμιώτατοι]

[Γένδον πάλιν³ τῷ μουσουργῷ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐναρμόσασθαι λύραν.]

6 ἀλλὰ δὴ ὁρῶ τινα τῶν τεχνιτῶν [καὶ χωρὶς τῆς κατὰ λύραν ἐνεργείας], εἴ ποτε πρὸς μεγαλοφυῆ ὑπόθεσιν εἴη παρεσκευασμένος, [ὡσπερ αὐτῷ πολλάκις δργάνῳ κεχρημένον]⁴ [καὶ τὴν τῆς νευρᾶς θεραπείαν] (τὴν λύραν) δι' ἀπορρήτων ἐναρμοσάμενον, ως ἀν τὸ χρειῶδες εἰς τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς θεμένογ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ ὑπερεκπλήττοιντο. [λέγεται μὲν δὴ {ώς} καὶ τινος τεχνίτου κιθαρῳδίαν διαγωνιζομένου, τῆς νευρᾶς ράγείσης, ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος] λέγεται μὲν δὴ τινα κιθαρῳδόν, τὸν τῆς μουσουργίας ἔφορον θεὸν ἔχοντα εύμενη, ἐπειδὴ ἐναγώνιον τὴν κιθαρῳδίαν ποιουμένῳ [ἥ] νευρὰ ράγείσα πρὸς ἐμπόδιον τῆς ἀθλήσεως αὐτῷ γεγένηται, (. . .) [τὸ παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος εύμενὲς (. . .) τὴν νευρὰν ἀνεπλήρωσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆς εὐδοκιμήσεως πάρεσχε τὴν χάριν.] ἀντὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς νευρᾶς αὐτῷ τέττιγα κατὰ πρόνοιαν τοῦ κρείττονος ἐφιξάνοντα ἀναπληροῦν τὸ μέλος, [καὶ τῆς νευρᾶς φυλάττειν τὴν χώραν,] τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν δὲ [τῇ τῆς νευρᾶς ἴστει] τῆς λύπης πανσά-

4 ἔχον CD: ἔχων cett. | lδias DR Turn.: οἰκείας cett. 7-8 Lacunam

large, but also transmits to individuals the rhythm of his own music,—God, I say, can never fail ; there is no variation in his skill, and his bounties¹ are the same for ever. And even if the matter which the craftsman has to use does not yield such obedience to his hand as would bring the work of art to perfection,.... If then . . . , but² the musician has done his part as far as it is in his power, we must not lay the blame on *him*, but we must charge the fault to the shortcoming of the lyre-string, for that it has lowered the pitch of the note, and so has marred the beauty of true music.

But I see that it sometimes comes to pass that, when an artist⁶ has made ready to deal with a noble theme, he gets his lyre put in tune by mysterious means,³ in such wise as to bring its deficiency to a glorious issue, to the amazement of his hearers. It is told of a certain lute-player, one that enjoyed the favour of the god who presides over music, that when he was playing the lute for a prize, and was hindered in his competition by the breaking of a string,.... For by God's providence, a cicala settled on his lute, and made good the defect in the music ; and so the lute-player's grief was stayed, and he won the honour of

¹ I.e. his gifts of 'spirit' to men.

² Perhaps, 'it is not he that is at fault. If then the music goes amiss, but', &c.

³ I.e. by God's help.

(post ποικιλίαν) significavit Reitz. 9 ἀναφέρομεν CM 11 οὐτι... ὑπαράσσασα (ὑπεραιώσασα C) seclusit Reitz. 15 τοσοῦτο D: τοσοῦτον R | τῶν μουσουργῶν R : τὸν μουσουργὸν cett. 17-18 ἀναφέρεται R 19 δύως codd.: δῶς Reitz. | οὐκ ἔσχον κατ' αὐτὸν τὴν αἰτίαν Reitz. 20 ἥμεις DR Turn. : ἥμεις BCM 21 τῷ μουσουργῷ εξ τὸν μουσουργῶν corr. B : τῷ μουσουργῷ cett. | ἐναρμόσασθε BCM Turn. 25 αὐτῷ πολλάκις (⟨ἄσπερ⟩) ὄργανῳ κεχρημένον Reitz. 25-26 κεχρημένος κατὰ DR Turn. : κεχρημένον καὶ cett. 27 ἐναρμονηδόμενον R Turn. 28 θεμένον Keil : θέμενοι OR Turn. : fortasse θεμένοι (τοῦ κρείττονος) 28-30 λέγεται . . . κρείττονος om. Turn. : seclusit Reitz. 29 Fortasse κιθαρῳδίᾳ 33 Fortasse γεγένητο | περὶ BC : παρὰ cett. 34 εὐσεβεῖς D: εὐμενὲς cett. | Lacunam significavit Reitz. | καὶ om. B 35 ἀντὶ Reitz. : ἀρτὶ OR Turn.

- 7a μενον τῆς νίκης ἐσχηκέναι τὴν εύδοκίμησιν. οὗτος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθάνομαι πάσχειν, ὃ τιμιώτατοι. ἅρτι μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀσθένειαν καθωμολόγησα [[έοικα]], [καὶ πρὸ βραχέος ἄρρωστως διακεῖσθαι,] ἐν δυνάμει δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος ὥσπερ ἀναπληρωθείσης τῆς [περὶ τὸν βασιλέα] μελῳδίας <προσ- 5 ηνῶς> <έοικα> μουσουργήσειν.
- 7b τοιγάρτοι τὸ πέρας τῆς Γάφελείας ἐστ[α]ὶ βασιλέων εὔκλεια, καὶ <(έκ)> τῶν [[έξ]] ἔκεινων τροπαίων ἡ τοῦ λόγου προθυμία. ἀγε δὴ ἴωμεν· τοῦτο γὰρ [[δὸς μουσουργὸς]] <ό θεὸς> βούλεται· [ἄγε δὴ σπεύσωμεν τοῦτο γὰρ δὸς μουσουργὸς θέλει,] [καὶ 10 πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν λύραν ἡρμοσται·] καὶ <ό μουσουργὸς> λιγυρώτερον μελῳδήσει, [καὶ προσηνέστερα μουσουργήσει,] ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς ὑποθήκης μείζονα [τὴν φόδην] ἔχει.
- 8 ἐπειδὴ οὖν εἰς βασιλέας αὐτῷ μάλιστα τὰ τῆς λύρας ἐνήρμοσται, καὶ τῶν ἔγκωμάων τὸν τόνον ἔχει, [καὶ τὸν 15 σκοπὸν εἰς βασιλικὸς ἐπαίνους,] διήγειρε πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ὑπατον βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων [ἀγαθὸν θεόν], καὶ [ὑψόθεν ἀρξάμενος τῆς φόδης] δευτέρᾳ τάξει πρὸς τοὺς κατ' εἰκόνα ἔκεινοι τὴν σκηπτουχίαν ἔχοντας καταβαίνει· ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι φίλον τὸ ὑψόθεν κατὰ βαθὺν τὰ τῆς 20 φόδης καθήκειν, καὶ ὅθενπερ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς νίκης πεπρυτάνευται, ἔκειθεν καὶ τὰ τῶν Γέλπιδων¹ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν παρά-
- 9 γεσθαι. ἡκέτω τοίνυν δὸς μουσουργὸς πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον βασιλέα [τῶν ὅλων θεόν], δὸς ἀθάνατος μέν ἐστι [διὰ παντὸς] [άλιδὸς τε] καὶ ἔξ αἰδίου τὸ κράτος ἔχων, καλλίνικος <δὲ> 25 πρῶτος, ἀφ' οὐ πᾶσαι αἱ νῖκαι εἰς τοὺς <εἶχεν> ἔξῆς φέρονται [διαδεξάμενοι τὴν νίκην].
- 10 15 <(οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸν θεὸν εὐφημήσωμεν· ἀλλὰ δὴ καταβαίνομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δεξαμένους παρ' ἔκεινον τὰ σκῆπτρα. δεῖ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἀρξαμένους καὶ> ἀπὸ τούτων ἀσκουμένους 30 [[καὶ]] ἡδη <(καὶ)> συνεθίζειν ἑαυτὸν [εἰς ἔγκωμα] καὶ <(γε>μν<άζειν> εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸ κρείττον εὐσέβειαν. [καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην καταρχὴν τῆς εὐφημίας ἀπὸ τούτου ἐνασκεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἀσκησιν διὰ τούτου γυμνάζειν] | ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν ἥ καὶ ἡ γυμνασία τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειας καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέας εὐφημία.]> 35
- 10 ἐπὶ <(τὸν τούτων)> ἐπαίνους τοίνυν ἡμῖν καταβαίνει ὁ λόγος

² αὐτὸς αἰσθάνομαι Turn.: αὐτὸς ὥσπερ αἰσθομαι cett. ³ καθωμολόγησα scripsi: καθωμολογεῖν έοικα codd., Turn. | βραχίων CD: βραχέος cett. ⁷ ὥσπερ αἰσθάνομαι Turn.: μουσουργεῖν codd., Turn. ⁷ ὥφελείας codd., Turn.: forslasse ἐπαγγελίας | ἐστὶ scripsi: ἐσται codd., Turn. ⁸ καὶ

the victory. And even so I feel it is with me, most honoured ^{7a} Sirs. Just now I confessed my weakness; but by God's power methinks the defect in the melody has been made good, and I am like to make right pleasant music.

The aim of my endeavour is the glory of kings; and it is the ^{7b} trophies which our kings have won that make me eager to speak. Onward then! for so God wills; and the melody that the musician makes will sound the sweeter by reason of the greatness of his theme.

Since then his lyre is tuned to treat of kings, and is set to the ⁸ right pitch for songs of praise, he first uplifts his voice to laud the supreme King of the universe, and comes down thereafter to those who hold their sovereignty after His likeness. For this our kings themselves would wish, that the song should come down step by step from heaven above, and that our praise of them should be derived in due succession from the Power that has conferred on them their victories. Let the musician then address ⁹ his song to that most mighty King, who is immortal, and reigns from all eternity; that primal Victor, from whom all victories come to those who follow after.

Thus let us praise God; but from Him we will pass down to ¹⁵ those who have received the sceptre from his hand. For we must practise ourselves by praising earthly kings, and so habituate and train ourselves for adoration of the Deity. My discourse ¹⁰

ἐκ τῶν scripsi : καὶ ἡδρά ἐκ τῶν Reitz. : καὶ τῶν ἐξ OR Turn. 11 πρὸς τούτην BM : πρὸς τούτο cett. | καὶ om. man. pr. B 12 λιγνόπτερον R 14-15 Fortasse ἐπειδὴ οὖν εἰς Βασιλέων (Ἔγκλωμον) αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς λύρας ἔνηρμοσται [καὶ τῶν ἐγκλωμάτων τὸν τόνον ἔχει] 17 ἀγαθὸν seclusit Reitz. 19 καταβαίνειν C 20 φίλον τῷ ὑπόθεν CM 22 ἐλπίδων codd., Turn. : fortasse εὐλογῶν 22-23 παράγεσθαι Reitz : περιάγεσθαι BCM : ἀγεσθαι DR Turn. 24 ἀθάνατος codd., Turn. : fortasse díðios 25 ἐξ om. Turn. | δὲ addidit Reitz. 26 τὸν Reitz. : τὸν OR Turn. 27 δια-θεάμενοι BM : διαθεάμεναι CDR Turn. 28-35 § 15 (οὗτοι . . . εὐφημία) huc transposui 28 Fortasse εὐφημήσαμεν 28-29 καταβαίνομεν OR : κατα-βαίνωμεν Turn. 30 τὸν (ante Βασιλέων) DR Turn. : om. cett 31 καὶ transposituit Keil 31-32 γυμνάσειν Reitz. : ὑμεῖν OR Turn. 33 τούτου (post ἀπὸ) Turn. : τὸν OR 34 ἵνα καὶ ηγ. γυμνασία ἐν ημῖν γ D 34-35 Fortasse ἵνα γυμνασία ημῖν γ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεόν εὐσεβείας η πρὸς τὸν βασιλέας εὐφημία 35 τὸν (ante θεόν) om. B 36 καταβαίνειν BR : καταβαίνειν cett.

[[έπειγεται]], καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ εἰρήνης πρυτάνεις (έπειγεται) βασιλέας, οἷς [πάλαι] μάλιστα τὸ κῦρος παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος [θεοῦ] κεκορύφωται, οἷς ἡ νίκη πρὸς τῆς ἐκείνου δεξιᾶς πεπρυτάνευται, οἷς τὰ βραβεῖα καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐν πολέμοις [ἀρρωστίας] (ἀριστείας) προεντρέπισται, ὃν τὰ τρόπαια καὶ πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἴσταται, [οἷς οὐ τὸ βασιλεύειν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀριστεύειν συντέτακται,] οὓς καὶ πρὸ τῆς 16 κινήσεως ἐκπλήττεται τὸ βάρβαρον. (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τούτοις ἀποδιδόναι τὰς ἀμοιβάς, τοσαύτης ἡμῖν εἰρήνης εὐετηρίαν ἀπλώσασι. βασιλέως δὲ ἀρετὴ (.), καὶ τοῦνομα μόνον τὸ εἰρήνην βραβεύει: βασιλεὺς γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο εἴρηται, ἐπειδὴ [τῇ] βάσις[ε]ι λείᾳ ταῖς[ε]ι κορυφαῖς[τητε]ι [κατ]έπεμβαίνει, καὶ (διὰ) τοῦ λόγου [τοῦ εἰς εἰρήνην] κρατεῖ· [καὶ ὅτι γε ὑπερέχειν πέφυκε [τῆς βασιλείας] τῆς βαρβαρικῆς:] ὥστε καὶ τοῦνομα σύμβολόν (ἔστιν) εἰρήνης. [τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἐπηγορία βασιλέως 15 πολλάκις εὐθὺς τὸν πολέμιον [ἀναστέλλειν πέφυκεν] (ἀνέστειλεν).] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ τούτου τοῖς μάλιστα χειμαζομένοις ὄρμοι τυγχάνουσιν [εἰρήνης]: ἥδη δὲ καὶ μόνη εἰκὼν φανεῖσα βασιλέως [ἐνήργησε τὴν νίκην καὶ] τὸ ἀτρομόν [τε καὶ ἀτρωτον] προυξένησε [τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν].) 20

* * * *

14 b «οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν (τοῖς) ἔκειστε πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορά, [οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀλλοπρόσταλον ἔκειστε,] ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐν φρονοῦσιν, [μία δὲ πάντων πρόγνωσις,] εἰς αὐτοῖς νοῦς [ὁ πατέρ], μία αἰσθησις [δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐργαζομένη]: τὸ (γὰρ) εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλτρον ἔρως ὁ αὐτός, μίαν ἐργαζόμενος ἀρμονίαν τῶν 25 πάντων.)

* * * *

II [περὶ εὐφημίας τοῦ κρείττονος, καὶ ἐγκώμιον βασιλέως.] ἀλλὰ σπεύδει ὁ ἀριστείας εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς καταλῦσαι τὸ τέρμα, καὶ εἰς εὐφημίαν τοῦ κρείττονος [ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν

3 θεοῦ seclusi ('vielleicht zu tilgen' Reitz.) | πρὸς R Turn.: πρὸ Ο
4 πρὸ τοῖς ἐν BR: πρὸ τῆς ἐν cett. 5 ἀριστέας Reitz: ἀρρωστίας codd.,
Turn. 8 κινήσεως B: κινήσεως cett. 8-20 § 16 (δεῖ γὰρ . . . τοῖς
ἐνοικοῦσιν) huc transposui 8 τούτων DR Turn.: τούτοις cett. 9 Fortasse
τοσαύτην ἡμῖν | εὐετηρίαν DR Turn.: εὐκτηρία BC 10 Fortasse ἀρετὴ
(ἐν τῷ εἰρηνοποιεῖν φανεροῦται) 11 ἐπειδὴ βάσει λείᾳ Reitz.: ἐπειδὴ τῇ
βασιλείᾳ OR Turn. 12 ταῖς κορυφαῖς scripsi: καὶ κορυφαῖτη Ο: καὶ τῇ
κορυφαῖτη R Turn. | ἐπεμβαίνει scripsi: κατεπεμβαίνει codd., Turn.
13 καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης DR Turn.: τοῦ εἰς εἰρήνην codd., cett. 18 χειμαζόμενοι D
21-26 § 14 b (οὐκ ἔστιν . . . τῶν πάντων) huc transposui 22 εὐ φρονοῦσι

comes down then to the praise of those who rule on earth, and hastens on to these our kings, whose rule provides safety and peace for all; these to whom God has given the topmost height of sovereignty, and on whom victory has been conferred by God's right hand; for whom the prizes have been made ready even before they win them by their prowess in the wars; whose trophies are set up even before the armies meet in battle; who strike terror into the barbarians even before the troops march forth to fight. For we must make requital to our kings, for that ¹⁶ they have spread abroad among us the prosperity which comes of this great peace.¹ The virtue of a king is shown in making peace; nay, the very name of *king* confers peace; for the king is so called for this cause, that *with smooth tread*² he plants his feet upon the topmost heights, and prevails by means of reason;³ so that this name is in itself a token of peace. Moreover, even the statues of the king serve as havens to men tossed by the fiercest storms; and it has come to pass ere now that the sight of a mere image of the king has given protection from all fears.

* * * *

Among those then who dwell in that world above⁴ there is no ^{14 b} disagreement; all have one purpose; there is one mind, one feeling in them all; for the spell which binds them one to another is Love, the same in all,⁵ and by it all are wrought together into one harmonious whole.

* * * *

But now the speaker hastens on to end as he began, and to ¹¹

¹ Or perhaps, 'this great prosperity which comes of peace'.

² The writer assumes that the word *βασιλεύς* (king) means by derivation *one who treads smoothly*. It is as if one took the English word *sovereign* to be derived from *softly treading*.

³ I. e. by reason and not by force; or by persuasive words and not by deeds of violence.

⁴ I. e. among the celestial gods, or in other words, the heavenly bodies.

⁵ I. e. their common love of God, or of the Good.

DR Turn. : ἐν φρονοῦσι cett. 23 μίαν R : μία cett. | δ πατήρ seclusit
Reitz. 24 γὰρ addidit Reitz. 25 φίλτρον ὁ ἔρως DR Turn. 27 περὶ
... βασιλέως seclusit Reitz. 28 εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς B: εἰς ἀρχὰς cett | κατα-
λῦσαι codd.: fortasse ἀνακλάσαι

θειοτάτων βασιλέων τῶν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν βραβεύοντων] περα-
τῶσαι τὸν λόγον. [ῶσπερ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος [καὶ τῆς
ἄνω δυνάμεως] ἡρξάμεθα, οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν τὸ κρείττον
ἀντανακλάσομεν τὸ πέρας.] καὶ ⟨γὰρ⟩ ὕσπερ ὁ ἥλιος,
τρόφιμος ὧν πάντων τῶν βλαστημάτων, αὐτὸς [πρῶτος 5
ἄναστρων] τῶν καρπῶν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καρποῦται, χερσὶ μεγί-
σταις [ῶσπερ] [εἰς ἀπόδρεψιν τῶν καρπῶν χρώμενος] ταῖς
ἀκτῖσι [καὶ χεῖρες αὐτῷ αἱ ἀκτῖνες] τὰ τῶν φυτῶν ἀμβροσιω-
δέστατα [πρῶτον] ἀποδρεπόμειος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν, [ἀπὸ τοῦ
κρείττονος ἀρξαμένοις καὶ] τῆς ἑκείνου σοφίας τὴν ἀπόρροιαν 10
δεξαμένοις [καὶ ταύτην] εἰς τὰ [ἡμέτερα] τῶν ψυχῶν [ὑπερ]-
οὐράνια φυτά, καταχρωμένοις πάλιν εἰς αὐτὸν [γυμναστέον
τὰ τῆς εὐφημίας] [ἥς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἐπομβρήσει] τὴν βλάστηη
ἄπασαν ⟨. . .⟩.

- 12 θεῷ μὲν ⟨οὐν⟩, [πανακηράτῳ καὶ] ⟨τῷ⟩ πατρὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων 15
ψυχῶν, πρὸς μυρίων στομάτων καὶ φωνῶν τὴν εὐφημίαν
ἀναφέρεσθαι πρέπει, καὶ εἰ μὴ [τὸ] πρὸς ἄξιαν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν,
ἔφαμιλλους οὐκ δύτας τῷ λέγειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἀρτιγενεῖς
δύτες τὸν πατέρα πρὸς ἄξιαν ὑμεῖν ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ
δύναμιν αὐτοῖς πρεπόντως ἀποδίδοσι [καὶ συγγνώμην ἔχουσιν] 20
[ἐνταῦθα]. μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτο εὔκλεια τῷ θεῷ, τὸ μείζονα
αὐτὸν εἶναι ⟨τοῦ⟩ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γεννημάτων ⟨ἐπαίνου>. καὶ τὰ
προοίμια [καὶ τὴν χάριν] καὶ μέσοτητα καὶ τέλος τῶν
εὐφημιῶν τὸ δόμολογεῖν τὸν πατέρα ἀπειροδύναμον ⟨εἶναι⟩ καὶ
13 ἀπειροτέρμονα¹. [οὐτωσὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ βασιλέως] [φύσει γὰρ 25
ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὕσπερ ἐκγόνοις ἀπ'] ἑκείνου τυγχάνουσι,
τὰ τῆς εὐφημίας ἔνεστιν.] αἰτητέον δὲ τὰ τῆς συγγνώμης,
εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς αἰτήσεως παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
⟨τὰ τέκνα τυγχάνει· ⟨καὶ⟩ ὕσπερ [[καὶ]] τὸν [ἀρτιτόκους
καὶ] ἀρτιγενεῖς ⟨εἰκός⟩ ⟨ἔστιν⟩ οὐχ ὅπως [[ἔστι]] τῆς ἀδυνα- 30
μίας ⟨χάριν⟩ ἀποστρέφεσθαι τὸν πατέρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρειν
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως, οὕτω[σι δὲ] καὶ ⟨ἡμᾶς . . .⟩. Γὴ γνῶσις
τοῦ παντὸς ἡπερ ἡσὴν πᾶσι πρυτανεύει² καὶ τὴν εἰς θεὸν
14 α εὐφημίαν ἦν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο.³ ὁ θεὸς γάρ, ἀγαθὸς ὑπάρχων
[καὶ ἀειφεγγής], καὶ ἐν ⟨ξ⟩αυτῷ [διὰ παντὸς] τῆς οἰκείας 35

1 τῶν εἰρήνην DR Turn.: ἡῶν τὴν εἰρήνην cett. 4 δ (ante ἥλιος)
om. M 5 πρῶτος codd.: 'Vielleicht πρῶτον' Reitz. 6 ἀρχᾶς R:
ἀπαρχὰς cett. 9 ἀποδρεπόμενος man. post. C: ἀποδρεπόμενα EC: ἀπο-
δρεπόμεναι cett. 9-13 Fortasse οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν, [] τῆς ἑκείνου σοφίας

conclude his speech with praise of God. For as the Sun, who nurtures all vegetation, also gathers the first-fruits of the produce with his rays, as it were with mighty hands, plucking the sweetest odours of the plants; even so we too, having received into our souls (which are plants of heavenly origin) the efflux of God's wisdom, must, in return, use in his service all that springs up in us . . .¹

To God then, the Father of our souls, it is fitting that praise ¹² should rise from countless tongues and voices, even though our words cannot be worthy of him, seeing that it is a task beyond our power to tell of him. Even so, little children are not able worthily to sing their father's praise; but they do what is fitting when they render to him such honour as they can. Nay, this very thing redounds to God's glory, that his greatness transcends the praises of his offspring; and the beginning and middle and end of our praise is to confess that our Father is infinite in power, and . . . But we must beseech him to pardon us;² though ¹³ his children do indeed get pardon from their Father even before they ask it; and just as it is to be looked for that a father, so far from turning his face away from his babes because they can do so little, should be glad when they acknowledge him, even so . . .³ For God, inasmuch as he is good, and has in himself the only ^{14 a}

* * * *

¹ Perhaps, 'must, in return, send up to him hymns of praise, using in his service all the growth that he has fostered in us with his showers'.

² Sc. for the inadequacy of our praise of him.

³ Perhaps, 'even so does God take pleasure in our praises'.

τὴν ἀπόρροιαν [[]] εἰς τὰ [] τῶν ψυχῶν οὐράνια φυτὰ «δεξαμένοις», [[]] ἀνοιστέον τὰ τῆς ἐνφημίας, «καταχρωμένοις πάλιν εἰς αὐτὸν» [[]]. τὴν βλάστην ἄπασαν «ἥν αὐτὸς ἡμῶν ἐπώμβρισεν». 10 τοῖς ἑκείνου BC: τῆς ἑκείνου cett. | ἀπόρειαν D: ἀπόρροιαν cett. 11-12 οὐράνια scripsi: ὑπερουράνια codd., Turn. 12 αὐτὸν scripsi: αὐτὸν codd., Turn. 13 ἐπομβρήση D Turn.: ἐπομβρήσει cett. 14 ἄπασα B: ἄπασαν cett. 15 αὖν addidit Reitz. 16 μυρίων DMR Turn.: μυστηρίων BC 17 κάν scripsi: καὶ codd., Turn. 20 ἀπόδιδωσι R 21-22 εὔκλεια . . . γεννημάτων om. R 28 μέσα scripsi: μεσόγητα codd., Turn. 28 τὰ (ante μάλιστα) B(C!)M: om. cett. 29 καὶ (ante τοὺς) om. B 32-33 Fortasse ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ πατρὸς ὅσπερ 33-34 Fortasse τὴν τῆς ἐνφημίας δύναμιν 34 ἡμεῖς ἰδωρήσατο R: ἡμὲν ἰδωρήσατο cett. 35 καὶ δειφεγγής om. R Turn | αὐτῷ vel αὐτῷ OR Turn.

ἀριτρεπείας ἔχων τὸ πέρας, ἀθάνατος δὲ ὁν, καὶ [ἐν ἑαυτῷ]
τὴν ἀτελεύτητον λῆξιν [περιέχων] [καὶ διὰ παντὸς] [[δένναος]]
ἀπὸ τῆς [έκεῖσε] <άει[ν]άογ> ἐνεργείας καὶ εἰς τόνδε τὸν
κέσμον παρέχων, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν εἰς διασωστικὴν εὐφη-
μίαν¹ (. . .).

5

* * * *

- 14 b [[οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν . . . ἀρμονίαν τῶν πάντων.]] Vide ante § 11.
 15 [[οὕτω μὲν δὴ . . . βασιλέας εὐφημία.]] Vide post § 9.
 16 [[δεῖ γὰρ καὶ . . . τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν.]] Vide post § 10.

1 ἀριτρεπείας scripsi: ἀειτρεπείας codd., Turn. | ἐν ἑαυτῷ BCM: ἐν
αὐτῷ (vel ἐν αὐτῷ) cett. 3 καὶ (ante εἰς τόνδε) om DR Turn. 4 ἀπαγ-
γελίαν R Turn.: ἀπαγγελίαν cett.

limit of his own pre-eminence,¹ and inasmuch as he is immortal, and from his everlasting energy supplies to this world also its appointed lot of endless duration,



¹ I. e. God is limited by nothing other than himself.

ASCLEPIUS

Ἐρμοῦ τρισμεγίστου βίβλος ἱερὰ πρὸς
Ἄσκληπιὸν προσφωνηθεῖσα

(*Prologus*)

- 1a (*Trismegistus loquitur*): 'Deus, deus te nobis, o Asclepi, ut divino sermoni interesses, adduxit, eoque tali, qui merito omnium 5 antea a nobis factorum, vel nobis divino numine inspiratorum, videatur esse religiosa pietate divinior. Quem si intellegens <deum> videris, eris omnium bonorum tota mente plenissimus, si tamen multa sunt bona, et non unum, in quo sunt omnia. Alterum enim alterius consentaneum esse dinoscitur [omnia unius 10 esse aut unum esse omnia]; ita enim sibi est utrumque conexus, ut separari alterum ab al(e)ro non possit. Sed de futuro sermone hoc diligenti intentione cognosces.
- 1b Tu vero, o Asclepi, procede paululum, Tatque, nobis qui intersit, evoca.' Quo ingresso, Asclepius et Hammona[m]¹⁵ interesse suggestit. Trismegistus ait: 'Nulla invidia Hammona prohibet a nobis; etenim ad eius nomen multa meminimus a nobis esse conscripta, sicuti etiam ad Tat amantissimum et carissimum filium multa physica <di>exodicaque quam plurima. Tractatum hunc autem tuo <in>scribam nomine. Praeter 20 Hammona nullum vocassis alterum, ne tantae rei religiosissimus sermo multorum interventu praesentiaque violetur. Tractatum

1 Post titulum addunt asclepius iste pro sole mihi est codices: seclusit Ménard 12 altero scripti: utro BM: utroque cett. 14 tatque (sed priore t eraso) B: atque cett. 18 Tat Thomas: tatiū (i.e. Tatium) B: om. cett. 19 diexodicaque scripti: 'fortasse diexodicaque' Thomas: exotica que w

ASCLEPIUS

*A holy book of Hermes Trismegistus,
addressed to Asclepius.¹*

Prologue

Trismegistus. ‘It is God that has brought you to me, Asclepius, ^{1a} to hear a teaching ² which comes from God. My discourse will be of such a nature, that by reason of its pious fervour it will be rightly ³ deemed that there is in it more of God’s working ⁴ than in all that I have spoken before,—or rather, that God’s power has inspired me to speak. And if you understand ⁵ my words, and thereby come to see God, your mind will be wholly filled with all things good,—if indeed there are many goods, and not rather one Good, in which all goods are comprised. For we find that these two things agree with one another; they are so linked together that it is impossible to part them. But this you will learn from my discourse to-day, if you listen with earnest attention.

But go forth for a moment, Asclepius, and summon Tat to ^{1b} join us.’ When Tat had entered, Asclepius proposed that Ammon also should be present. Trismegistus replied, ‘I do not grudge permission to Ammon to be with us; for I bear in mind that many of my writings have been addressed to him, as again many of my treatises on nature,⁶ and a very large number of my explanatory⁷ writings, have been addressed to Tat, my dear and loving son. As for our discussion to-day, I will inscribe on it your name, Asclepius. You may call Ammon; but summon no one else, lest a discourse which treats of the loftiest of themes, and breathes the deepest reverence, should be profaned by the

¹ This document was also called *Λόγος τέλειος*, ‘the *Crowning Discourse* of Hermes Trismegistus’.

² *Sermo* = *λόγος*.

³ *Merito* = *εἰκότως*.

⁴ *Omnium divinior* = *πάντων θειότερος*.

⁵ *Intellegens* = *νοήσας*.

⁶ φυσικά, probably substituted for γενικά.

⁷ διεφοδικά.

enim tota numinis maiestate plenissimum in religiosae mentis est multorum conscientia publicare.'

Hammone etiam adytum ingresso, sanctoque illo quattuor virorum religione et divina [dei] completo praesentia, competenti venerabiliter silentio [[ex ore Hermu]] animis singulorum mentibusque pendentibus, «ex ore Hermu» divinus Cupido sic est orsus dicere.

(Asclepius I)

2a *Trism.* O Asclepi, omnis humana immortalis est anima: sed non uniformiter cunctae, sed aliae alio more [vel tempore] (creatae sunt animae); non enim [o Trismegiste] omnis unius 10 qualitatis est anima.—*(Ascl.* Non enim, o Trismegiste, . . . ?)—*Trism.* O Asclepi, ut celeriter de vera(e) rationis continentia decidisti! Non enim hoc dixi, omnia unum esse et unum omnia, utpote quae in creatore fuerint omnia, antequam creasset omnia? Nec in merito ipse dictus est omnia, cuius membra sunt omnia. 15 Huius itaque, qui est unus omnia, vel ipse est creator omnium, in tota hac disputatione curato meminisse.

2b De caelo cuncta (. . .) in terram et in aquam, et in aera ignis. Solum quod sursum versus fertur vivificum; quod deorsum, ei deserviens. At vero quicquid de alto descendit generans est; 20 quod sursum versus emanat, nutriendis. Terra, sola in se ipsa consistens, omnium est «gener(anti)um» receptrix, omniumque [[generum]] quae accepit restitutrix. Hoc ergo totum, sicut meministi, quod est omnium vel omnia, (constat ex anima et mundo). Anima et mundus a natura comprehensa agitantur, ita 25

9-12 In codd. et in edd. prioribus sic legitur: (Trism. :) ' . . . alio more vel tempore.' (Ascl. :) 'Non enim, o Trismegiste . . . est anima?' (Trism. :) 'O Asclepi, ut celeriter . . .' 12 verae Rohde: vera ω 14 utpote quae ed. Rom.: utpote que G: utpote qui codd. cert. 24 omnium ω: 'fortasse unus' Thomas

entrance and presence of a throng of listeners. For it would be impiety to make public through the presence of many witnesses a discussion which is replete with God in all his majesty.¹ Then Ammon also entered the sanctuary; and the place was made holy² by the pious awe of the four men, and was filled with God's presence. And the hearers listened in fitting silence, and with heart and soul each of them hung³ on the words in reverence, as through the lips of Hermes the divine Eros⁴ thus began to speak.

Asclepius I

Trism. All human souls, Asclepius, are immortal. But souls ^{2 a} are not all of one kind;⁴ different souls have been created in different fashions; for souls differ in quality.—*Ascl.* But tell me, Trismegistus, is not . . .?⁵—*Trism.* How quickly, Asclepius, you have lost your hold on the true doctrine!⁶ Have I not told you this before, that all things are one, and the One is all things, seeing that all things were in the Creator⁷ before he created them all? And rightly⁸ has it been said of him that he is all things; for all things are parts⁹ of him. Throughout our discussion then, be careful to remember him, the One who is all things,—him who is the creator of all things.

From heaven are derived all *(Air)* enters into earth and ^{2 b} water; and fire enters into air. That only which tends upward¹⁰ is life-giving;¹¹ and that which tends downward¹² is subservient to it.¹³ Moreover, all that descends from on high is generative;¹⁴ and that which issues upward from below is nutritive.¹⁵ Earth, which alone stands fast in its own place, receives all that is generative into itself, and renders back all that it has received. This whole then, which is made up of all things, or is all things, consists, as you have heard me say before, of soul and corporeal substance.¹⁶ Soul and corporeal substance together are embraced by nature,¹⁷

¹ *Sancto illo* = ἀγασθέννος λείπον (sc. τοῦ δόντον) ?

² *Pendentibus* = αἰρομένων ?

³ *Divinus Cupido* = δὲ θεός ἔρως, i.e. the yearning for God which is implanted in men by God.

⁴ *Uniformiter* = ὁμοιδῶς, which may perhaps be a misreading for ὁμοιδεῖς.

⁵ Possibly, 'are not souls uncreated'?

⁶ *Ratio* = λόγος.

⁷ *Creator* = δημιουργός, or ποιητής?

⁸ *Non inmerito* = οὐκ ἀπεικόνως.

⁹ *Menibra* = μόρια.

¹⁰ *Quod sursum versus fertur* = τὸ ἀναφερέσ, i.e. fire and air.

¹¹ *Vivificum* = ζωοποῖον or ζωτικόν.

¹² *Quod deorsum fertur* = τὸ καταφερέσ, i.e. earth and water.

¹³ *Ei deseruens* = ὑπηρετικόν.

¹⁴ *Generans* = γεννητικόν.

¹⁵ *Nutriens* = θρεπτικόν.

¹⁶ *Mundus* = ὥλη. ¹⁷ *Natura* = φύσις.

omnium multiformi imaginum [ae]qualitate variata, ut infinitae qualitatum ex intervallo species [esse] nascantur, adunatae tamen **3a** ad hoc, ut totum unum et ex uno omnia esse videantur. Totus itaque quibus formatus est mundus, elementa sunt quattuor, ignis, aqua, terra, aer : mundus unus, anima una, et deus unus. **5**

3b Nunc mihi adesto totus, quantum mente vales, quantum calles astutia. Divinitatis etenim ratio, divina sensus intentione noscenda, torrenti simillima est fluvio e summo in pronum praecipiti rapacitate currenti^s; quo efficitur ut intentionem nostram, non solum auditentium, verum tractantium ipsorum, celeri velocitate praetereat. **10**

3c Caelum ergo, sensibilis deus, administrator est omnium corporum ; quorum augmenta detrimentaque sol et luna sortiti sunt. Caeli vero et ipsius [[animaee]] et omnium quae [mundo] insunt ipse gubernator est <<deus>>; qui est <<omnium generum et omnium specierum per naturam rerum>> effector [[deus]]. A **15** supradictis enim omnibus, quorum idem gubernator deus omnium, <<animaee>> frequentatio fertur influens per mundum [et per animam] [[omnium generum et omnium specierum per rerum naturam]]. Mundus autem praeparatus est a deo receptaculum omniformium specierum ; natura autem, per species **20** imaginans mundum per quattuor elementa, ad caelum usque **4** producit cuncta dei visibus placitura. Omnia autem (. . .) desuper pendentia in species dividuntur hoc quo dicturus sum **25** (modo) [genere]. Genera rerum omnium sua^e species sequuntur, ut sit [ita] (specierum) soliditas genus, species generis particula. **25**

1 qualitate *edd. vett.* : aequalitate ω 2 nascantur *scripti* : noscantur ω
 5 et deus unus *secludendum*? 9 currenti *edd.* : currentis ω 22 pro-
 ducit *scripti* : perducit ω | Omnia autem <*vivifica*>? 24 sua^e *Kroll*:
 suas ω 25 ita *seclusit Thomas*

and are by nature's working kept in movement ;¹ and by this movement, the manifold qualities of all things that take shape² are made to differ among themselves, in such sort that there come into existence individual things of infinitely numerous forms,³ by reason of the differences of their qualities,⁴ and yet all individuals are united to the whole ; so that we see that the whole is one, and of the one are all things. The elements through which all matter^{3 a} has been indued with form⁵ are four in number,—fire, water, earth, and air ; but matter is one, soul is one, and God is one.

And now give me your whole attention, exerting to the utmost^{3 b} your power of thought and keenness of intelligence. For the doctrine⁶ which teaches of God's being needs for its apprehension such effort of thought⁷ as man cannot make save by God's help. It is like a torrent plunging downward with headlong rush, so that in its swiftness it outstrips the man who strives to follow it, and leaves behind not only the hearers, but even the teacher himself.

To Heaven, a god perceptible by sense,⁸ is committed the^{3 c} administration⁹ of all bodies ; and the growth and decay of bodies fall under the charge of Sun and Moon. But Heaven itself, and all things in it, are governed¹⁰ by God ; and he, working through nature,¹¹ is the maker¹² of all general and individual forms of living things. For by all the heavenly bodies, which all alike are governed by God, there is poured into all matter an uninterrupted stream¹³ of soul. Matter¹⁴ has been made ready by God beforehand to be the recipient of individual forms of every shape ;¹⁵ and nature, fashioning matter in individual forms¹⁶ by means of the four elements, brings into being, up to the height of heaven, all things that will be pleasing in God's sight. All . . .¹⁷⁴ are dependent on the powers above, and are distributed among individuals in the way that I will now describe. The individuals of each kind are fashioned in accordance with¹⁸ the form of their kind. The kind is the whole¹⁹ made up of the individuals ; the

¹ *Agitantur* = κυνῦνται. ² *Imagines* = σχήματα? ³ *Species* = εἶδη.

⁴ *Qualitatum ex intervallyo* = ἐκ τῆς τῶν ποιητῶν (ορ ποιῶν) διαστάσεων?

⁵ *Formatus est mundus* = μεμόρφωται ή ὑλη! ⁶ *Άντιο* = λόγος.

⁷ *Sensus* = νόησις? ⁸ *Sensibilis deus* = αἰσθητὸς θεός.

⁹ *Administrator* = ἐπίτροπος? ¹⁰ *Gubernator* = κυβερνήτης.

¹¹ *Per naturam rerum* = διὰ τῆς φύσεως. ¹² *Effector* = ποιητής ορ δημουργός.

¹³ *Frequentatio* = πυκνότης ορ πύκνωσις.

¹⁴ *Mundus* = ὑλη. ¹⁵ *Receptaculum* = ὑπόδοχή: *species* = εἶδη: *omniformes* = παντόμορφα.

¹⁶ *Per species imaginans* = εἴδονούσα?

¹⁷ ‘All portions of soul’ or ‘of vital spirit’?

¹⁸ *Sequuntur* = ἀκολουθοῦσι. ¹⁹ *Soliditas* = τὸ δλον.

Genus ergo deorum ex se deorum faciet species; daemonum genus aequae; hominum similiter, volucrum, et omnium quae in se mundus habet, sui[s] similes species generat genus. Est et aliud animalis genus, sine anima quidem, et tamen non carens sensibus, unde et beneficiis gaudet, et adversis (dolet quibus) 5 minuitur atque vitiatur: omnium dico quae in terra radicum incolumente vivescunt: quorum species per totam sparsae sunt terram. Ipsud caelum plenum est [deo] (diis: eorum inmortales sunt species). Supradicta autem genera inhabitant usque ad loca [specierum] (deorum); quarum omnium rerum [in]mortales sunt 10 species. Species enim pars est generis, ut homo humanitatis; quam necesse est sequi qualitatem generis sui. Unde efficitur ut, quamvis omnia genera inmortalia sint, species non omnes sint inmortales. Divinitatis enim genus et ipsum et species inmortales sunt. Reliquorum genera [[quorum aeternitas est 15 generis]], quamvis per species occida(n)t, nascendi fecunditate servantur: ideoque species mortales sunt (quorum aeternitas est generis)); ut homo mortalis sit, inmortalis humanitas.

5 《Sunt omnes simillimae generibus suis species ;》 omnibus tamen generibus omnium generum species miscentur. 20

(Sunt res) quaedam quae ante factae sunt, quaedam quae de his quae factae sunt fiunt. Haec itaque quae fiunt aut ab diis et daemonibus (fiunt), aut ab hominibus. [[Sunt omnes simillimae generibus suis species.]] Corpora enim impossibile est (ad genus) conformari sine nutu divino, (in) species figurari sine adiutorio daemonum; inanimalia institui et coli sine hominibus non possunt. 25

Quicunque ergo daemonum, a genere suo defluentes [in speciem], alicuius speciei generis divini proximitate et consortio (generi divino) fortuito coniuncti sunt, diis similes habentur. Quorum vero daemonum species in qualitate sui generis perse-

1 facit scripti: faciet ω 3 sui ed. Rom.: suis ω 7 quorum
 scripti: quarum ω 10 'quarum vix sanum: fortasse quare non', Thomas
 14 sint man. 2 B: om. cett. 16 occidat scripti: occidat ω 17 servantur
 Σ: servatur cett. 21 his quae factae G, man. 2 B: his factae cett.
 22 et scripti: aut ω 29 in Kroll: sunt ω

individual is a part of the kind. Thus the god-kind produces individual gods, and the daemon-kind produces individual daemons. And so too the kind or race of men, and that of birds, and those of all beings which the universe contains, generate individuals of like form to their kind. And there is yet another kind of living beings,¹ which are devoid of soul² indeed, yet not without sensation,³ so that they are gladdened by all that does them good, and suffer pain from all that impairs and harms them. This kind consists of all things which are implanted in the soil, and spring into life with firm-fixed⁴ roots; and the individuals of this kind are spread abroad over all the earth. Heaven itself is filled with gods; and the gods are individually immortal. The other kinds of which I have spoken dwell in the space which extends from earth to the abode of the gods; and in all these kinds, the individuals are mortal. For the individual is a part of the kind,—as a man, for instance, is a part of mankind,—and must necessarily agree in quality with the kind of which it is a part. Hence, though all kinds are immortal, not all individuals are immortal. In the case of the gods, both the kind and the individuals are immortal. All other kinds, though they perish in their individuals, are kept in being by their reproductive fertility.⁵ Thus the individuals are mortal, but the kind is everlasting;⁶ so that men are mortal, but mankind is immortal.

But though all individuals exactly resemble the type of their kind, yet individuals of each kind intermingle⁷ with all other kinds. []⁸. All daemons who have dissociated themselves⁹ from their own kind, and have come to be¹⁰ united to the god-kind through close connexion and fellowship with some individual of the god-kind, are held to be ‘godlike daemons’;¹¹ individuals of the daemon-kind who maintain unchanged the character of their own

¹ *Animalis = τοῦ ζῶντος* or *ζωὴν ἔχοντος.*

² *Sine anima = ἀψυχεῖ.*

³ *Sensus = αἰσθῆσις.*

⁴ *Incolumnitas = ἀσφάλεια.*

⁵ *Nascendi = γεννήσις.*

⁶ *Species . . . generis = θηγαρὰ τὰ εἶδη ἀν δίδιον τὸ γένος.*

⁷ *Miscentur = ἐμπύργνυται?*

⁸ [*‘There are things which have been made before (viz. the four elements), and other things which are made out of those which have been made before. The things which are made are made either by gods and daemons, or by men. Organic bodies cannot receive their generic forms save by the fiat of the gods; nor can they be fashioned into their individual shapes without the ministration of daemons. Inanimate things cannot be constructed and kept in order save by the hands of men.’] Quaedam . . . quaedam = τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ.*

⁹ *Desfluentes = ἀπορρέοντες?*

¹⁰ *Fortuilo = ἐρυχος.*

¹¹ *Diis similes = θεοειδῆς.*

verant, < . . . Qui vero . . . > ii amantes hominum [[ratio]] daemones nuncupantur. Similis est et hominum <(ratio)>, et eo amplior. Multiformis enim variaque generis humani species, et ipsa *a praedictae*¹ desuper veniens, consortio [omnium] aliarum specierum multas et prope omnium <generum> per necessitatem 5 coniunctiones facit. Propter quod et prope deos accedit qui se mente, qua diis iunctus est, divina religione diis iunxerit, et daemonum, qui his iunctus est: humani vero, qui medietate generis sui contenti sunt: et reliquae hominum species his similes erunt, quorum se generis speciebus adiunixerint. 10

6a Propter haec, o Asclepi, magnum miraculum est homo, animal adorandum atque honorandum. Hoc enim in naturam dei transit, quasi ipse sit deus: hoc daemonum genus novit, utpote qui [cum] isdem se ortum esse cognoscat: hoc humanae naturae partem in se ipse despicit, alterius partis divinitate confusus. 15 O hominum quanto est natura temperata felicius! Diis cognata divinitate coniunctus est: partem sui, qua terrenus est, intra se despicit: cetera omnia, quibus se necessarium esse caelesti dispositione cognoscit, nexus secum caritatis adstringit. Suspicit caelum: <(colit terram)>. Sic ergo feliciore loco medietatis est 20 positus, ut quae infra se sunt diligat, ipse a se superioribus diligatur. [[Colit terram.]] [[Elementis velocitate miscetur.]] <(Omnia illi licent :)> acumine mentis in maris profunda descendit; [[omnia illi licent ;]] non caelum videtur altissimum, quasi e proximo enim animi sagacitate metitur. <(Elementis 25 velocitate miscetur :)> intentionem animi eius nulla aeris caligo

1 ratio BM: rationem vel ratione cett. 1-2 ratio transposuit Thomas 4 praedicto L: praedictae cett. 16 quanta BM: quanto cett. 22 elementis codd.: caelo mentis Diels (*Elementum p. 75*) dubitanter 23 Fortasse omnia illi <adire> liceſn̄t

kind are called . . . ; and those who associate with men are called 'daemons friendly to man'.¹ And the like is to be said of men; indeed, the range of men is yet wider than that of the daemons. The individuals of the human kind are diverse, and of many characters. They, like the daemons, come from above; and entering into fellowship with other individuals, they make for themselves many and intimate connexions with almost all other kinds. Accordingly, the man who, in virtue of the mind² in him, through which he is akin to the gods,³ has attached himself to them by pious devotion, becomes like to the gods; he who has attached himself to daemons becomes like to the daemons;⁴ those who are content with the intermediate station⁵ of their kind remain mere men and nothing more; and all other individuals of the human kind, according as they have attached themselves to individuals of this kind or that, will resemble the beings to which they have attached themselves.

Man is a marvel then, Asclepius; honour and reverence to **6 a** such a being! Man takes on him the attributes of a god, as though he were himself a god; he is familiar with⁶ the daemon-kind, for he comes to know that he is sprung from the same source as they; and strong in the assurance of that in him which is divine, he scorns the merely human part of his own nature. How far more happily blended are the properties of man than those of other beings! He is linked to the gods, inasmuch as there is in him a divinity akin to theirs; he scorns that part of his own being which makes him a thing of earth; and all else with which he finds himself connected⁷ by heaven's ordering, he binds to himself by the tie of his affection. He raises reverent eyes to heaven above; he tends the earth below. Blest in his intermediate station, he is so placed that he loves all below him, and is loved by all above him. He has access to all; he descends to the depths of the sea by the keenness of his thought; and heaven is not found too high for him, for he measures it by his sagacity, as though it were within his reach. With his quick wit⁸ he penetrates the elements; air cannot blind his mental vision with its

¹ *Amantes hominum* = φιλάνθρωποι.

² *Mens* = νοῦς.

³ *Diis iunctus est* = τοῖς θεοῖς συγγενῆς ἔστι.

⁴ *Et prope deos accedit . . . et daemonum* = καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐγγίζει . . . καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων.

⁵ *Medietas* = μεσότης.

⁶ *Novit* = ξήρωκε.

⁷ *Necessarius* = ἀναγκαῖος.

⁸ *Velocitas* = ταχύνοια?

confundit, non densitas terrae operam eius inpedit, non aquae altitudo profunda despectum eius obtundit. Omnia idem est, et ubique idem est.

6 b Horum omnium generum, quae sunt animalia desuper deorsum radices pervenientes habent: inanimalia autem de imo in 5 superna *viva*⁵ radice silvescunt. Quaedam autem duplicitibus aluntur alimentis, quaedam simplicibus. Alimenta autem sunt bina *animae* et corporis, e quibus animalia constant. Anima *(ignis et aeris, superiorum)* mundi *(elementorum,)* inquieta semper agitatione nutritur: corpora ex aqua et terra, inferioribus mundi 10 elementis, augescunt. [Spiritus, quo plena sunt omnia, permixtus cunctis cuncta vivificat.] Sensu(s) [addito ad hominis intelligentiam], quae quinta pars soli homini concessa est ex aethere, [sed] de animalibus cunctis humanos tantum sensus ad divinae rationis intellegentiam exornat, erigit, atque sustollit. 15

6 c Sed quoniam de sensu commoneor dicere, paulo post et huins rationem vobis exponam: est enim sanctissima et magna, et non minor quam ea quae est **7 a** divinitatis ipsius. Sed nunc vobis expediam quae cooperam. Dicebam enim [in ipso initio rerum] de coniunctione deorum, qua homines soli eorum dignatione perfruuntur, quicumque etenim hominum tantum felicitatis adepti sunt, ut illum intellegentiae divinae perciperent sensum, qui sensus est divinior in solo deo et in humana intellegentia.—*Ascl.* Non enim omnium hominum, o Trismegiste, uniformis est sensus!—*Trism.* Non omnes, o Asclepi, intelligentiam veram adepti sunt, sed imaginem temerario inpetu nulla vera inspecta ratione sequentes decipiuntur, quae in mentibus malitiam parit, et transformat optimum animal in naturam ferae moresque beluarum. De sensu autem et de omnibus similibus, quando et de spiritu, tunc totam vobis praestabo rationem. 25

7 b Solum enim animal homo duplex est; et eius una pars simplex,

5 inanimalia *scripti*: inanimalium & 8 animae *scripti*: animi &
10-11 inferioribus mundi elementis *scripti*: inferioris mundi alimentis &
12 sensus *scripti*: sensu & 13 soli *G et man. 2 B*: sola cell. 21 divinae
scripti: divinum &

thickest darkness; dense earth cannot impede his work; the deepest water cannot blur his downward gaze. Man is all things; man is everywhere.

Now of all the different kinds or races, those which possess **6 b** soul¹ have roots extending downward to them from above; and those which are soulless sprout from roots which reach upward from below. The one sort² are nourished with two kinds of food; the other sort, with food of one kind only. Animals are composed of soul and body; and their food is of two kinds,—food for the soul and food for the body. The soul is nourished by the ceaseless movement of fire and air, the higher elements; the growth of bodies is supplied from water and earth, the lower elements. Mind,³ a fifth component part, which comes from the aether, has been bestowed on man alone; and of all beings that have soul, man is the only one whose faculty of cognition⁴ is, by this gift of mind,⁵ so strengthened, elevated, and exalted, that he can attain to knowledge of the truth concerning God.⁶

As⁶ I have been led to speak of mind,³ I will later on expound to you the **6 c** true doctrine concerning mind also; for it is a high and holy doctrine, and one no less sublime than that which treats of God himself. But for the present, I will continue the explanation I have begun. I was speaking of that attachment to the gods which men, and men alone, are by the grace of the gods permitted to enjoy,—that is to say, such men as⁷ have attained to the great happiness of acquiring that divine faculty of apprehending truth, that diviner sort of mind, which exists only in God and in the intellect of man.⁸—*Ascl.* But tell me then, Trismegistus, is not the mind of all men of one quality!—*Trism.* Not all men, Asclepius, have attained to true knowledge.⁹ Many men, yielding to reckless impulse, and seeing nothing of the truth,¹⁰ are misled by illusions;¹¹ and these illusions breed evil in their hearts, and transform man, the best of living beings, into a wild and savage beast. But concerning mind and the like I will fully set forth the truth to you later on, when I come to treat of spirit also.

Man, and man alone of all beings that have soul, is of twofold **7 b** nature. Of the two parts of which he is composed, the one is

¹ *Animalia* = ἔμψυχα, i.e. animals: *inanimalia* = ἄψυχα, i.e. vegetables.

² *Quaedam . . . quaedam* = τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ.

³ *Sensus* = *νοῦς*, which might be translated 'mind' or 'intellect' or 'reason'.

⁴ *Sensus* = *διοθῆσις*?

⁵ *Divinae rationis intellegentia* = η τοῦ θείου λόγου (i.e. θεολογίας) γνῶσις?

⁶ This passage (chs. 6 c, 7 a) was probably absent in the original text of *Ascl. I*; it may have been added by the compiler of the composite *Asclepius*.

⁷ *Quicunque etenim* = δοσοὶ δή.

⁸ Perhaps, 'in God and in those men who have gnosis.'

⁹ *Intellegentia* = γνῶσις!

¹⁰ *Vera ratio* = διληθῆς λόγος.

¹¹ *Imago* = φαντασία!

quae, ut Graeci aiunt, οὐσιώδης, quam vocamus divinae similitudinis formam; est autem (altera pars) quadruplex, quod ὑλικόν Graeci, nos mundanum dicimus, [e quo factum est corpus,] quo circumtegitur illud quod in homine divinum esse iam diximus, in quo mentis divinitas tecta sola cum cognatis suis, id est mentis 5 purae sensibus, secum ipsa conquiescat tamquam muro corporis saepa.—

7c Ascl. Quid ergo oportuit, o Trismegiste, hominem in mundo constitui, et non in ea parte, qua deus est, eum in summa beatitudine degere?—Trism. Recte quaeris, o Asclepi: et nos 10 enim deum rogamus, tribuat nobis facultatem reddendae rationis istius. Cum enim omnia ex eius voluntate dependeant, tum illa vel maxime, quae de tota summitate tractantur, quam rationem 8 praesenti disputatione conquerimur. Audi ergo, Asclepi. Dominus et omnium conformator, quem recte dicimus deum, quo(niam) 15 a se secundum fecerit (deum) qui videri et sentiri possit;

19 maxime G: maxima cett. 15 quoniam Goldberg: quo ω 16 fecit deum qui scripsi: fecerit qui ω | videri et sentiri G: viderit et viderten possit B: viderit et videre (t eras.) possit M

c. 8 init.—Lactant. *Div. inst.* 4. 6. 4 (vide *Testim.*): ‘Hermes in eo libro qui Λόγος τέλεος inscribitur his usus est verbis:

“ο κύριος καὶ τῶν πάντων ποιητής, δὸν θεὸν καλεῖν νενομίκαμεν, ἐπεὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἐποίησε, θεὸν δρατὸν καὶ αἰσθητόν,—αἰσθητὸν δέ φημι οὐ διὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι αὐτὸν, περὶ γὰρ τούτου, πότερον αὐτὸς αἰσθάνεται (ἢ μή, εἰσανθιστεῖται), ἀλλὰ διὰ εἰς αἰσθητὸν ὑποπίπτει καὶ εἰς δραστὸν,—ἐπεὶ οὖν τούτου ἐποιησε πρῶτον καὶ μόνον καὶ ἔνα, καλὸς δὲ αὐτῷ ἐφάνη (ών) καὶ πληρέστατος πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἡγάσθη τε καὶ πάνυ ἐφίλησεν ὡς ἴδιον τόκον.”

Lactant. *Epit. div. inst.* 37. 4: ‘Plato de primo ac secundo deo . . . locutus est, fortasse in hoc Trismegistum secutus; eius verba de Graecis conversa subieci:

“Dominus et factor universorum, quem deum vocare existimavimus, secundum fecit deum visibilem et sensibilem. Sensibilem autem dico non quod ipse sensum accipiat, sed quod in sensum mittat et visum. Cum ergo hunc fecisset primum et solum et unum, optimus ei apparuit et plenissimus omnium bonorum.”

Ps.-Augustin. *c. quinque haereses* 3: ‘Hermes . . . scripsit librum qui Λόγος τέλεος appellatur, id est verbum perfectum. . . Audiamus quid loquatur

single and undivided ; this part is incorporeal and eternal, and we call it 'that which is formed in the likeness of God'. The other part of man is fourfold, and material ; and within it is enclosed that part of him which I just now called divine, to the end that, sheltered therein, the divine mind,¹ together with the thoughts² of pure mind, which are cognate to it, secluded from all else, may dwell at rest, fenced in by the body, as it were by a wall.—

Ascl. But what need was there, Trismegistus, that man should ^{7c} be placed in this material world ? Why might he not have dwelt in the region where God is, and there enjoyed perfect happiness ?

— *Trism.* You are right, Asclepius, in asking that question ; and I pray God to give me power to answer it. For on his will depend all things, and above all else, the investigation of that which is highest and most comprehensive ; and such is that with which our present inquiry is concerned. Listen then, Asclepius. When ⁸ the Master, the Maker of all things, whom by usage we name God, had made him who is second,³ a god visible and sensible ;

¹ *Mens = νοῦς.*

² *Sensus = νοήματα ?*

³ Viz. the Kosmos.

Mercurius de verbo perfecto : "Dominus" inquit "et omnium factor deorum secundum fecit dominum" ('deum scribendum?' Brandt). Et post pauca, ut ostenderet quid dixerit, repetit et dixit : "Quoniam ergo hunc fecit primum et solum et unum, bonus autem ei visus est et plenissimus omnium bonorum, . . . laetus est et valde dilexit tanquam unigenitum suum."

In tabula Mercurium Trismegistum docentem ostendente, quae in pavimento aedes Senensis insculpta est (A.D. 1488), leguntur in tabella inscripta verba haec : 'Deus omnium creator secum* deum fecit visibilem et hunc fecit primum et solum quo oblectatus est et valde amavit proprium filium qui appellatur sanctum verbum.' (* secum perperam scriptum est pro secundum.)

Pseudo-Anthimus *Ad Theodorum* (vide *Testim.*) §§ 10, 11 :

φάσκει γὰρ οὖτως (sc. Ἐρμῆς ὁ Τρισμέγιστος) πρὸς Ἀσκληπιὸν τὸν ἱατρόν. "ἄκουε τοιγαροῦν, Ἀσκληπιέ. ὁ κύριος καὶ τῶν πάντων ποιητής, δὲν καλεῖν θεὸν νενομίκαμεν, ἔτι τὸν δεύτερον ἐποίησε θεὸν ὄρατὸν καὶ αἰσθητόν." . . . ἔτα πάλιν ὁ Τρισμέγιστος φησιν. "ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦτον ἐποίησε πρῶτον καὶ μόνον καὶ ἔνα, κάλλιστος δὲ αὐτῷ ἐφάνη καὶ πληρέστατος πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἡγάσθη τε καὶ πάνυ ἐφίλησεν ως ἴδιον τόκον."

eum dem secundum sensibilem [ita] dixerim non ideo, quod ipse sentiat, (de hoc enim, an ipse sentiat an non, alio dicemus tempore,) sed eo, quoniam videntium sensus incurrit;—quoniam ergo hunc fecit ex se primum et a se secundum, visusque ei pulcher, utpote qui sit omnium bonitate plenissimus, amavit eum 5 ut divinitatis partm sua. Ergo, ut tantus et¹ bonus, esse[t] voluit alium, qui illum, quem ex se fecerat, intueri potuisset, simulque et rationis (suae) imitatorem et diligentiae fecit hominem. Voluntas etenim dei ipsa est summa perfectio, utpote cum voluisse et perfecisse uno eodemque temporis punto compleat. Cum 10 itaque eum οὐσιώδη (fecisset), et animadverteret eum non posse omnium rerum esse diligentem nisi eum mundano integrimento contegeret, texit eum corporea domo, talesque omnes esse p[re]cepit [[ex utraque natura in unum confundens miscensque quantum satis esse debuisset]]. Itaque hominem conformat ex 15 animi et corporis, id est, ex aeterna atque mortali natura, ((ex utraque natura in unum confundens miscensque quantum satis esse<t>) [debuisse],)) ut animal ita conformatum utraeque origini suae satisfacere possit, et mirari atque (ad)orare caelestia, et [in]colere atque gubernare terrena. (Terrena) [(modo)] autem 20 dico [mortalia] non ((modo)) aquam et terram, quae duo de quattuor elementis subiecit natura hominibus, sed ea quae ab hominibus aut in his aut de his fiunt, [a]ut ipsius terrae cultus, pascuae, aedificatio, portus, navigationes, communicationes, com- 25 modationes alternae, quae est humanitatis inter se firmissimus

1 eum deum scripsi: eundem ω | ita seclusit Kroll 4 facit B:
fecit cett. 6 partum Kroll: partem ω | esse Kroll: esset ω
8 fecit F: facit cett. 9 dei ipsa F: de ipsa cett. 11 fecisset addidi
(creasset addidit Koziol) 18 esset scripsi: esse debuisse ω 10 adorare
Rohde: orare ω 23 ut edd. vell.: aut ω (sed a exp. B)

—and I call him ‘sensible’, not because he perceives things by sense, (for the question whether he perceives things by sense or not, we will discuss later on,) but because he can be perceived by sense and sight ;—when, I say, God had made this being, his first and one and only creation,¹ and when he saw that the being he had made was beautiful, and wholly filled with all things good, he rejoiced in him, and loved him dearly, as being his own offspring. Therefore, being *(wise)* and good himself, he willed that there should be another who might look upon the being whom he had begotten ; and in that act of willing,² he made man, to be an imitator of his wisdom³ and his fostering care.⁴ For with God, to will⁵ is to accomplish, inasmuch as, when he wills, the doing is completed in the self-same moment as the willing. And so, having made man as an incorporeal and eternal being, and perceiving that the man whom he had made could not tend all things *(on earth)* unless he enclosed him in a material⁶ envelope, God gave him the shelter of a body to dwell in, and ordained that all men should be formed in like manner. Thus he fashioned man of the substance of mind⁷ and the substance of body,—of that which is eternal and that which is mortal,—blending and mingling together portions of either substance in adequate measure, to the end that the creature so fashioned might be able to fulfil the demands of both sources of his being, that is to say, to venerate and worship the things of heaven, and at the same time to tend⁸ and administer the things of earth. And when I say ‘the things of earth’, I do not mean merely the two elements, water and earth, which nature has placed in subjection to men ; I mean all things that men do on land and water, or make out of earth and water, as for instance tillage and pasture, building, harbour-works and navigation, and intercourse and mutual service, that strong bond by which the members of the human race are linked together. *(For to man is given the charge)* of that part of the

¹ In the earliest form of the text, this sentence probably ran as follows : ὁ κύριος καὶ τῶν πάντων πουτῆς, δύ θεὸν καλεῖ νενομικαμεν, ἐπεὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἐποίησε, θεὸν δραγὸν καὶ αἰσθητὸν [] πρῶτον καὶ μόνον καὶ ἕνα, καλὸς δὲ αὐτῷ ἔφαντ ὡς καὶ πληρέστατος πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἥγασθη τε καὶ πάνυ ἐφίλησεν ὡς ἴδιον τόκον. ‘When the Master . . . had made him who is second, the first and one and only visible and sensible god, and when he saw that,’ &c.

² *Simul* = ἅμα *(Βουλόμενος)* ?

⁵ *Ratio* = λογισμός ?

⁴ *Diligentia* = θεραπεία.

⁶ *Voluntas* = βούλησις or θέλημα.

⁶ *Mundanus* = ὑλικός.

⁷ *Animus* = νοῦς ?

⁸ *Colere* = θεραπεύειν.

nexus. [Et] (...) mundi partis quae est aquae et terrae; quae pars terrena mundi artium disciplinarumque cognitione atque usu servatur, sine quibus mundum deus noluit esse perfectum. [Placitum enim dei necessitas sequitur, voluntatem comitatur effectus.] [Neque enim credibile est deo displicitur esse quod 5 placuit, cum et futurum id et placitum multo ante sciverit.]

9 Sed, o Asclepi, animadverto ut celeri mentis cupiditate festines audire quomodo homo caeli vel quae in eo sunt dilectum possit habere vel cultum. Audi itaque, o Asclepi. Dilectus [dei] caeli cum his quae insunt omnibus una est obsequiorum frequentatio. 10 Hanc aliud animal non facit nec divinorum nec *mortalium*, nisi solus homo. Hominum enim admirationibus, adorationibus, laudibus, obsequiis caelum caelestesque delectantur. Nec inmerito in hominum coetum Musarum chorus est a summa divinitate demissus, scilicet ne terrenus mundus videretur incultior, si 15 modorum dulcedine caruisset, sed potius ut musicatis hominum cantilenis concelebraretur laudibus qui solus omnia aut pater est omnium, atque ita caelestibus laudibus nec in terris harmoniae suavitas defuisset. Aliqui ergo, ipsique paucissimi, pura mente praediti, sortiti sunt caeli suspiciendi venerabilem curam. Quicunque autem ex duplice(s) naturae suae confusione (in) inferiorem intelligentiam mole corporis resederunt, curandis elementis hisque inferioribus sunt praepositi. Animal ergo homo (ex parte mortale); non quod is eo minor, quod ex parte mortalis sit, sed (mortalitate auctus esse videatur), ea sorte aptius efficaciusque 25 conpositus ad certam rationem [[mortalitate auctus esse videatur]]. Scilicet quoniam utrumque nisi ex utraque materia sustinere non

⁹ dei seclusit Koziol ¹¹ facit scripti: fecit ω (sed facit corr. B)
 | mortalium Kroll: animalium ω ¹⁷ laudibus 'fortasse delendum' Thomas
¹⁹ ergo ipsique Thomas: ipsique ergo ω (sed cum traectionis signo B)
²¹ duplices scripti: dupli ω | in inferiorem Koziol: inferiorem ω
²⁴ non quod is MG: non quo dis B ²⁵ ea sorte scripti: eo forte B: eo
 forte cett.

universe¹ which consists of earth and water; and this earthly part of the universe is kept in order² by means of man's knowledge and application of the arts and sciences.³ For God willed that the universe should not be complete until man had done his part. [] []⁴

But I see, Asclepius, that you are eager and impatient to be told how man can tend⁵ heaven or the things in heaven. Listen then, Asclepius. Tendance of heaven and of all things that are therein is nothing else than constant⁶ worship;⁷ and there is no other being, divine or mortal, that worships, but man alone. For in the reverence and adoration, the praise and worship of men, heaven and the gods of heaven find pleasure. And not without good reason⁸ has the supreme Deity sent down the choir of the Muses to dwell among mankind. The earthly part of the universe would have seemed but rude and savage, if it had been wanting in sweet melody; and lest this should be, God sent the Muses down, to the intent that men might adore with hymns of praise Him who is all things in one, the Father of all, and that thus sweet music might not be lacking upon earth, to sound in concord with the singing of his praise in heaven. To some men then, but to very few, men who are endowed with mind uncontaminate,⁹ has fallen the high task of raising reverent eyes to heaven. But to all who, through the intermingling of the diverse parts of their twofold being, are weighed down by the burden of the body, and have sunk to a lower grade of intelligence,¹⁰—to all such men is assigned the charge of tending the elements, and the things of this lower world. Thus man is a being (partly divine, and partly mortal); not that he is to be thought the lower because he is mortal in part; we ought rather to regard him as exalted by his mortality, in that he is by such a lot more fitly and effectively constituted for a purpose pre-ordained. For since he could not have met the demands of both his functions if he had not been

¹ *Mundus = κόσμος.*

² *Servatur = φυλάσσεται.*

³ *Disciplinarum = ἐπιστημῶν.*

⁴ ['For that must needs be, which it has pleased God to ordain. He wills, and it is done.'] ['For it cannot be thought that what it has once pleased God to ordain will ever be displeasing in his sight, inasmuch as he knew long before, both that it would come to pass, and that it would be pleasing to him.']

⁵ *Dilectum vel cultum = θεραπείαν.*

⁶ *Frequentatio = πύκνωσις οτ πυκνότης.*

⁷ *Obsequium = θρησκεία?*

⁸ *Nec inmerito = οὐδὲ ἀπέικότως.*

⁹ *Pura mens = νῦν μαθαρός.*

¹⁰ *Intellegentia = νόησις?*

potuisset, ex utraque formatus est, ut et terrenum cultum et divinitatis posset habere dilectum.

10 Rationem vero tractatus istius, o Asclepi, non solum sagaci intentione, verum etiam cupio te animi vivacitate percipere. Est enim ratio plurimis incredibilis, integra autem et vera percipienda 5 sanctioribus mentibus. Itaque hinc exordiar. Aeternitatis dominus deus primus est, secundus est mundus, homo est tertius. Effectus mundi deus et eorum quae insunt omnium simul cuncta gubernando [[cum]] homine(m) <[[cum]]> ipso gubernatore(m) 10 conposuit. Quod totum suscipiens homo, id est curam propriam diligentiae sua, efficit ut sit ipse et mundus uterque ornamento sibi; ut ex hac <h>om(i)</h>nis divina compositione mundus (Graece rectius *kόσμος*) dictus esse videatur. Is novit se, novit et mundum, scilicet ut meminerit quid partibus conveniat suis, quae sibi utenda, quibus sibi inserviendum sit recognoscat, laudes gratesque 15 maximas agens deo, eius imaginem venerans, non ignarus se etiam secundam esse imaginem dei: cuius sunt imagines duae mundus et homo, [[unde efficitur ut]] quoniam est <et> ipsius una compago. <[[Nam ut homo ex utraque parte possit esse plenissimus, quaternis eum utriusque partis elementis animadverte esse 20 formatum :>> <[[unde efficitur ut]]> parte <(divina)>, quae ex animo et sensu, spiritu atque ratione [divinus] est, velut ex elementis superioribus, inscendere posse videatur in caelum, parte vero mundana, quae constat ex igne et aqua <et terra> et aere, mortalis

9-10 hominem cum ipso gubernatorem conposuit *scripti*: in homine ipso gubernatorem conposuit 'ex PL (?) proposuit Kroll': cum homine ipso gubernatore conpositi *cell.* 12 hominis *ed. Rom.*: omnis *ω* 17 secundam *G*: secundum *cell.* | sint *M*: sunt *cell.* 19-21 nam ut . . . esse formatum *huc a cap. 11 a transposui* 21 quae *B*: qua *cell.* | animo *scripti*: anima *ω* 24 igne et aqua *Gδ*: igne aqua *cell.*

made of both kinds of substance, he was fashioned out of both, to the end that he might be able both to tend the earth and to do service to the Deity.

And now, Asclepius, I desire you to listen with a strong effort ¹⁰ of thought, as well as with keen penetration, to that which I am about to expound to you.¹ It is a doctrine which the many² do not believe, but which should be accepted as sound and true by men of saintlier mind. Thus I begin. God, the Master of eternity,³ is first ; the Kosmos is second ; man is third. God, the maker of the Kosmos and of all things that are therein, governs all things, but has made man as a composite being to govern in conjunction with him. And if man takes upon him in all its fullness the function assigned to him, that is, the tendance which is his special task, he becomes the means of right order⁴ to the Kosmos, and the Kosmos to him ;⁵ so that it seems the Kosmos (that is, the ordered universe) has been rightly so named, because man's composite structure has been thus ordered⁶ by God. Man knows⁷ himself, and knows the Kosmos also, provided that he bears in mind what action is suited to the part he has to play, and recognizes what things he is to use for his own ends, and to what things he in turn is to do service, rendering praise and thanks in full measure to God, and revering God's image (the Kosmos), not unaware that he himself is a second image of God. For there are two images of God ; the Kosmos is one, and man is another, inasmuch as he, like the Kosmos, is a single whole built up of diverse parts. For you must note that man, in order that he may be fully equipped on both sides, has been so fashioned that each of his two parts is made up of four elements ; and so, in respect of the divine part of him, which is composed of other and higher 'elements', so to speak, namely, mind, intellect, spirit, and reason,⁸ he is found capable of rising to heaven ; but in respect of his material⁹ part, which consists of fire, water, earth, and air, he is mortal, and remains on earth, that he may not leave

¹ *Ratio* = λόγος ; *istius* = τοῦδε, pointing forward to what follows.

² *Plurimi* = τοῦ πλείστοις.

³ *Aeternitatis dominus* = ὁ τοῦ αἰώνος κύριος.

⁴ *Ornamentum* = κόσμος.

⁵ *Sibi* = ἑαυτῷ, in the sense of ἀλλήλοις.

⁶ *Compositio* = συγκέντησις ?

⁷ *Novit* = ξήρωε.

⁸ *Animus* = θάνοια ? *Sensus* = νοῦς. *Spiritus* = πνεῦμα (but in a different sense from that in which the word is used in ch. 6 b). *Ratio* = λόγος.

⁹ *Mundanus* = ὑλικός.

resistat in terra, ne curae omnia sua mandata vidua desertaque dimittat. Sic enim humanitas, ex parte divina, ex alia parte

II a effecta mortalis est, in corpore consistens. Est autem mensura eius utriusque, id est hominis, ante *omnia religio*, quam sequitur bonitas. Ea demum tunc videtur esse perfecta, si contra cupiditatem *«virtute munita»* alienarum omnium rerum sit despectus *[[virtute munita]]*. Sunt ab omnibus cognationis divinae partibus aliena omnia, quaecunque terrena corporali cupiditate possidentur; quae merito [possessionum nomine nuncupantur], quoniam non nata nobiscum, sed postea a nobis possideri cooperunt, ¹⁰ idcirco etiam possessionum nomine nuncupantur. Omnia ergo huiusmodi ab homine aliena sunt, etiam corpus, ut et ea quae adpetimus, et illud, ex quo adpetentiae nobis est vitium, despiciamus. Ut enim meum animum rationis dicit intentio, homo hactenus esse debuit, ut contemplatione divinitatis partem quae ¹⁵ sibi *[[iuncta mortalis est]]* mundi inferioris necessitate servandi *[[iuncta mortalis est]]* despiciat atque contemnat. *[[Nam ut homo ex utraque parte possit esse plenissimus, quaternis eum utriusque partis elementis animadverte esse formatum,]]* manibus et pedibus utrisque binis, [aliisque] corporis membris, quibus ²⁰ inferiori, id est terreno, mundo deseriat, illis vero partibus quattuor animi, *«ratione»*, sensu[s], memoria[e], atque providentia[e], quarum *[[ratione]]* *(usu)* cuncta divina norit atque suspiciat.

[Unde efficitur ut rerum diversitates, qualitates, effectus, quantitates suspiciosa indagatione sectetur, retardatus vero gravi(s) [et] ²⁵ nimium corporis vitio has naturae rerum causas quae verae sunt proprie pavidere non possit.]

II b Hunc ergo sic effectum conformatumque et tali ministerio obsequioque praepositum a summo deo, eumque [competenter] ³⁰ munde mundum servando, deum pie colendo, digne et competenter in utroque dei voluntati parentem, talem quo munere credis esse munerandum,—siquidem, cum dei opera sit mundus,

⁴ *omnia scripsi*: omnis ω ¹⁶ *inferioris Koziol*: *inferioris ω*
¹⁷⁻¹⁹ Nam ut . . . formatum *hinc ad cap. 10 transponi* ²²⁻²³ *sensu* ²²⁻²³ *sensu memoria atque providentiae ω*
²⁶⁻²⁷ *gravis nimium scripsi*: *gravi et nimio ω* ²⁸ *possit GL¹*: *possunt*
cett. ³⁰ *competenter seclusi Kroll*

forsaken and abandoned all things that are entrusted to his keeping. Thus it is that man, though in part divine, has been made mortal also in part, being placed in a body. Now the **11a** right regulation¹ of the two parts, that is, of the whole man, consists first and chiefly in piety;² and piety is accompanied by goodness.³ But goodness is to be seen in its perfection only when man's virtue⁴ is fortified against desire,⁵ and he scorns all things that are alien to him. Now all earthly things which man holds in his possession to gratify his bodily desires are alien to all that part of his nature which is akin to God;⁶ and these things are rightly called 'possessions',⁷ for this reason, that they were not born with us, but we began to get possession⁸ of them at a later time. All such things then are alien to man; yes, and the body too we must regard as alien, that so we may scorn not only the objects of our greed, but also that⁹ which is the source of the vicious greed within us. For according to the view to which my thinking¹⁰ leads me, it is man's duty not to acquiesce in his merely human state, but rather, in the strength of his contemplation of things divine,¹¹ to scorn and despise that mortal part which has been attached to him because it was needful that he should keep and tend¹² this lower world. [] []¹³

Seeing then that man has been thus made and fashioned, and **11 b** has been appointed by the supreme God to such tasks of service and of worship,¹⁴ what, think you, should be his reward, if by a well-ordered life of labour in the world committed to his charge,¹⁵ and by honouring God with pious observance, in both respects

¹ *Mensura* = μέτρον.

² *Religio* = εὐσέβεια.

³ *Bonitas* = ἀγαθότης.

⁴ *Virtus* = ἀρετή.

⁵ *Cupiditas* = ἐπιθυμία.

⁶ Or, 'are alien to all members of God's family'?

⁷ *Possessiones* = κτήματα.

⁸ *Possidere* = κτάσθαι.

⁹ Viz. the body.

¹⁰ *Rationis intentio* = διανοία (or λογισμοῦ) ἐπιβολή?

¹¹ *Contemplatio divinitatis* = ὁ τὸν θεόν θεωρία.

¹² *Servare* = φυλάσσειν.

¹³ ['Man has a pair of hands and a pair of feet, as bodily members, that he may therewith do service to the lower and earthly part of the universe; and he has four mental parts, namely, reason (*λόγος*), intellect (*νοῦς*), memory (*μνήμη*), and foresight (*πρόνοια*), that he may therewith know and reverence all things divine.']

[Hence it comes to pass that men investigate with anxious search the differences of things, their qualities, their workings (*ἐνεργείας*), and their dimensions, but being hampered by the evil influence of a body which weighs them down, they cannot adequately understand the true causes of all that takes place in the world.]

¹⁴ *Ministerium* = ἵνηρεοια? *Obsequium* = θρησκεία or λατρεία?

¹⁵ *Munde mundum servando* = τῷ τὸν κόσμον κοσμίως φυλάσσειν.

eius pulchritudinem qui diligentia servat atque auget, operam suam cum dei voluntate coniungit, cum speciem, quam ille divina intentione formavit, adminiculo sui corporis diurno opere curaque conponit,—nisi eo, quo parentes nostri munerati sunt, quo etiam nos quoque munerari, si fuerit divinae pietati 5 complacitum, optamus piissimis votis, id est, ut emeritos atque exutos mundana custodia, nexibus mortalitatis absolutos, naturae superioris partis, id est divinae, puros sanctosque restituat?—

12 a *Ascl.* Iuste et vere dicis, o Trismegiste.—*Trism.* Haec est enim merces pie sub deo, diligenter cum mundo viventibus.¹⁰ Secus enim inique qui vixerint, et redditus denegatur in caelum, et constituitur in corpora alia, indigna animo sancto, [et] foeda migratio.—*Ascl.* Ut iste rationis sermo processit, o Trismegiste, futurae aeternitatis spe animae in mundana vita periclitantur.—*Trism.* Sed aliis incredibile, aliis fabulosum, aliis¹⁵ forsitan videatur esse deridendum. Res enim dulcis est in hac corporali vita qui capitur de possessionibus fructus: quae res animam obtorto, ut aiunt, detinet collo, ut in parte sui qua mortalis est inhaereat.

12 b Nec sinit partem divinitatis agnoscere invidens immortalitate²⁰ malignitas. Ego enim tibi quasi praedivinans dixero nullum post nos habiturum dilectum simplicem [qui est] philosophiae, quae sola est in cognoscenda divinitate frequens obtutus et sancta

5 fuerit scripti: foret ω 9-4 infra: 'quae in hoc capite leguntur inter personas sic fere mihi distribuenda videntur: As. Iuste . . . o Trismegiste. TR. Haec est enim . . . migratio. As. Ut iste . . . malignitas. TR. Ego enim . . . confundunt. As. Ut iste . . . malignitas. TR. Ego enim . . . confundunt. As. Quomodo ergo . . . confundant? cuius distributionis aliquot vestigia in G et al. extant' Thomas. Ego, quod ad cetera pertinet ei consents, verba sed aliis . . . malignitas Trismegisto attribui. 17 quae res B: quare cert. 20 immortalitate scripti: immortalitati ω

alike he worthily and fittingly obeys God's will? For since the world is God's handiwork, he who maintains and heightens its beauty by his tendance is co-operating with the will of God, when he contributes the aid of his bodily strength, and by his care and labour day by day makes things assume that shape and aspect which God's purpose has designed. What shall be his reward? Shall it not be that which our fathers have received, and which we pray with heartfelt piety that we too may receive, if God in his mercy¹ is pleased to grant it? And that is, that when our term of service is ended, when we are divested of our guardianship² of the material world, and freed from the bonds of mortality, he will restore us, cleansed and sanctified, to the primal condition of that higher part of us which is divine.—*Ascl.* Right and true, 12 a

Trismegistus.—*Trism.* Yes, such is the reward of those who spend their lives in piety to God above, and in tendance³ of the world around them. But those who have lived evil and impious lives are not permitted to return to heaven. For such men is ordained a shameful transmigration into bodies of another kind,⁴ bodies unworthy to be the abode of holy mind.—*Ascl.* According to your teaching⁵ then, *Trismegistus*, souls have at stake in this earthly life their hope of eternity⁶ in the life to come.—*Trism.* Yes. But some cannot believe this; and some regard it as an empty tale; and to some, perhaps, it seems a thing to mock at. For in our bodily life on earth, the enjoyment derived from possessions is a pleasant thing; and the pleasure which they yield grips the soul by the throat, so to speak, and holds it down to earth, compelling it to cleave to man's mortal part.

Moreover, there are some whose ungenerous temper grudges⁷ 12 b men the boon of immortality, and will not suffer them to get knowledge of that in them which is divine. For speaking as a prophet speaks, I tell you that in after times none will pursue philosophy in singleness of heart. Philosophy is nothing else than striving through constant contemplation⁸ and saintly piety to attain to knowledge of God;⁹ but there will be many who will

¹ *Pietas* = ἔλεος?

² *Custodia* = φυλακή or φρουρά.

³ *Diligenter viventes* = θεραπευτικῶς ζῶντες?

⁵ *Rationis sermo* = λόγος?

⁴ I. e. the bodies of beasts.

⁶ *Aeternitas* = αἰωνίότης?

⁷ *Invidens immortalitate* = φθοροῦσα αὐτοῖς τῆς δθανασίας.

⁸ *Frequens obitutus* = πυκνὴ θεωρία.

⁹ *Cognoscere divinitatem* = τὸν θεὸν (οὐ τὸν θεῖον) γιγνώσκειν.

religio. Multi etenim <<incomprehensibilem philosophiam efficiunt>>, et eam multifaria ratione confundent.—*Ascl.* Quomodo ergo [multi [[incomprehensibilem philosophiam efficiunt]], aut 13 quemadmodum eam multifaria ratione confundunt]?—*Trism.* O Asclepi, hoc modo: in varias disciplinas nec comprehensibiles 5 eam callida commentatione miscentes, ἀριθμητικὴν et musicen et geometriam. Puram autem philosophiam, eamque <e> divina tantum religione pendentem, tantum intendere in reliquas oportet, ut apocatastasis astrorum, stationes praefinitas cursu(u)mque 10 commutationes numeris constare miretur; terrae vero dimensiones, [[qualitates, quantitates,]] maris profunda, <aeris . . .>, ignis vim, et horum omnium <<qualitates, quantitates,>> effectus naturasque cognoscens miretur, adoret atque conlaudet artem mentemque divinam. Musicen vero nosse nihil aliud est nisi cunctarum 15 [omnium] rerum ordinem scire, quaeque sit <omnes res> divina ratio sortita: ordo enim rerum singularum in unum omnium artifici ratione conlata(rum) concentum quendam melo divino 14 a dulcissimum verissimumque confici[et]. Qui ergo homines post nos erunt, sophistarum calliditate decepti, a vera, pura sanctaque philosophia avertentur. Simplici enim mente et anima divinitatem 20 colere eiusque facta venerari, agere etiam dei voluntati gratias, quae est bonitatis sola plenissima, haec est nulla animi importuna curiositate violata philosophia.

(Asclepius II)

14 b [Et de his sit hucusque tractatus: de spiritu vero et de his similibus hinc sumatur exordium.]

Fuit deus et ὥλη τοιούτην Graece credimus mundum¹. [Et mundo comitabatur spiritus, vel inerat mundo spiritus, sed non similiter ut deo: nec deo < . . . >.] Haec, de quibus mundus, idcirco non erant, qu*(i)a* n*(a)ta* non erant; sed in eo iam tunc

2 et (ante eam) om. G | eam GL: ea cett. 7 e addidit Thomas
 8-9 oporterit BM: oportuerit M² 9-10 cursuumque commutationes
 scripti: cursumque commutationis ω 12 naturasque scripti: naturamque ω
 14 est edd. vell.: esse ω 15 omnium om. G 17 conlata ω:
 conlatus ed. Rom.: 'fortasse conlatarum' Thomas 18 conficit scripti:
 conficit ω 19 pura om. BM 22 nulla GL: nulli cett. 23 vio-
 lenta BM
 29 quia nata Thomas: qnanta BMP: quando GLF

make philosophy hard to understand, and corrupt it with manifold speculations.¹—*Ascl.* How so?—*Trism.* In this way, Asclepius ;¹³ by a cunning sort of study, in which philosophy will be mixed with diverse and unintelligible sciences, such as arithmetic, music, and geometry. Whereas the student of philosophy undefiled, which is dependent on devotion to God, and on that alone, ought to direct his attention to the other sciences only so far as he may thereby learn to see and marvel how the returns of the heavenly bodies to their former places, their halts² in pre-ordained positions, and the variations of their movements, are true to the reckonings of number ; only so far as, learning the measurements of the earth, the depth of the sea, (the . . . of air,) the force of fire, and the properties, magnitudes, workings, and natures of all material things, he may be led to revere, adore, and praise God's skill and wisdom. And to know the science of music is nothing else than this,—to know how all things are ordered, and how God's design³ has assigned to each its place ;⁴ for the ordered system in which each and all by the supreme Artist's skill are wrought together into a single whole yields a divinely musical harmony, sweet and true beyond all melodious sounds. I tell you then that the men^{14 a} of after times will be misled by cunning sophists, and will be turned away from the pure and holy teachings of true philosophy. For to worship God in thought and spirit with singleness of heart, to revere God in all his works, and to give thanks to God, whose will, and his alone, is wholly filled with goodness,—this is philosophy unsullied by intrusive cravings for unprofitable knowledge.⁵

Asclepius II

[Here let the discussion of these things end ; and let us now^{14 b} begin to speak of spirit and the like.]

Trism. In the beginning were⁶ God and Matter. The elements of which the universe⁷ is composed were not then in existence, because they had not yet come into being ;⁸ but

¹ *Ratio* = λογισμός ?

² *Stationes* = στάσεις.

³ *Ratio* = λόγος.

⁴ *Sit sortita* = κεκλήρωκε.

⁵ *Curiositas* = περιεργία, οτ πολυπραγμοσύνη ?

⁶ *Fuit* = ἦν.

⁷ *Mundus* = δ κόσμος.

⁸ *Nata non erant* = ούπω ἐγεγόνει.

erant unde nasci habuerunt. [Non enim ea sola non nata dicuntur quae necdum nata sunt, sed ea (etiam quae . . .). (. . .) quae carent fecunditate generandi, ita ut ex his nihil nasci possit.]

Quaecunque ergo sunt quibus inest natura generandi, haec et 5 generabilia sunt: de quibus nasci potest (aliquid), tametsi ea ex se nata sunt. Neque enim dubitatur ex his quae ex se nata sunt facile nasci posse (. . .). (. . .) de quibus cuncta nascuntur.

Deus ergo sempiternus, deus aeternus: nec nasci potest nec potuit: hoc est, hoc fuit, hoc erit semper. Haec ergo est, quae 10 ex se tota est, natura dei.

$\delta\lambda\eta$ autem (vel mundi natura) [et spiritus], quamvis nata non videatur, a principio tamen in se nascendi procreandique vim possideat atque naturam. Fecunditatis etenim initium in qualitate [naturae] (materiae) est, quae et conceptus et partus 15 in se possidet vim atque [materiam] (naturam). Haec itaque sine alieno conceptu est sola generabilis, «quae utique in se vim totius naturae habet.»

15 At vero ea, quae vim solam concipiendi habent ex alterius commixtione naturae, ita discernenda sunt, ut (. . .). Sic locus 20 mundi cum his quae in se sunt videatur esse non natus [[qui utique in se vim totius naturae habet]]: locum autem dico in quo sint omnia. Neque enim haec omnia esse potuissent, si locus deesset qui omnia sustinere potuisset. Omnibus enim rebus quae fuerint praecavendum est loco: nec qualitates etenim nec 25

13 videatur *scripti*: videantur ω 14 possidet *scripti*: possident ω
17-18 quae utique . . . habet *huc a cap. 15 transposui* 17 quae *scripti*:
qui ω 20 Sic *scripti*: hic ω 21 videtur *scripti*: videatur ω
24 qui (*post deesset*) *ex quo corr. M:* *quo B:* qui *cess.*

they were already in that from which they were to be generated.¹

Now all things which possess the faculty of generating are generative;² and it is possible for something else to be generated from them, even if they are self-generated.³ For there is no doubt that from things self-generated can easily be generated from which all things come into being.

God is everlasting, God is eternal.⁴ That he should come into being, or should ever have come into being, is impossible. He is, he was, he will be for ever. Such is God's being; he is wholly self-generated.⁵

Matter,⁶ though it is manifestly ungenerated,⁷ yet has in itself from the first⁸ the power of generating;⁹ for an original¹⁰ fecundity is inherent in the properties of matter, which possesses in itself the power of conceiving things and giving birth to them. Matter then is generative by itself, without the help of anything else.¹¹ It undoubtedly contains in itself the power of generating¹² all things.

On the other hand, we must class apart from matter those¹⁵ things which are enabled to conceive only when something else is intermingled with them; though (such things also may be ungenerated). Thus the space¹³ in which is contained the universe¹⁴ with all things that are therein¹⁵ is manifestly ungenerated. (By 'space' I here mean that in which all things are contained.) For the existence of all things that are would have been impossible, if space had not existed as an antecedent condition of their being.¹⁶ For if anything is to exist, space for it must be provided beforehand; if things were nowhere,¹⁷ their

¹ Perhaps ἐνῆν ἥδη ἐν τῷ ἔξ οὐ (or ἐν τοῖς ἔξ ὧν?) ἔμελλε γενήσεοθαι.

² *Generabilia* = γεννητικά. ³ *Ex se nata* = αὐτογένητα.

⁴ *Sempiternus* = ἀτίσιος: *aeternus* = αἰώνιος.

⁵ Perhaps τουάτη ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις, αὐτογένητος ὅλη οὖσα.

⁶ *Vel mundi natura*: added by the translator, as an explanation of ὑλη.

⁷ Διέννητος οὐσία φάνεται, rather than διέννητος εἶναι δοκεῖ.

⁸ *A principio* = ἔξ ἀρχῆς.

⁹ *Nascendi procreandique* = γενήσεως? *Vim atque naturam* = δύναμιν?

¹⁰ *Initium* = ἀρχή.

¹¹ *Sine alieno conceperit* = ἀνεν συλλήψεως ἀλλοπρίας.

¹² *Naturae* = γενήσεως? ¹³ *Locus* = τόπος, or χώρα.

¹⁴ *Mundi* = τοῦ κόσμου.

¹⁵ *In se* = ἐν αὐτῷ, which the translator read as ἐν αὐτῷ.

¹⁶ *Omnia sustinere* = πᾶσιν ὑπόκεισθαι?

¹⁷ *Earum rerum quae nisquam sunt* = τῶν μηδαμοῦ δύντων. The translator may perhaps have written *sunt*, though he ought rather to have written *essent*.

quantitates nec positiones nec effectus dinosci potuissent earum rerum quae nusquam sunt.

Sic ergo et mundus quamvis natus non sit, in se tamen omnium naturas habet, utpote qui his omnibus ad concipiendum fecundissimos sinus praestet. 5

Hoc est ergo totum qualitatis (diversae, prout natura est) materiae, quae creabilis est, tametsi creata non est. Sicuti enim [in] natura materiae [qualitas] (bonitatis) fecunda est, sic et malignitatis eadem est aequa fecunda.

- 16 a** Ne ergo dix(er)i(tis), o Asclepi et (Tat et) Hammon, quod 10 a multis dicitur: «dicunt enim [ipsi] deum debuisse omnifariam mundum a malitia liberare.» [[Non poterat deus incidere atque avertere a rerum natura malitiam.]] Quibus respondendum nihil omnino est: vestri tamen causa et haec prosequar quae cooperam, et rationem reddam. «Non poterat deus incidere atque avertere 15 a rerum natura malitiam»: [[dicunt enim ipsi deum debuisse omnifariam mundum a malitia liberare:]] ita enim in mundo est, ut quasi membrum ipsius esse videatur. Provisum cautumque est, quantum rationabiliter potuisset, a summo deo, tunc cum sensu, disciplina, intellegentia mentes hominum est munera dignatus. 20 Hisce enim rebus, quibus ceteris antestamus animalibus, solis possumus malitiae fraudes, dolos, vitiaque vitare. Ea enim qui, antequam his implicitus est, ex aspectu vitarit, is homo est divina intellegentia prudentiaque munitus: fundamentum est enim disciplinae in summa bonitate consistens. [Spiritu autem ministrantur 25 omnia et vegetantur in mundo] [[qui quasi organum vel machina summi dei voluntati subiectus est.]]

[Itaque (haec) hactenus a nobis intellegantur.]

(Asclepius III)

- 16 b** Mente sola intellegibilis, summus qui dicitur, deus rector gubernatorque est sensibilis dei eius, qui in se circumpletebitur 30

10 dixeritis scripti: dixi ω 21 solis ω : fortasse soli 26-27 qui
quasi . . . subiectus est hinc ad cap. 17 a transbosui 28 haec addidit
Thomas

properties, magnitudes, positions, and operations¹ could not be discerned.²

Matter³ then, though it is likewise⁴ ungenerated, yet contains in itself the births of all things, inasmuch as it presents a womb⁵ most fertile for the conception of all things that come into being.

This sum of things therefore is of diverse quality,⁶ in accordance with the varying action of the generative power of matter,⁷ which, though uncreated, is creative. For as the generative power of matter is productive of good, so it is equally productive of evil⁸ also.

You must not then, my pupils, speak as many do, who say that God ought by all means⁹ to have freed the world¹⁰ from evil. To those who speak thus, not a word ought to be said in answer; but for your sake I will pursue my argument, and therewith explain this. It was beyond God's power to put a stop to evil, and expel it from the universe; for evil is present in the world¹¹ in such sort that it is manifestly an inseparable part¹² thereof. But the supreme God provided and guarded against evil as far as he reasonably¹³ could, by deigning to endow the minds of men with intellect, knowledge, and intuition.¹⁴ It is in virtue of these gifts that we stand higher than the beasts; and by these, and these alone,¹⁵ are we enabled to shun the traps and deceptions and corruptions of evil. If a man shuns them when he sees them from afar, before he is entangled in them, it is by God's wisdom and forethought¹⁶ that he is protected from them; for man's knowledge is based on the supreme goodness of God.

[On this topic then, let this explanation suffice.]

Asclepius III

Trism. He whom we name God supreme,¹⁷ a God apprehensible by thought alone,¹⁸ is the ruler and director¹⁹ of that god

¹ *Effectus* = ἐνίργεια.

² *Dinoscī* = διακρίνεσθαι?

³ *Mundus* = οὐλη.

⁴ I. e. as space also is.

⁵ *Sinus* = κόλπον.

⁶ I. e. partly good and partly bad.

⁷ *Materiae* = οὐλης.

⁸ *Bonitatis* = ἀγαθοῦ : *malignitatis* = κακοῦ.

⁹ *Omnifariam* = πάντων.

¹⁰ *Mundum* = τὸν κόσμον.

¹¹ *In mundo* = ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

¹² *Membrum* = μέριον.

¹³ *Rationabiliter* = εὐλόγως?

¹⁴ *Sensus* = νοῦς : *disciplina* = ἐπιστήμη : *intellegentia* = γνῶσις?

¹⁵ Or perhaps, reading *soli*, 'by these gifts we alone (as opposed to the beasts) are enabled'.

¹⁶ *Divina intellegentia prudentiaque* = τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φρονήσει καὶ προνοίᾳ?

¹⁷ *Summus* = οὐρανός.

¹⁸ *Mente sola intelligibilis* = νοητός, οτ νοήσει μόνη καταληπτός.

¹⁹ *Rector gubernatorque* = διοικητὴς καὶ κυβερνήτης?

- [omnem locum] omnem rerum substantiam totamque [[gignentium creatiumque]] materiam, et omne quicquid est, quantumcumque 17a est, «gignentium creatiumque». Spiritu vero, «qui quasi organum vel machina summi dei voluntati subiectus est,» agitantur sive gubernantur omnes in mundo species, unaquaque 5 secundum naturam suam a deo distributam sibi. ὥλη autem (vel mundus) omnium est (formarum) receptaculum; omniumque agitatio atque frequentatio (. . .). Quorum deus gubernator, dispensans omnibus [[quantum]] rebus mundanis «quantum» unicuique necessarium est: spiritu vero inplet omnia, ut cuiusque 10 naturae qualitas est inaltata.
- 17b [[Est enim cava mundi rotunditas in modum sphaerae, ipsa sibi qualitatis vel formae suae causa invisibilis tota; quippe cum quemcumque in ea summum subter despiciendi causa delegeris locum, ex eo, in imo quid sit, videre non possis: propter quod 15 multis locis instar qualitatemque habere creditur. Per formas enim solas specierum, quarum imaginibus videtur insculpta, quasi visibilis creditur, cum depicta monstratur: re autem vera est sibi ipsi invisibilis semper. Ex quo eius imum, vel pars (ima), si locus (imus) est in sphaera, Graece Ἀιδης dicitur, siquidem ἰδεῖν Graece 20 videre dicatur, quo(d) visu imum sphaerae careat. Unde et ideae dicuntur species, quod sint visibles formae. Ab eo itaque quod visu preventur, Graece Ἀιδης, ab eo quod in imo sphaerae sint, Latine inferi nuncupantur.]]
- 17c Haec ergo sunt principalia et antiquiora et quasi capita (vel 25 initia) omnium, quia sunt in his aut per haec aut de his «mundana, ut ita dixerim,») omnia.
- 18a [[Haec ergo ipsa ut dicas quae est o Trismegiste]] [[mundana ut ita dixerim]] [[specierum omnium quae insunt uniuscuiusque sicuti est tota substantia.]] 30
- 33a «De inani vero, quod etiam magnum videtur esse quam pluri-

3-4 qui quasi . . . subiectus est *huc a cap. 16 a transposui* 9 quantum transposuit Hildebrand: omnibus rebus humanis quantum *F* 10 est scripti: sed (vel est man. 2) *B*: om. *GF* 11 inaltata *BM*: inalata *F*: om. *GPL* 12-24 *Cap. 17 b* (est enim . . . inferi nuncupantur) *hinc transposui*: vide post *cap. 34 c* (p. 326) 26 quia scripti: quae ω 26-27 mundana ut ita dixerim *huc a cap. 18 a transposui* 26-29 (Trism. :) ' . . . aut de his.'—(Ascl. :) 'Omnia haec ergo ipsa . . . o Trismegiste?'—(Trism. :) 'Mundana ut ita dixerim . . .' et edd. prior. 28 Haec ergo . . . Trismegiste *hinc ad cap. 19 a* (p. 322) *transposui* | aut *BM* (sed a exp. *B*): ut *cell.* 29-30 specierum . . . substantia *hinc ad cap. 17 b* (p. 328) *transposui* 31 sqq.: *cap. 33 a-34 a* (de inani . . . hominum signa) *huc transposui* 31 quod iam *BM*: quod etiam *cell.*: quod tam *Vulcanius*

perceptible by sense,¹ who embraces within himself all substances² and all matter, and all things without exception that have to do with birth and production.³ Spirit,⁴ which is subject to the will of *i7 a* the supreme God, and serves him as his instrument,⁵ is that by means of which are moved or directed⁶ all kinds of beings⁷ in the universe, each in accordance with the special character assigned to it by God. Matter⁸ is the recipient⁹ of all forms;¹⁰ and the changes and unbroken successions¹¹ of the forms (are wrought by means of spirit). The process is directed by God, who distributes (life) to all things in the universe, giving to each one of them as much as it needs. Into all things he infuses spirit, assigning it to each in larger measure, in proportion as the thing stands higher in the scale of being.¹²

These¹³ then are the primary things, the prior things, the heads *i7 c* or first principles¹⁴ of all things in the universe; for all cosmic¹⁵ things are contained in them, or wrought by means of them, or made of them.

But as to Void,¹⁶ which most people think to be a thing of great *33 a*

¹ *Sensibilis deus* = διασθητὸς θεός (i.e. διάκοσμος).

² *Substantia* = οὐσία.

³ Perhaps, something like τάντα σύνα δή ποτ' οὖν τὰ γενέσεως μετέχοντα.

⁴ *Tvēma*, in the sense of 'vital spirit', a gaseous substance.

⁵ *Organum vel machina* = ὄργανον.

⁶ *Agitantur* = κινοῦνται : *gubernantur* = κυβερνῶνται.

⁷ *Species* = εἶδος.

⁸ *Vel mundus*, added by the translator.

⁹ *Receptaculum* = ὑποδοχή.

¹⁰ *Formae* = μορφαί.

¹¹ *Agitatio et frequentatio* = κίνησις καὶ πύκτωσις.

¹² *Naturae qualitas* = ἡ τῆς φύσεως ποιότης.

¹³ Viz. θλη, μορφαί, and *tvēma*.

¹⁴ *Principalia* = τὰ προτροχόμενα? *Antiquiora* = τὰ πρότερα. *Capita* = κεφάλαια? *Initia* = ἀρχαὶ? But *vel initia* may have been added by the translator.

¹⁵ *Mundana* = κοσμικά. *Ut ita dixerim* probably added by the translator.

¹⁶ *Inane* = κενόν.

mis, sic sentio: inane nec esse aliquid nec esse potuisse nec futurum umquam. Omnia enim mundi sunt membra plenissima [[ut ipse mundus sit plenus atque perfectus]] corporibus qualitate formaque diversis et speciem suam habentibus et magnitudinem, <ut ipse mundus sit plenus atque perfectus>. Quorum unum est 5 alio maius, aut alio [aliud] minus, et validitate et tenuitatem diversa. Nam et quaedam eorum validiora facilius videntur, sicuti et maiora: minora vero aut tenuiora aut vix videri aut omnino non possunt: quas [[solum]] *res* esse adtrectatione <solum> cognoscimus. Unde contigit multis credere haec non esse corpora, et 10 esse inanes locos; quod est impossibile. [Sicuti enim] < Nec istud enim > quod dicitur extra mundum, si tamen est aliquid, [[nec istud enim]] < inane > < esse > credo, sic adeo plenum [[esse]] intelligibilium rerum, id est divinitati suae similium: ut hic etiam sensibilis mundus qui dicitur sit plenissimus corporum et anima- 15 lium naturae suae et qualitati convenientium. Quorum facies non omnes videmus (pares), sed quasdam ultra modum grandes, quasdam brevissimas, (cum) [aut] propter spatii interiecti longitudinem [aut quod acie sumus obtunsi] tales nobis esse videantur; <quaedam> aut omnino propter nimiam brevitatem (aut tenui- 20 tatem non videmus, ut) multis non esse credantur.

33 b [[Dico nunc daemonas quos credo commorari nobiscum, et heroas, quos inter aeris purissimam partem supra nos et in terram, ubi nec nubilis locus est nec nubibus, nec ex signorum aliquorum agitatione commotio.]] 25

33 c Propter quod, Asclepi, inane nihil dixeris, nisi cuius rei sit inane hoc, quod dicis inane, praedixeris, ut inane ab igni, ab aqua, et his similibus; quod, etsi contigerit videri quid <inane, quod>

⁹ res esse H. Stephanus: eas esse ω
¹⁰ contingit B: contingitur M
¹³ adeo scripsi: habeo M: abeo cett.
¹⁸ cum addidit Thomas 20 quaedam autem scripsi: aut ω 22-25 Cap. 33 b
(dico nunc . . . commotio) hinc transposui: vide post cap. 29 a (p. 368)
²⁸ quid inane, quod inane scripsi: quod inane L: quid inane cett.

importance,¹ I hold that no such thing as void exists, or can have existed in the past, or ever will exist. For all the several parts² of the Kosmos are wholly filled with bodies of various qualities and forms,³ each having its own shape⁴ and magnitude; and thus the Kosmos as a whole is full and complete.⁵ Of these bodies, some are larger, some are smaller; and they differ in the greater or lesser firmness⁶ of their substance. Those of them which are of firmer substance⁷ are more easily seen, as are also those which are larger; whereas smaller bodies, and those which are of less firm substance, are almost or quite invisible, and it is only by the sense of touch⁸ that we are made aware of their existence. Hence many people have come to think that these bodies do not exist,⁹ and that there are void spaces; but that is impossible. And¹⁰ the like holds good of what is called 'the extramundane', if indeed any such thing exists; for I hold that not even the region outside the Kosmos is void, seeing that it is filled with things apprehensible by thought alone, that is, with things of like nature with its own divine being. And so our Kosmos also,—the sensible universe, as it is called,—is wholly filled with bodies, and living bodies, suited to its character. The shapes¹¹ presented by these bodies to our sight differ in magnitude; some¹² of these shapes are very large; others are very small, when the distance of the objects makes them appear small to us; and some things, on account of their extreme minuteness or tenuity, are wholly invisible to us, and are consequently supposed by many people to be non-existent.

And so, Asclepius, you must not call anything void, without 33c saying what the thing in question is void of, as when you say that a thing is void of fire or water or the like. For¹³ it is possible for

¹ *Quod etiam . . . quam plurimis* = δ καὶ μέγα τι τοῖς πλείστοις δοκεῖ εἶναι.

² *Membra* = μόρια.

³ *Qualitate formaque diversis* = τῇ ποιότητι καὶ τῇ μορφῇ διαφέρουσι.

⁴ *Speciem* = ἔβος, ορ σχῆμα.

⁵ *Perfectus* = τέλειος

⁶ *Validitas* = στιβαρότης, ορ στερεότης, ορ στερευμότης. *Tenuitas* = μανότης, ορ ἀραιότης, ορ λεπτομέρεια.

⁷ *Quaedam eorum validiora* = τὰ μὲν στιβαρότερα αὐτῶν.

⁸ *Attractatio* = ἀρᾶ. ⁹ Or 'that these things are not bodies'.

¹⁰ I assume the original to have been something of this sort: οὐδὲ γάρ ίκείνο τὸ ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου λεγόμενον, εἴ γέ τι ἔστι, κενὸν μι δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὔτω γέ πλήρες δν γοητῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῇ θεότητι αὐτοῦ δμοίων. Ήστε καὶ δ αἰσθητὸς κόσμος κ.τ.λ.

¹¹ *Facies* = σχῆματα!

¹² *Quasdam . . . quasdam* = τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ.

¹³ The Greek may have been somewhat as follows: ή γάρ καὶ συμβῆ φαίνεσθαι τι κενὸν εἶναι,—τῶν γάρ τοιούτων κενὸν εἶναι δυνατόν,—όμως πνεύματος γε καὶ ἀρέσ κενὸν οὐκ ἀ δύνατο οὐδὲ τὸ ἐλάχιστον εἶναι τῶν φαινομένων εἶναι κενῶν.

inane possit esse a rebus huiusmodi, «spiritu tamen et aere,» quamvis sit breve [vel magnum] quod inane videtur, [[spiritu tamen et aere]] vacuum esse non possit.

34 a Similiter vero de loco dicendum est; quod vocabulum solum intellectu caret. Locus enim ex eo cuius est quid sit appareat: principali enim dempto, nominis significatio mutilatur. Quare aquae locus, ignis locus, aut his similius, recte dicemus. Sicut enim inane esse aliquid impossibile est, sic et locus solus quid sit dinosci non potest. Nam si posueris locum sine eo cuius est, inanis videbitur locus; quem in mundo esse non credo. Quod 10 si inane nihil est, nec per se quid sit locus appareat. [[nisi ei aut longitudinis aut latitudinis aut altitudinis addideris ut corporibus hominum signa.]])»

18 b (...) Mundus itaque nutrit corpora, animas spiritus. Sensus autem *(his accedit)*, quo dono caelesti sola felix sit humanitas; 15 neque enim omnes, sed pauci, quorum ita mens est, ut tanti beneficii capax esse possit. Ut enim sole mundus, ita mens humana isto clarescit lumine, et eo amplius. Nam sol quicquid inluminat, aliquando terrae interiectu interveniente nocte eius privatur lumine: sensus autem cum semel fuerit animae com- 20 mixtus humanae, fit una ex bene coalescente commixtione [materia] *(natura)*, ita ut numquam huiusmodi mentes caliginum impedianter erroribus.

Unde iuste sensum deorum animam dixerunt. Ego vero nec eorum dico omnium, sed magnorum quorumdam et principalium. 25

6 nomini(s) *B corr.*: nominis *M*: nomine *cell.*
hominum signa *hinc ad cap. 34 b* (p. 322) *transposuit*
aut longitudinis aut latitudinis (*sed -is in -es ubique corr. man. post.*) *B*:
longitudines aut latitudines aut altitudines *cell.*
(*sed et expunct.*) *B*: terrae et lunae interiectu *cell.*

11-13 nisi ei . . .
12 longitudinis
19 terrae et interiectu
24 sensum Thomas:
sensus ω 25 quorumdam scripsi: quorumque ω

a thing to be void of such things as these, and it may consequently come to seem void ; but the thing that seems void, however small it be, cannot possibly be empty of spirit¹ and of air.

And the like must be said of Space.² The word 'space' is 34a unmeaning when it stands alone ; for it is only by regarding something which is in space, that we come to see what space is ; and apart from the thing to which it belongs,³ the meaning of the term 'space' is incomplete. Thus we may rightly speak of the space occupied by water, and fire, and so on, (but not of space alone.) For as there cannot be a void, so it is impossible to determine what space is, if you regard it by itself. For if you assume a space apart from something which is in it, it will follow that there is a void space ; and I hold that there is no such thing as that in the universe. If void has no existence,⁴ then it is impossible to find any real thing answering to the word 'space' taken by itself.

... Gross matter⁵ then is the nutriment⁶ of bodies, and spirit⁷ 18 b is the nutriment of souls.⁸ But besides these, there is mind,⁹ which is a gift from heaven, and one with which mankind alone are blessed,—not indeed¹⁰ all men, but those few whose souls¹¹ are of such quality as to be capable of receiving so great a boon. By the light of mind the human soul¹¹ is illumined,¹² as the world is illumined by the sun,—nay, in yet fuller measure. For all things on which the sun shines are deprived of his light from time to time by the interposition of the earth, when night comes on ; but when mind has once been interfused with the soul of man, there results from the intimate blending of mind with soul a thing¹³ that is one and indivisible, so that such men's thought is never obstructed by the darkness of error.¹⁴

Hence it has been rightly said that the souls of gods consist wholly of mind. But for my part, I hold that, even as regards

¹ Or 'of wind' (*πνεῦμα*).

² *Locus* = *τόπος*.

³ *Principali dempto* : lit. 'when the primary thing is taken away'. Perhaps *διάλογος τοῦ πρωτηγονούμενου*.

⁴ *Nihil* = *μὴ ὅν*.

⁵ *Mundus* = *ὑάλη* (which must here be taken to mean the two grosser elements, earth and water).

⁶ *Nutrit* = *τρέφει*.

⁷ *Spiritus* = *πνεῦμα* (which consists of the two finer elements, air and fire).

⁸ *Animas* = *ψυχάς*. ⁹ *Sensus* = *νοῦς* ('mind' or 'intellect' or 'reason').

¹⁰ *Negue enim* = *οὐ μήτ, οὐδὲ μὲν οὖν*? ¹¹ *Mens* = *ψυχή*?

¹² *Clarescit* = *φαντίζεται*.

¹³ *Natura* = *φύσις*.

¹⁴ *Caligimum erroribus* = *τῷ σκότῳ τῆς πλάνης*?

19 a — *Ascl.* Quos dicis [vel rerum capita vel initia primordiorum],
 o Trismegiste? — *Trism.* Magna tibi pando, et divina nudo
 mysteria, cuius rei initium facio exoptato favore caelesti. Deorum
 genera multa sunt, eorumque omnium pars intellegibilis, alia vero
 sensibilis. Intellegibiles dicuntur non ideo, quod putentur non 5
 subiacere sensibus nostris; magis enim ipsos sentimus quam eos
 quos visibles nuncupamus, sicuti disputatio perdocebit, et tu,
 si intendas, poteris pervidere. Sublimis etenim ratio [[eoque]]
 divin[i]or[um], «eoque» ultra hominum mentes intentionesque
 consistens, si non attentiore aurium obsequio verba loquentis 10
 acceperis, transvolabit et transfluet, aut magis refluet suique se
 fontis liquoribus miscebit. —

«*Ascl.* Haec ergo ipsa *(divinorum)*, ut dicis, *(ratio)* quae est,
34 b o Trismegiste?» — «*Trism.* [His ergo sic se habentibus] O Asclepi
 [et vos qui adestis], scito[te] intellegibilem mundum, id est, qui 15
 mentis *solum* obtutu dinoscitur, esse incorporel, nec eius
 naturae misceri aliquid posse corporale, id est, quod possit
 qualitate, quantitate, numerisque dinosci: in ipso enim nihil tale
 consistit,» «nisi ei aut longitudinis aut latitudinis aut altitudinis
 addideris, ut corporibus [hominum], signa.» 20

19 b (...) Sunt ergo omnium *specierum*¹ principes dii *(intellegi-*
biles), «*quorum* est [princeps] *(appellatio)* οὐσία²». Hos
 consecuntur dii [[*quorum* est princeps οὐσία]] hi sensibiles,
 utriusque originis consimiles sua, qui per sensibilem naturam

6 ipsos δ: ipse *B*: ipsa *M*: om. *G* 8–9 ratio divinorum, eoque ultra
 scripti: ratio eoque divinior ultra ω 9 mentes intentionesque ω: fortasse
 mentis intentionem 10 loquentis *Thomas*: loquentia *B*: loquentia *celt.*
 11 acceperis *Thomas*: acceperit ω 13–14 haec ergo ... Trismegiste *huc a*
cap. 18 a transposui 14–19 *Cap. 34 b* (his ergo ... tale consistit) *huc a*
transposui 15 scito *scripti*: scitote ω 16 solum *scripti*: solo ω
 19–20 nisi ei ... signa *huc a cap. 34 a transposui* 21 Fortasse omnium
 (substantiae) specierum 22 consecuntur *B*: sequuntur *celt.* 24 viris-
 que *BM*: utriusque *celt.*

the gods, this cannot be said of all, but of certain great and chief gods only.—*Ascl.* And which are they, Trismegistus?—*Trism.* It **19 a**
 is a weighty secret that I am about to disclose, a holy mystery that I am about to reveal to you;¹ and I pray for the grace² of Heaven to aid me as I speak. There are many kinds of gods; some of them are apprehensible by thought alone, and others are perceptible by sense.³ The gods apprehensible by thought are so called, not because it is held that they are not subject to our perception; for we perceive⁴ them⁵ more truly than we perceive those gods whom we call visible,⁶ as my discourse will show, and as you will be able to see for yourself,—but only if you exert⁷ to the uttermost your powers of thought. For so lofty⁸ is the doctrine of things divine,⁹ that it is beyond the reach of any effort of merely human thought; and if you do not hearken to my words with keen attention, my teaching will wing its way beyond you, and flow past you, or rather, will flow back thither whence it came, and mingle with its source.—*Ascl.* And what then, Trismegistus, is this doctrine of things divine, of which you speak?—*Trism.* Be **34 b**
 it known to you that the intelligible¹⁰ Kosmos, that is to say, that Kosmos which is discerned by thought alone,¹¹ is incorporeal,¹² and that nothing corporeal can be mingled with its being,—nothing, that is, which admits of determination by quality,¹³ magnitude, or number; for nothing of this kind exists in it. You cannot measure it as you would measure a body, affixing marks of length and breadth and height.

. . . There are then certain gods apprehensible by thought **19 b** alone, who preside over all departments of the world, and are called 'Rulers over material things';¹⁴ and subordinate to them are the gods perceptible by sense. These sensible gods bear the likeness of both the sources of their being; and these are they

¹ *Tibi*, singular.

² *Favor* = χάρις.

³ *Pars intellegibilis*, *alia vero sensibilis* = οἱ μὲν νοητοί, οἱ δὲ αἰσθητοί.

⁴ *Sensibus* = αἰσθήσει, and *sentimus* = αἰσθάνομεθα? Or, *sensibus* = θεωρίᾳ, and *sentimus* = θεωροῦμεν?

⁵ *Ipsos* = αὐτούς.

⁶ *Visibiles* = διαρρέουσα.

⁷ *Intendere* = ἴντενειν, or ἐπιβάλλειν?

⁸ *Sublimis* = ὑψηλός.

⁹ *Ratio divinorum* = δὲ τῶν θείων λόγος.

¹⁰ *Intellegibilis* = νοητός.

¹¹ *Qui mentis solum obtutu dinoscitur* = νοήσει θεωρητός.

¹² *Incorporealem* = ἀσώματον; *corporale* = σωματικόν.

¹³ *Qualitas* = ποιότης or ποιόν.

¹⁴ Literally, either 'rulers of substances' (*ἀρχοντες οὐσιῶν*) or 'sources or causes of substances' (*ἀρχαὶ οὐσιῶν*). The Greek may perhaps have been *εἰσὶν οὖν θεοὶ τινες νοητοί, πάντων τῶν τῆς οὐσίας εἰδῶν ἀρχοντες, ὃν προσηγορία οὐσιάρχου*.

conficiunt omnia, alter per alterum, unusquisque opus suum inluminans.

Caeli, vel quidquid est quod eo nomine comprehenditur, οὐσιάρχης est Iuppiter (*πατερός*); per caelum enim Iuppiter omnibus praebet vitam. 5

[Solis οὐσιάρχης lumen est; bonum enim luminis per orbem nobis solis infunditur.]

<Decanorum> [[xxxvi quorum vocabulum est Horoscopi]], id est, eodem loco semper defixorum siderum <(xxxvi quorum vocabulum est Horoscopi)>, horum οὐσιάρχης (vel princeps) est quem 10 Παντόμορφον (vel Omnipotem) vocant, qui [diversis] speciebus (*singulis*) diversas formas facit.

Septem sphaerae quae vocantur habent οὐσιάρχην, id est sui principem, quam Fortunam dicunt aut Εἰμαρμένην, *(a)* qua immutantur omnia lege naturae, stabilitate firmissima sempiterna 15 agitatione variata.

Aer vero organum est vel machina omnium, per quam omnia fiunt; est autem οὐσιάρχης huius secundus *(vitae)*

27 c <(dispensator, qui [est] inter caelum et terram obtinet locum, quem Iovem *(νέατον)* vocamus. 20

Terrae vero et mari dominatur Iuppiter Plutonius; et hic nutritor est animantium mortalium et fructiferarum *(ar)borum* omnium, *(cuius)* viribus fructus [arbusta et] terra'e vegetantur.

Aliorum vero vires et effectus per omnia quae sunt distribuuntur. 25

27 b <[Ac per hoc] Deus, supra verticem summi caeli consistens, ubique est, omniaque circum inspicit: *hic* est enim ultra caelum locus, sine stellis, ab omnibus rebus corpulentis alienus.>

13–14 οὐσιάρχην . . . principem scripsi: οὐσιάρχας . . . principes ω 14 a
qua scripsi: quibus ω 15 lege GL: leges cett. | stabilitate F: stabilitate
teque cett. 17 quam B: quem cett. 19–25 Cap. 27 c (dispensator
. . . distribuuntur) *huc transposui* 22 arborum scripsi: horum ω
23 terrae scripsi: terra ω 24–25 distribuuntur F: distribuentur cett.
26–28 Cap. 27 b (ac per hoc deus . . . alienus) *huc transposui* 27 huic
scripsi: sic ω

13–15. Lydus *De mensibus* (Wuensch) 4. 7: ὅτι τὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ εἰμαρμένης
ἐπὶ τῆς γενέσεως προβέβληται ὄνομα· καὶ μάρτυς Ἐρμῆς, ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ τελείῳ
λόγῳ οὗτος εἰπάν·

αἱ καλούμεναι ἔπτα σφαιραι ἔχοντιν (οὐσιάρχην τὴν
καλουμένην τύχην ἡ εἰμαρμένην, ἣτις πάντα ἀλλοιοῖ [καὶ ἐπὶ¹
τῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐἧ μένειν].

(ἔχοντιν οὐσιάρχην scripsi: έχοντιν ἀρχὴν Wuensch)

who make all things throughout the sensible world, working one through another, each pouring light¹ into the things he makes.

The Ruler of Heaven, or of whatsoever is included under the name 'Heaven', is Zeus (*Hypatos*²); for life is given to all beings by Zeus through the medium of Heaven.

The Ruler of the Decani,—that is, the thirty-six fixed stars which are called Horoscopi,—is the god named Pantomorphos ; he it is that gives to the individuals of each kind their diverse forms.

The seven spheres, as they are called, have as their Ruler the deity called Fortune or Destiny, who changes all things according to the law of natural growth, working with a fixity which is immutable, and which yet is varied by everlasting movement.

The air is the instrument⁴ with which all these gods work, and by means of which all is done. The Ruler of the air is the subordinate distributor⁵ of life; to him belongs the region 270 between heaven and earth; and we call him Zeus (Neatos⁶).

Earth and sea are ruled by Zeus Chthonios;⁷ he it is that supplies nutriment to all mortal beings that have soul,⁸ and to all trees that bear fruit; and it is by his power⁹ that the fruits of the earth are produced.

And there are other gods beside, whose powers and operations¹⁰
are distributed through all things that exist.

But God, who dwells above the summit of the highest heaven, **27 b**
is present everywhere, and from all around he watches all things ;
his abode is beyond heaven, in a starless region, far removed from
all things corporeal.

¹ Or 'the light of life'. *Illuminans* = φωτίζων; and φῶς here implies ζωή.

² I. e. "highest": ³ I. e. "giver of all manner of tonics"
⁴ Organum vel machine = ὁργανός. ⁵ Dispensator = ταμίας.

⁴ Organum vel machina = ὄργανον.
⁵ I.e. 'last' or 'lowest'.

⁶ I. e. 'last' or 'lowest'.

¹⁰ *Animantium* = ἔμψυχων, i. e. animals.

¹⁰ *Effectus* = ἐνέργεια.

19 c (Hoc modo coniuncta sunt in>mortalibus mortalia [et his similia], «sensibiliaque insensibilibus adnexa sunt ; summa vero gubernationis summo illi domino paret.») His ergo ita se habentibus, ab imo ad summum se admoventibus sic sibi conexa sunt omnia, pertinentia ad se, [at de mortalibus mortalia] [[sensibilia- 5 que insensibilibus adnexa sunt ; summa vero gubernationis summo illi domino paret]] [vel] *(ut videantur)* esse non multa, aut potius unum. Ex uno etenim cuncta pendentia ex eoque defluentia, cum distantia videntur, creduntur esse quam plurima, adunata vero, unum. [vel potius duo, unde fiunt omnia, et a quo fiunt, id est, 10 de materia qua fiunt, et ex eius voluntate cuius nutu efficiuntur.]

34 c «Hic ergo sensibilis qui dicitur mundus receptaculum est omnium sensibilium specierum «(vel) qualitatum [[vel]] corporum ; quae omnia sine deo vegetari non possunt. Omnia enim deus, et ab eo omnia, et eius omnia voluntatis «(et prudentiae 15 inimitabilis)). Quod totum est bonum (et) decens, [[et prudens inimitabile]] et ipsi soli sensibile atque intellegibile : et sine hoc nec fuit aliquid nec est nec erit. Omnia enim ab eo et in ipso et per ipsum, et variae et multiformes qualitates, et magnae quantitates et omnes mensuras excedentes magnitudinis, et omnisformes 20 species. Quae si intellexeris, o Asclepi, gratias acturus es deo.

Sin totum animadvertes, vera ratione perdisces mundum ipsum sensibilem et quae in eo sunt omnia a superiore illo mundo quasi

17 b [ex] vestimentum esse contexta.» «Est enim (ὦλη)

cava mundi rotunditas in modum spherae

25

ipsa sibi qualitatis vel formae suae causa invisibilis tota :

quippe cum quemcumque in ea summum subter despiciendi causa dele-
geris locum, ex eo, in imo quid sit, videre non possis :

propter quod multis locis instar qualitatemque habere creditur.

4 atmoventibus *B* : admoventibus *MG* : id moventibus *PL* : moventibus *F*
 5 omni *B* : omnia *celt.* | at de *B* : ac de *MGP* : et de *L* : ac (om.
 de) *F* 6 gubernationis *G* : gubernatoris *celt.* : gubernatori *Thomas*
 12-24 Cap. 34 c (hic ergo . . . esse contexta) *huc transposui* 20 magni-
 tudinis *scripti* : magnitudines *w* 21 quae *scripti* : qua(s) (corr. man.
 post.) *B* : quas *celt.* 22 sin *G* : si in *celt.* 23-24 quasi vestimentum
 esse contexta *scripti* : quasi ex vestimento esse contexta *w* (contexta corr. man.
 recent. *B*) 24-11 *infra* : cap. 17 b (est enim . . . inferi nuncupantur) *hui*
transposui 20 loci *Thomas* : locis *w*

Thus mortal things are joined to things immortal, and things ^{19 c} perceptible by sense are linked to things beyond the reach of sense;¹ but the supreme control is subject to the will of the Master² who is high above all. And this being so, all things are linked together, and connected one with another in a chain extending from the lowest to the highest; so that we see that they are not many, or rather, that all are one. For inasmuch as all things hang on the One and flow from the One, we think indeed that they are many when we look at them apart, but when we regard them as united,³ we hold them to be one.

This sensible⁴ Kosmos then is the recipient⁵ of all the sensible forms⁶ or qualities of bodies; and all bodies can receive life only from God. For God is all things; from him are all things; and all things are dependent on his will, and on his inimitable wisdom.⁷ And this whole sum of things is good and beautiful,⁸ and is apprehensible by sense and thought to God alone. Without God nothing has been or is or will be; from God and in God and through God are all things,—all the various and multiform qualities, the vast and measureless magnitudes, and the forms of every aspect.⁹ If you learn to understand this, Asclepius, you will render thanks to God.

And if you consider the whole, you will learn that in truth¹⁰ the sensible Kosmos itself, with all things that are therein, is woven like a garment by that higher Kosmos.¹¹ For matter,¹² ^{17 b} having no quality or form of its own to make it visible, is in itself¹³ wholly invisible;¹⁴ and for that reason many people think that it is like space, and has the properties of space. It is only by

¹ *Sensibilia* = αἰσθητά: *insensibilia* = ἀναίσθητα (i. e. νοητά).

² *Dominus* = κύρος, or δεσπότης.

³ *Adunata* = ἡγωμένα.

⁴ *Sensibilis* = αἰσθητός.

⁵ *Receptaculum* = ὑποδοχή.

⁶ *Sensibiles species* = τὰ αἰσθητὰ εἶδη.

⁷ *Prudentia inimitabilis* = ἡ ἀμύντος πρόνοια ορ σοφία.

⁸ *Bonum et decens* = ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλόν.

⁹ *Omniformes species* = παντόμορφα εἴδη.

¹⁰ *Vera ratione* = κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ (or ὄρθον) λόγον.

¹¹ I. e. the intelligible Kosmos.

¹² This translation of cap. 17 b gives what I suppose to have been the meaning of the passage as originally written. In the traditional Latin text, cap. 17 b has been altered, by interpolations, into a statement to the effect that 'one cannot see into the depths of the earth, because it is a solid globe'.

¹³ *Sibi ipsi* = αὐτῇ καθ' αὐτήν.

¹⁴ More literally, 'matter is in itself wholly invisible, as far as depends on any quality or form of its own'. *Causa* = ἔνεκα.

Per formas enim solas specierum, quarum imaginibus videtur
 «quasi» insculpta, [[quasi]] visibilis creditur :

cum depicta monstratur :

re autem vera est sibi ipsi invisibilis semper,

ex quo eius imum, vel pars *(ima)*, si locus est *(imus)* in sphaera, Graece 5

Ἄιδης dicitur, siquidem *ἰδεῖν* Graece videre dicatur, quo(d) visu imum
 sphaerae caret: unde et ideae dicuntur species,

quod sunt visibles formae *((specierum omnium) quae (omnibus))*
 insunt uniuscuiusque, sicuti est, tota substantia.)»

Ab eo itaque quod visu priventur, Graece *Ἄιδης*, ab eo quod in imo 10
 sphaerae sunt, Latine inferi nuncupantur.)»

. . .) «Species enim, quae divina est, incorporalis est, ut quicquid mente comprehenditur.

Cum itaque haec duo, ex quibus constant [forma et] corpora,
 incorporalia sint,)» (. . .).

35 «Unumquodque enim [genus] animal[ium], o Asclepi, (generis)
 cuiuscunque, vel mortalis vel inmortalis, vel rationalis (vel irrationalis),
 sive sit animans sive sine anima sit, prout cuique est genus,
 sic singula generis sui imagines habent. Et quamvis unumquodque animal[is genus] omnem generis sui possideat formam, in 20
 eadem forma singula tamen sui dissimilia sunt: ut hominum
 genus quamvis sit uniforme, ut homo dinosci ex aspectu possit,
 singuli tamen in eadem forma sui dissimiles sunt. [[Species
 enim, quae divina est, incorporalis est, et quicquid mente comprehenditur. Cum itaque haec duo ex quibus constant forma et 25
 corpora incorporalia sint,]] (Etenim) impossibile est formam unam-
 quamque alteri simillimam nasci horarum et climatum distantibus
 punctis; sed immutantur totiens, quot hora momenta habet
 circuli circumcurrentis, in quo est ille Omnisiformis quem diximus
 deus. Species ergo permanet, ex se totiens pariens imagines 30
 tantas tamque diversas, quanta habet conversio mundi momenta;

5 vel pars *ima*, si locus est *imus* in *scripti*: vel pars (*par M*) si locus est in
ω: vel pars (. . .) si locus est in *Goldbacher*: vel pars (*infera*), s. l. e. i. *Kosiol*:
*'fortasse ex quo eius imum [vel pars], (imo) si locus est in' Thomas 8 quod
 Thomas: quo *ω* 8 quod sunt *scripti*: quod sint *man. 2 B, ed. Rom.*: quo
 sint *cett.* 8-9 *specierum . . . substantia huc a cap. 18a transposui* 12 ut
Thomas: et *ω* 14-15 *Fortasse Cum itaque haec duo ex quibus constant*
((corpora)), forma et (ὑλη) []], incorporalia sint (= ἀσωμάτων οὐν ὅντων τῶν δύο
τοίτων τέ ἀν συνέστηκε σώματα, τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τῆς ὕλης) ! Cum itaque haec dno,
 ex quibus constant formae, corpora (et) incorporalia sint Thomas 16 *sqq.*:
cap. 35 et 36 (unumquodque enim . . . splendore redditum) huc transposui
*16 animal *scripti*: genus animalium *ω* 17-18 vel irrationalis addidit*
*Goldbacher 20 animal *scripti*: animalis genus *ω***

reason of the shapes¹ derived from those ideal forms² in the likeness of which we see it carved, so to speak, that men suppose it to be visible; but in reality, matter in itself is ever invisible; for the substance³ of each thing, in so far as the thing is actually existent, consists wholly of the visible shapes which are present in all things.

. . . For the ideal form,⁴ which is divine, is incorporeal, as are all things apprehensible by thought alone.

Since therefore the two constituents of which bodies consist (namely, form and matter) are incorporeal, . . .

For every living being,⁵ Asclepius, whatever be its kind,⁶ and 35 whether that kind be mortal or immortal, rational or irrational,⁷ endowed with soul or devoid of soul,⁸ bears the likeness⁹ of its kind, according as the character of that kind may be. But though each living being has in all respects the form¹⁰ which is proper to its kind, the individuals, while one and all have the same form, yet differ among themselves. For instance, though the human race has a common form, so that we can know from a man's appearance¹¹ that he is a man, at the same time individual men, for all their sameness of form, yet differ one from another. For it is impossible that any single form should come into being which is exactly like a second, if they originate at different points of time, and at places differently situated; but the forms change at every moment in each hour of the revolution of that celestial circle¹² in which resides the god whom we have named Pantomorphos. Thus the type¹³ persists unchanged, but generates at successive instants copies of itself as numerous¹⁴ and different as are the moments in the revolution of the sphere of heaven;¹⁵

¹ *Formae* = μορφαι (or σχήματα?).

² *Species* = εἶδη or ιδέαι.

³ *Substantia* = οὐσία (or ἰνόστασις, or ὑπάρκεια?).

⁴ *Species* = εἶδος or ιδέα.

⁵ *Animal* = ζῷον ἔχον.

⁶ *Rationalis* = λογικός: *irrationalis* = ἀλογος.

⁷ *Animans* = ζῶντος: *sine anima* = ἀζῶντος.

⁸ *Imago* = εἰκὼν (or μίμημα).

⁹ *Aspectus* = ὄψις.

¹⁰ *Forma* = μορφή, or εἶδος?

¹¹ *I. c.* the Zodiac, over which presides 'the god who gives all forms'.

¹² Or 'the generic form'.

¹³ *Tantas . . . quanta* = τοσαύτας . . . στα.

¹⁴ *Mundus* = οὐρανός, or κόσμος in the sense of οὐρανός.

qui(a) mundus in conversione mutatur, species vero nec mutatur nec convertitur. Sic generum [[singulorum]] formae sunt permanentes, «singula» in eadem [[sua]] forma «*sui*» dissimilia.—

36 *Ascl.* Et mundus speciem mutat, o Trismegiste? — *Trism.* Vides ergo, o Asclepi, tibi omnia quasi dormienti esse narrata. Quid est enim mundus, aut ex quibus constat, nisi ex omnibus natis? Ergo hoc vis dicere de caelo, terra, et elementis. Nam quae alia magis frequenter mutantur in species? Caelum umescens vel arescens, vel frigescens vel ignescens, vel clarescens vel sordescens, in una caeli specie hae sunt quae saepe alternantur species. 10 Terra vero speciei sua multas inmutationes habet semper, et cum parturit fruges, et cum eadem partus nutricat suos, fructuum omnium cum reddit varias diversasque qualitates et quantitates [[atque stationes aut cursus]], et ante omnia arborum «*qualitates*», florum, bacarum [[*qualitates*]] odores, sapores [[*species*]]. 15 «*A[t]qua* stationes aut cursus» (mutat.) Ignis facit conversiones plurimas, atque divinas (recipit) «*species*». Solis etenim et lunae omniformes imagines sunt; sunt enim quasi speculorum nostrorum similes, imaginum similitudines aemulo splendore redditantium.—»)

(* * * * * *)

20

20 a *Ascl.* Alia haec iterum ratio quae est, o Trismegiste? — *Trism.* Talis, o Asclepi. Deus etenim vel pater vel dominus omnium quocumque [alio] nomine [[ab hominibus sanctius religiosiusque]] nuncupatur [quod] inter nos intellectus nostri causa, «*ab hominibus sanctius religiosiusque*» debet esse sacratum tanti [[etenim]] 25 numinis contemplatione: nullo «*etenim*» ex his nominibus eum definite nuncupabimus. Si enim vox hoc est, ex aere spiritu percuesso sonus, declarans omnem hominis «voluntatem vel sensum»

I quia Kroll: qui ω 3 dissimilia scripsi: dissimiles ω 14 omnia scripsi: 'fortasse omnia' Thomas: omnis ω 17 et post lunae add. MPL: et (omnium stellarum) Koziol 19–20 redditum ω: fortasse reddentes 21 Alia Asclepio attribui. Edd priores verba sic dividunt: cap. 19 c fin.: (Trism.) '... nutu efficiuntur alia.' cap. 20 a init.: (Ascl.) 'Haec iterum ratio ...' 22 rialis BM: talis coll. 22–23 omnium quocumque BM: omnium vel quocumque cell.

for the sphere of heaven changes as it revolves, but the type neither changes nor revolves. Thus the generic forms persist unchanged, but the individuals, for all their sameness of generic form, yet differ one from another.—

Ascl. And does the Kosmos also, Trismegistus, change its **36** forms?¹—*Trism.* Why, you must have been asleep, Asclepius; you cannot have heard what I have been telling you all this while. What is the Kosmos, and of what is it composed, if not of things which have all come into being?² When you speak of the Kosmos then, you are speaking of sky, and earth, and the elements.³ And do not these change their forms as often as anything that exists? The sky⁴ is moist and dry, cold and hot, bright and obscured by turns; these are the rapidly alternating (sensible) forms included under the one (ideal or universal) form of the sky. The earth is ever passing through many changes of form; it generates produce, it nourishes the produce it has generated, it yields all manner of crops, with manifold differences of quality and quantity; and above all, it puts forth many sorts of trees, differing in the scent of their flowers and the taste of their fruits. Water takes different forms, now standing and now running. Fire undergoes many changes, and assumes godlike forms; thus the aspects⁵ of the sun and moon pass through all manner of forms; they are like our mirrors, and reproduce (the ideal or universal form) in visible copies with rival brilliance.

* * * * *

Ascl. And what is this other doctrine,⁶ Trismegistus?—**20 a**
Trism. It is this, Asclepius. Whether he of whom I speak be called God, or Father, or Master of all, whatever be the name by which we name him to convey our meaning in our talk one with another, it is for men to hallow the name⁷ with a higher sanctity by contemplation of his supreme divinity; for his being cannot be accurately⁸ described by any of the names we call him. For if a word is but a sound made by the impact of our breath⁹ upon the air, whereby a man makes known any thought which has

¹ Species here = μορφή or (ἀσθετόν) εἶδος in the sense of *forma visibilis*.

² Εἰς ὅλην τὴν φύσιν = τὰ πάντα τὸν γένος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

³ Elementa = στοιχεῖα (including the heavenly bodies).

⁴ Cælum = τὸν περίχον, or οὐρανός in the sense of τὸν περίχον, i.e. the atmosphere, and not the region of the stars.

⁵ Imagines = δῆμοι?

⁶ Alia . . . quae est = οὐδὲ ἄλλος αὐτὸς οὐτος τίς ἔστιν;

⁷ Debet esse sacramentum = χρῆται ἀγιάσεσθαι τὸν ὄντα.

⁸ Definita = διοριστικῶς?

⁹ Spiritus = πνεῦμα or πνοή.

quem forte ex sensibus mente perceperit, cuius nominis tota substantia paucis composita syllabis definita atque circumscripta est, ut esset in homine necessarium vocis auriumque commercium, simul etiam et sensus et spiritus et aeris (nomina) et omnia in his aut per haec aut *de* his nomen est totum dei. Non enim spero 5 totius maiestatis effectorem omniumque rerum patrem vel dominum uno posse quamvis e multis composito nuncupari nomine, hunc vero innomine(m) vel potius omninomine(m) (esse), siquidem is sit unus [et] omnia, ut sit necesse aut omnia [[esse]] eius nomine, aut ipsum omnium nominibus nuncupari.

10

20 b Hic ergo, solus [ut] omni[a] utriusque sexus fecunditate plenisimus, semper *bonitatis* praegnans sua, parit semper quicquid voluerit procreare. Voluntas eius (eadem) est bonitas omnis. Haec [[eadem]] bonitas omnium rerum est ex divinitate eius nata [natura], uti sint omnia (fecunda) [[sicuti sunt et fuerunt]], et 15 futuris omnibus dehinc (sicuti sunt et fuerunt) natura[m] ex se nascendi sufficiat. Haec ergo ratio, o Asclepi, tibi sit redditus, **21** quare et quomodo fiant omnia (utriusque sexus).—*Ascl.* Utriusque sexus ergo deum dicis, o Trismegiste?—*Trism.* Non deum solum, Asclepi, sed omnia animalia et inanimalia. Impossible est enim 20 aliquid eorum quae sunt infecundum esse: fecunditate enim dempta ex omnibus quae sunt, impossibile erit semper esse quae sunt. Ego enim et in naturam et sensum et naturam, et mundum dico in se continere naturam et nata omnia conservare. Procreatione enim uterque plenus est sexus, et eius utriusque 25 conexio aut, quod est verius, unitas incomprehensibilis est; quem sive Cupidinem sive Venerem sive utrumque recte poteris nuncu-

4 omnia scripsi: omnium ω 5 aut de his *Thomas*: autem his *B*: his autem *MG*: aut cum his δ : fortasse aut ex his 8 innominem *Hildebrand*: innomine *BMF*: in nomine *GP*: uno nomine *L* | omninominem *Hildebrand*: omninomine *BPF*: soninomine *M*: omni nomine *G*: omnium nomine *L* | esse *huc transposuit Thomas* 11 solus omni utriusque *script*: solus ut omnia utraque ω 12 *bonitatis* *scripsi*: voluntatis ω 16 natura *Reitzenstein*: naturam ω 18–19 (*Trism.*) ‘... quomodo fiant omnia.’—(*Ascl.*) ‘Utriusque sexus ergo ...’ *Kroll et Thomas*: (*Trism.*) ‘... quomodo fiant omnia utriusque sexus.’—(*Ascl.*) ‘Ergo ...’ *edd. priores* 20 enim ut *BMP* (*sed ut eras, M*): enim *cell.* 23 in (ante naturam) *B*: *om. cell.* | Fortasse Ego enim et (deum) ...

entered his mind through his senses, whenever he wills to do so;¹ and if a name is nothing more than a few syllables, and is restricted in length, so as to render possible the indispensable intercourse of man with man by speech and hearing;—if this is so, the full name of God must include the names of sense, and breath, and air, and all names that are contained in sense and breath and air,² or are uttered by means of them, or are composed of them. For I deem it impossible that he who is the maker of the universe in all its greatness, the Father or Master of all things, can be named by a single name, though it be made up of ever so many others; I hold that he is nameless, or rather, that all names are names of him.³ For he in his unity is all things; so that we must either call all things by his name, or call him by the names of all things.

He, filled with all the fecundity of both sexes in one, and ever **20 b** teeming with his own goodness,⁴ unceasingly brings into being all that he has willed to generate; and all that he wills is good. From his divine being has sprung the goodness of all things in this world below; and hence it is that all things are productive, and that their procreative power is adequate to ensure that all shall hereafter be as it is now, and as it has been in the past. Take this, Asclepius, as my answer to the question why and how it comes to pass that all kinds of beings are male and female.⁵—

Ascl. You say then, Trismegistus, that God is bisexual?—**21**
Trism. Yes, Asclepius; and not God alone, but all kinds of beings, whether endowed with soul or soulless.⁶ Nothing that exists can be barren; for if all things that now exist are deprived of fertility, it will be impossible for the now existing races to endure for ever. I tell you (that God eternally generates the Kosmos,) and that the Kosmos possesses generative power, and thereby maintains all races that have come into being. For either sex is filled with procreative force; and in that conjunction of the two sexes, or, to speak more truly, that fusion of them into one,⁷ which may be rightly named Eros, or Aphrodite, or both at

¹ *Declarans omnem . . . mente perceperit*: perhaps something like δηλοῖ πάντα διὰ βούλεται, εἴ τι φαντασιώμενος τυγχάνει. (*Vel* may have been added by the translator.) *Sensum* perhaps = φανταστῶν: *ex sensibus* = ἐκ τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

² *Omnia in his* = πάντα ἡν τούτοις.

³ *Innominem* = ἀνόμινον: *omnipotencem* = παντάνυμον.

⁴ *Bonitas* = ἀγαθότης or ἀγαθόν.

⁵ *Utriusque sexus* = ἀρσενόθηλυς.

⁶ *Animalia* = ἔμφυχα: *inanimalia* = ἄψυχα.

⁷ *Unitas* = ἕνωσις.

pare. Hoc ergo omni vero verius manifestiusque mente percip*(i)*to, quod ex *(d)om(i)nō* illo totius naturae deo hoc sit cunctis in aeternum procreandi inventum tributumque mysterium, cui summa caritas, laetitia, hilaritas, cupiditas, amore divinus innatus est. Et dicendum foret quanta sit eius mysterii vis atque 5 necessitas, nisi ex sui contemplatione unicuique ex intimo sensu nota esse potuisset. Si enim illud extremum temporis *((animadvertis))*, quo ex crebro adtritu *(eo)* pervenimus ut utraque in utramque *(se)* fundat natura, progeniem *[[animadvertis]]* ut altera *(emittat)*, avide altera rapiat interiusque recondat, denique eo 10 tempore ex commixtione communi et virtutem feminae marum adipiscuntur, et mares semineo torpore lassescunt. Effectus itaque huius tam blandi necessariique mysterii in occulto perpetratur, ne vulgo inridentibus inperitis utriusque naturae divinitas ex commixtione sexus cogatur erubescere, multo magis etiam si 15 visibus inreligiosorum hominum subicia[n]tur.

22 a Sunt autem non multi, aut admودum pauci, ita ut numerari etiam *((possint))*, in mundo *[[possint]]* religiosi, *[[unde contingit in multis remanere malitiam,]]* defectu prudentiae scientiaeque rerum omnium quae sunt, *((unde contingit in multis remanere 20 malitiam))*. Ex intellectu enim rationis divinae, qua constituta sunt omnia, contemptus *((mundi totius))* medelaque nascitur vitiorum *[[mundi totius]]*: perseverante autem inperitia atque inscientia, vitia omnia convalescunt, vulnerantque animam insanabilis *'vitiis'*; quae infecta isdem atque vitiata quasi venenis 25 tumescit, nisi eorum quorum animarum disciplina et intellectus summa curatio est.

22 b Si solis *(his)* ergo et paucis hoc proderit, dignum est hunc

1-2 percipito *Hildebrand*: percepto ω 2 domino *Kroll*: omni ω:
seclusit Thomas | deo esti cunctis *B*: deo est cunctis *M*: deo hoc sit
 cunctis *cett.* 8 crebro *MG*: cerebro *B* | adtritu *MG*: adtritum *B*:
 ad ritum δ | perveniamus (a *eras.*) *B*: pervenimus *cett.* 10 altera
scripti: alterius ω 11 communi et *Thomas*: communiat (vel et *super-*
script. man. 2) *B*: communi (*om. et*) *cett.* 14 nec *BM*: ne *cett.*
 16 subiciatur *scripti*: subiciantur ω 18 contingit *BMF*: contingit *GPL*
 22 medelaque *ed. Rom.*: medullaque ω (vel medela *superscript. man. 2 B*)
 25 vitiis ω: *'fortasse malis'* *Thomas*

once, there is a deeper meaning than man can comprehend. It is a truth to be accepted as sure and evident above all other truths, that by God, the Master of all generative power, has been devised and bestowed upon all creatures this sacrament of eternal reproduction, with all the affection, all the joy and gladness, all the yearning and the heavenly love that are inherent in its being. And there were need that I should tell of the compelling force with which this sacrament binds man and woman together, were it not that each one of us, if he directs his thought upon himself, can learn it from his inmost feeling. For if you note that supreme moment when, through interaction¹ without pause, we come at last to this, that either sex infuses itself into the other, the one giving forth its issue, and the other eagerly taking hold on it and laying it up within, you will find that at that moment, through the intermingling of the two natures, the female acquires masculine vigour, and the male is relaxed in feminine languor. And so this sacramental act, sweet as it is, and a thing that must needs be done, is done in secret, lest, if it were done openly, the ignorant should mock, and thereby the deity manifested in either sex through the mingling of male and female should be put to the blush,—and the more so, if the act is exposed to the eyes of impious men.

Now there are not many pious men in the world,—nay, there are **22 a** so few that they could easily be numbered ;² for men lack wisdom and knowledge of all truth,³ and hence it is that in the many⁴ vice persists. For if a man understands the design of God⁵ by which all things are ordained, he will despise all material things, and his vices will be healed ; but when folly and ignorance⁶ continue, all the vices grow in strength, and lacerate the soul with incurable sores ; and infected and corrupted by the poison, the soul breaks out in tumours, so to speak, save in the case of those whose souls are cured⁷ by the sovereign remedy of knowledge and intelligence.⁸

If then my words are likely to be profitable only to such men **22 b**

¹ *Ex crebro adtritus = δὰ τυκνῆς παρατριβής.*

² *Ita ut numerari etiam possint = εὐαριθμητοί.*

³ *Prudentia = φρόνησις! Scientia rerum omnium quae sunt = η πάντων τῶν ὄντων ἐπιστήμη (or γνῶσις)?*

⁴ *In multis = ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς.*

⁵ *Ex intellectu rationis divinae = ἐκ τοῦ τὸν θείον λόγου νοεῖν.*

⁶ *Imperitia atque inscientia = ἀμάθια καὶ ὅγνοια (or ὅγνωσια).*

⁷ *Curatio = θεραπεία.*

⁸ *Disciplina = ἐπιστήμη : intellectus = γνῶσις or νόησις ?*

persequi <(tractatum)>, atque expedire [[tractatum]] quare solis hominibus intellegentiam et disciplinam divinitas suam sit in- pertire dignata. Audi itaque. Deus pater et dominus cum post deos homines efficeret, ex parte corruptiore mundi et ex divina pari lance conponderans, vitia contigit mundi, corporibus com- 5 mixta, remanere, et alia propter cibos <intrare> victumque quem necessario habemus cum omnibus animalibus communem ; quibus de rebus necesse est cupiditatum desideria et reliqua mentis vitia animis humanis insidere. Diis vero, utpote ex mundissima parte *mater(i)ae* effectis, et nullis indigentibus rationis disciplinaeque 10 adminiculis, quamvis inmortalitas et unius semper aetatis vigor ipse sit eis <omni efficacior> prudentia et disciplina, tamen [[propter unitatem rationis]] pro disciplina et pro intellectu [[ne ab his essent alieni]] ordinem necessitatis lege conscriptum aeterna [lege] constituit : homines ex animalibus cunctis [de] 15 solos ratione disciplinaque <indigere> cognoscens, per quae vitia corporum [homines] avertere atque abalienare potuissent, <(prop- ter ea his comm)unitatem rationis> <dedit, simul ipsi>, <(ne a diis essent alieni,>> [ad] inmortalitatis spem intentionemque proten- dens. Denique et *'bonum'* hominem et qui posset inmortalis 20 esse ex utraque natura conpositum, divina atque mortali : et sic conpositum <(hominem)> per voluntatem dei [[hominem]] constitutum est esse meliorem et diis, qui sunt ex sola inmortali natura formati, et omnium mortalium, Propter quod homo, diis cognitione coniunctus, ipsos religione et sancta mente veneratur, 25 diique etiam pio affectu humana omnia respiciunt atque custo-
23 a diunt. Sed de hominibus istud dictum paucis sit pia mente

8 cupiditatem *B*: cupiditatum *cell.*: 'fortasse cupiditates' *Thomas*
 10 materiae *scripti*: naturae *w* 15 lege *seclusit Thomas* | homines
scripti: hominem *w* 16 solos *scripti*: de sola *w* 17-18 propterea
 his communitatem *scripti*: propter unitatem *w* 18 *ipsi scripti*: ipsos *w*
 | a diis *scripti*: ab his *w* 20 bonum *w*: fortasse terrenum 22 con-
 positum per *F*: conpositum est per *cell.* (conpositum et per *corr. B*)
 28 est *F*: *om. cell.*

as these, few though they be,¹ it is worth while² to pursue this discussion, and explain why God has deigned to impart his intelligence³ and knowledge to men alone. Listen then. Since God, the Father and Master, after he had made the gods, made man of ingredients weighed out in equal measure from the more corrupt part of matter⁴ and from that part which is divine, it came to pass that evils inherent in matter were intermingled with the human body, and so persisted, while other evils enter in by reason of the eating of food, in which we must needs take part together with all living creatures; whence it necessarily results that lustful appetites and all other evil passions find place in the human soul. But the gods⁵ are made of the purest part of matter, and have no need of reason and knowledge⁶ to aid them; and accordingly, though their immortality and the vigour of their everlasting youth are mightier than any wisdom or knowledge, yet in place of knowledge and intelligence⁷ God appointed for them an ordered movement determined by necessity and prescribed by eternal law. On the other hand, God saw that of all living creatures men alone had need of reason and knowledge, whereby they might repel and put away from them the evil passions inherent in their bodies; and for this cause he imparted to them the gift of reason; and at the same time, to the end that they might not be severed from the gods, he held out to them the hope of immortality, and gave them power to strive towards it. Willing then that man should be at once . . .⁸ and capable of immortality, God compacted him of these two substances, the one divine, the other mortal; and in that he is thus compacted, it is ordained by God's will that man is not only better than all mortal beings,⁹ but also better than the gods, who are made wholly of immortal substance. Hence man, being joined to the gods by kinship, worships them with piety and holy thoughts; while the gods on their side regard and watch over all the concerns of men with loving mercy. But you must take this as said only of the **23a** few who are endowed with piety. Of the vicious it is better to

¹ *Et paucis = καὶ σπανίοις οὖσι.*

² *Dignum = ἀξιον.*

³ *Intellegentia = γνῶσις, or νοῦς?*

⁴ *Mundus = οὐλη.*

⁵ I.e. the 'celestial gods' (viz. sun, moon, and stars).

⁶ *Ratio = λογισμός or διάνοια (discursive reason); Disciplina = έπιστήμη.*

⁷ *Intellectus = διάνοια?*

⁸ Perhaps 'a thing of earth'.

⁹ *Meliorem . . . omnium mortalium = βελτίονα πάντων τῶν θνητῶν.*

praeditis: de vitiosis vero nihil dicendum est, ne sanctissimus sermo eorum contemplatione violetur.

23 b Et quoniam de cognatione et consortio hominum deorumque nobis inducitur sermo, potestatem hominis, o Asclepi, vimque cognosce. Dominus et pater vel, quod est summum, deus ut 5 effector est deorum caelestium, ita homo factor est deorum qui in templis sunt humana proximitate contenti; et non solum inlumina[n]tur, verum etiam inlumina[n]t, nec solum ad deum proficit, verum etiam conformat deos. Miraris, o Asclepi, an numquid et tu diffidis, ut multi?—*Ascl.* Confundor, o Trismegiste: sed tuis 10 verbis libenter adsensus, felicissimum hominem iudico, qui sit tantam felicitatem consecutus.—*Trism.* Nec inmerito miraculo dignus est, qui est omnium maximus. Deorum genus (caelestium) omnium confes(s)ione manifestum est de mundissima parte mater(i)ae esse prognatum, signaque eorum sola quasi capita pro 15 omnibus esse. Species vero deorum quas conformat humanitas ex utraque natura conformatae sunt, ex divina, quae est purior multoque ¹divinior¹, et ex ea quae infra homines est, id est ex materia qua fuerint fabricatae; et non solum capitibus solis, sed membris omnibus totoque corpore figurantur. Ita humanitas, 20 semper memor naturae et originis suae, in illa divinitatis imitatione perseverat, ut, sicuti pater ac dominus, ut sui similes essent, deos fecit aeternos, ita humanitas deos suos ex sui vultus similitudine 24 a figuraret.—*Ascl.* Statuas dicis, o Trismegiste?—*Trism.* Statuas, o Asclepi. Videsne quatenus tu ipse diffidas? Statuas animatas 25 sensu et spiritu plenas, tantaque facientes et talia, statuas futurorum

3-7 Et quoniam . . . proximitate contenti citat Augustinus *De civ. dei* 8. 23
 4 inducitur scripsi: indicitur ω et Augustinus 7-8 inluminatur Thomas
 8 inluminat Thomas 9 conformat Goldbacher: confirmat ω (sed o super-
 script. B) | deos δ et M ex corr.: deus BG 14 confessione Rohde:
 confusione ω 15 materiae scripsi: naturae ω 17 conformatae sunt
 man. 2 B: conformata est cett. | prior B: prior cett. 18 divinior
 ω: fortasse superior | infra scripsi: intra ω 20-10 infra: Ita
 humanitas . . . (cap. 24 b) sedula religione servasse citat August. *De civ.*
 dei 8. 23

say nothing, lest by turning our thoughts on them we should profane the high sanctity of our discourse.¹

And now that the topic of men's kinship and association with the gods has been introduced,² let me tell you, Asclepius, how great is the power and might of man. Even as the Master and Father, or, to call him by his highest name, even as God is the maker of the gods of heaven, so man is the fashioner of the gods who dwell in temples and are content to have men for their neighbours. Thus man not only receives the light of divine life, but gives it also;³ he not only makes his way upward to God,⁴ but he even fashions gods. Do you wonder at this, Asclepius? Or do you too doubt it, as many do?—*Ascl.* I am amazed, Trismegistus; but I gladly give assent to what you say, and deem man most highly blest, in that he has attained to such felicity.⁵—*Trism.* Yes, you may well hold man to be a marvel; he surpasses all other creatures. As to the celestial gods, it is admitted by all men that they are manifestly generated from the purest part of matter, and that their astral forms⁶ are heads, as it were, and heads alone, in place of bodily frames. But the gods whose shapes⁷ are fashioned by mankind are made of both substances, that is, of the divine substance, which is purer and far nobler, and the substance which is lower than man, namely, the material of which they are wrought; and they are fashioned⁸ not in the shape of a head alone, but in the shape of a body with all its members. Mankind is ever mindful of its own parentage⁹ and the source whence it has sprung, and steadfastly persists in following God's example; and consequently, just as the Father and Master made the gods of heaven eternal, that they might resemble him who made them, even so do men also fashion their gods in the likeness of their own aspect.—*Ascl.* Do you mean statues, Trismegistus?—*Trism.* Yes, Asclepius. See how even you give way to doubt! I mean statues, but statues living and conscious,¹⁰ filled with the breath of life,¹¹ and doing many¹² mighty works; statues which have foreknowledge, and

¹ *Sermo* = λόγος.

² *Inducitur* = εἰσάγεται.

³ οὐ φωτίζεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φωτίζει.

⁴ Perhaps, 'to the gods'.

⁵ *Felicissimum iudico* = σφόδρα μακαρίω : *felicitatem* = εὐτυχία!

⁶ *Signa* = σημεῖα.

⁷ *Species* = σχῆματα?

⁸ *Figurantur* = σχηματίζονται.

⁹ *Natura* = γένεσις?

¹⁰ *Sensus* = αἴσθησις.

¹¹ *Spiritus* = πνεῦμα.

¹² *Tanta* = τέσσαρες.

praescias, eaque sorte, vate, somniis, multisque aliis rebus praedicentes, inbecillitates hominibus facientes easque curantes, tristitiam laetitiamque pro meritis (dispensantes).

24 b An ignoras, o Asclepi, quod Aegyptus imago sit caeli, aut, quod est verius, (. . .) translatio aut descensio omnium quae gubernantur atque exercentur in caelo? Et si dicendum est verius, terra nostra mundi totius est templum. Et tamen, quoniam praescire cuncta prudentes decet, istud vos ignorare fas non est: futurum tempus est, cum adpareat Aegyptios incassum pia mente divinitatem sedula religione servasse; et omnis (d)eorum sancta 10 veneratio in inritum casura (est, vel) frustrabitur. E terris enim est ad caelum recursura divinitas, linqueturque Aegyptus, terraque, sedes religionum quae fuit, viduata numinum praesentia destituetur. Alienigenis enim regionem istam terramque complentibus, non solum neglectum religionum (. . .) 15 sed, quod est durius, quasi de legibus a religione, pietate, cultuque divino statnetur praescripta poena prohibito.

((et inhabitabit Aegyptum Scythes aut Indus aut aliquis talis [i]de[st] vicina barbaria.) Tunc terra ista sanctissima, sedes delubrorum atque templorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque 20 plenissima. [[O Aegypte, Aegypte, religionum tuarum solae supererunt fabulae, eaeque incredibiles posteris tuis, solaque supererunt verba lapidibus incisa tua pia facta narrantibus]] [[et inhabitabit Aegyptum Scythes aut Indus aut aliquis talis, id est vicina barbaria.]] [Divinitas enim repetet caelum, deserti homines 25 toti morientur, atque ita Aegyptus deo et homine viduata deseretur.] Te vero appello, sanctissimum flumen, tibique futura praedico: torrenti sanguine plenus adusque ripas erumpes, undaeque divinae non solum polluentur sanguine, sed totae (cor)rumpentur. [[Et vivis multo maior numerus erit sepulchro- 30

1 eaque August.: easque ω (sed s expunet. man. post. B) | sorte B et August.: forte cett. | vate, somniis August.: vatas omnes (corr. somniis) B: fata somnis ex vatis omnis corr. M: vates ominis G 3 tristitiam laetitiamque August.: tristitiamque ω | 'Post pro meritis participium expectes, v.g. dispensantes' Thomas 5 Fortasse (in Aegyptum facta sit) translatio 6 et ω: ac August. 8 prudentes ω: prudentem August. 10 divinitatem et sedula man. 2 B | deorum Bernays: eorum ω 11-12 enim est man. 2 B: enim (om. est) F: enim et cett. 14 religionem B: regionem cett. 15 neglectus ed. Rom. 19 id est ω: e Bernays: 'malum de' Thomas 19-21 Tunc terra . . . plenissima citat August. De civ. dei 8. 26 21-23 O Aegypte . . . narrantibus hinc ad cap. 25 transposui 25 repetet G et man. post. B: repetit cett. 30 corrumpentur Bernays: rumpentur ω 30-2 infra: et vivis . . . alienus hinc ad cap. 25 transposui 30-1 infra: sepulchorum unus 5 et ed. Rom.: sepulchrorum cett.

predict future events by the drawing of lots, and by prophetic inspiration, and by dreams, and in many other ways; statues which inflict diseases¹ and heal² them, dispensing sorrow and joy according to men's deserts.

Do you not know, Asclepius, that Egypt is an image of heaven, **24 b** or, to speak more exactly, in Egypt all the operations of the powers which rule and work in heaven have been transferred³ to earth below? Nay, it should rather be said that the whole Kosmos dwells in this our land as in its sanctuary. And yet, since it is fitting that wise men should have knowledge of all events before they come to pass, you must not be left in ignorance of this: there will come a time when it will be seen that in vain have the Egyptians honoured⁴ the deity with heartfelt piety and assiduous service; and all our holy worship will be found bootless and ineffectual. For the gods will return from earth to heaven; Egypt will be forsaken, and the land which was once the home of religion will be left desolate, bereft of the presence of its deities. This land and region will be filled with foreigners; not only will men neglect the service of the gods, but . . .;⁵ and Egypt will be occupied by Scythians or Indians, or by some such race from the barbarian countries thereabout. In that day will our most holy land, this land of shrines and temples, be filled with funerals and corpses.⁶ To thee, most holy Nile, I cry, to thee I foretell that which shall be; swollen with torrents of blood, thou wilt rise to the level of thy banks, and thy sacred waves will be not only stained, but utterly fouled

¹ *Inbecillitates* = ἀσθετικός.

² *Curare* = θεραπεύειν.

³ *Translatio* = περάθεος: *descensio* = κατάβασις.

⁴ *Servare* = observare = θεραπεύειν.

⁵ MSS.: 'but, what is harder still, there will be enacted so-called laws' (*quasi* = δῆθεν) 'by which religion and piety and worship of the gods will be forbidden, and a penalty prescribed'. This must have been added at a later date.

⁶ *Sepulchorum mortuorumque* = ταφῶν καὶ νεκρῶν.

rum ; superstes vero qui foret, lingua sola cognoscetur Aegyptius,
25 actibus vero videbitur alienus.] Quid fles, o Asclepi? Et his
 amplius multoque deterius ipsa Aegyptus suadebitur, inbueturque
 peioribus malis ; quae sancta quondam, divinitatis amantissima,
 deorum in terra suae religionis merito sola deductio, sanctitatis et 5
 pietatis magistra, erit maximae crudelitatis exemplum : «et vivis
 multo maior numerus erit sepulchrorum ; superstes vero qui
 fuerit, lingua sola cognoscetur Aegyptius, actibus vero videbitur
 alienus.» «O Aegypte, Aegypte, religionum tuarum solae supere-
 runt fabulae, eaeque incredibiles posteris tuis, solaque supererunt 10
 verba lapidibus incisa tua pia facta narrantibus.» Et tunc taedio
 hominum non admirandus videbitur mundus nec adorandus.
 Hoc totum bonum, quo melius nec fuit nec est nec erit quod
 videri possit, periclitabitur, eritque grave hominibus, ac per hoc
 contemnetur ; nec diligeretur totus hic mundus, dei opus inimi- 15
 tabile, gloria constructio, bonum multiformi imaginum varietate
 conpositum, machina voluntatis dei in suo opere absque invidia
(homini) suffragantis, in unum omnium, quae venerari, laudari,
 amari denique a videntibus possunt, multiformis adunata con-
 gestio. Nam et tenebrae praeponentur lumini, et mors vita 20
 utilior iudicabitur ; nemo suspiciet caelum ; religiosus pro insano,
 inreligiosus putabitur prudens, furiosus fortis, pro bono habebitur
 pessimus. Anima enim et omnia circum eam, quibus aut in-
 mortalis nata est aut immortalitatem se consecuturam esse pre-
 sumit, secundum quod vobis exposui, non solum risui, sed etiam 25
 putabitur vanitas.

Sed mihi credite, et capitale periculum constituetur in eum qui se mentis
 religioni dederit. Nova constituentur iura, lex nova.

5 terras *B* : terra *cett.*

8 fuerit *scripti* : foret *ω*

10 tuis *edd. cum*

uno *Σ* : suis *codd. cett.*

17 dei suo opere *G* : dei in suo opere *cett.*

| invia

BMP : invidia *cett.*

BMP : invidia *cett.*

with gore. Do you weep at this, Asclepius? There is worse ²⁵ to come; Egypt herself will have yet more to suffer;¹ she will fall into a far more piteous plight, and will be infected with yet more grievous plagues; and this land, which once was holy, a land which loved the gods, and wherein alone, in reward for her devotion, the gods deigned to sojourn² upon earth, a land which was the teacher of mankind in holiness and piety,—this land will go beyond all in cruel deeds. The dead will far outnumber the living; and the survivors will be known for Egyptians by their tongue alone, but in their actions they will seem to be men of another race. O Egypt, Egypt, of thy religion nothing will remain but an empty tale, which thine own children in time to come will not believe; nothing will be left but graven words, and only the stones will tell of thy piety. And in that day men will be weary of life, and they will cease to think the universe worthy of reverent wonder and of worship. And so religion, the greatest of all blessings,—for there is nothing, nor has been, nor ever shall be, that can be deemed a greater boon,—will be threatened with destruction; men will think it a burden, and will come to scorn it. They will no longer love this world around us, this incomparable work of God, this glorious structure which he has built, this sum of good made up of things of many diverse forms, this instrument³ whereby the will of God operates in that which he has made, ungrudgingly favouring man's welfare, this combination and accumulation of all the manifold things that can call forth the veneration, praise, and love of the beholder. Darkness will be preferred to light, and death will be thought more profitable than life; no one will raise his eyes to heaven; the pious will be deemed insane, and the impious wise; the madman will be thought a brave man, and the wicked will be esteemed as good. As to the soul, and the belief that it is immortal by nature, or may hope to attain to immortality, as I have taught you,—all this they will mock at, and will even persuade themselves that it is false.⁴ No word of reverence or piety, no

¹ *Suadebitur* = πείσεται, fut. of πάσχω (Bernays).

² *Deductio* = καταγωγή.

³ *Machina* = ὄργανον.

⁴ Here follows in the MSS. : ‘But believe me, it will even be decreed that he who shall have devoted himself to the religion of mind shall be liable to the penalty of death; there will be ordained new law and a new statute.’ This also must have been added later.

Nihil sanctum, nihil religiosum nec caelo nec caelestibus dignum audietur aut mente credetur.

(. . .) Fit deorum ab hominibus dolenda secessio: soli nocentes angeli remanent, qui humanitate commixti ad omnia audaciae mala miseros manu iniecta compellunt, in bella, in rapinas, in 5 fraudes et in omnia quae sunt animarum naturae contraria. Tunc nec terra constabit, nec navigabitur mare, nec caelum astrorum cursibus (. . .), nec siderum cursus constabit in caelo; omnis vox divina necessaria taciturnitate mutescet; fructus terrae conrumpentur, nec secunda tellus erit, et aer ipse maesto torpore 10
26 a languescat. Haec et talis senectus veniet mundi; in religio, inordinatio, irrationabilitas, bonorum omnium (. . .).

Cum haec cuncta contigerint, o Asclepi, tunc ille dominus et pater, deus primipotens et ¹unius gubernator dei¹, intuens in mores factaque [voluntaria], voluntate sua, quae est dei benignitas, vitiis resistens et corruptelae omnium, errorem revocans, malignitatem omnem vel inluvione diluens, vel igne consumens, vel morbis pestilentibus iisque per diversa loca dispersis finiens,

³ fi(e)t ('corr. man. 1, ut videtur' Thomas) B: fit cett. ⁴ remane-
 (bu)nt (corr. man. 2) B: remanent cett. ⁵ compellunt man. 1 B et cett.:
 compellent man. 2 B ⁸ Fortasse cursibus (subsistet) ⁹ mutescit in
 mutescit corr. man. post. B: mutescet cett. ¹¹ linguescit man. 1 B:
 languescit MP: languescit man. 2 B et cett. ¹² Fortasse omnium
 <defectio> ¹⁵ voluntaria seclusit Bernays ¹⁶ corruptelae F: cor-
 ruptela cett. ¹⁸ pestilentisque ex pestilentibus iisque corr. B: pestilenti-
 bus usque cett.: pestilentibus iisque Bernays

Cap. 26 a: 'Cum haec . . . revocabit.' Lactantius Div. Inst. 7. 18. 3 sq. (Brandt): 'Sed et illut non sine daemonum fraude subtractum', missuri a patre tunc filium dei, qui deletis omnibus malis piros liberet. Quod Hermes tamen non dissimulavit: in eo enim libro qui λόγος τέλεος inscribitur, post enumerationem malorum de quibus diximus subiecit haec:—

ἐπὰν δὴ ταῦτα γένηται, ὁ Ἀσκληπιέ, τότε ὁ κύριος καὶ πατὴρ καὶ θεὸς καὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἐνδὲ^b θεοῦ^c δημιουργός, ἐπιβλέψας τοῖς γενομένοις, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν, τοῦτον τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀντερέσας τῇ ἀταξίᾳ, καὶ ἀνακαλεσάμενος τὴν πλάνην, καὶ τὴν κακίαν ἔκκαθάρας, πὴ μὲν ὕδατι πολλῷ κατακλύσας, πὴ δὲ πυρὶ δέντατῷ διακαύσας, ἐνίστε δὲ πολέμοις καὶ λοιμοῖς ἐκπαίσας, ἥγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀποκατέστησεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κόσμον.'

utterance worthy of heaven and of the gods of heaven, will be heard or believed.

And so the gods will depart from mankind,—a grievous thing!—and only evil angels will remain, who will mingle with men, and drive the poor wretches by main force into all manner of reckless crime, into wars, and robberies, and frauds, and all things hostile to the nature of the soul. Then will the earth no longer stand unshaken, and the sea will bear no ships; heaven will not support the stars in their orbits, nor will the stars pursue their constant course in heaven; all voices of the gods will of necessity be silenced and dumb; the fruits of the earth will rot; the soil will turn barren, and the very air will sicken in sullen stagnation. After this manner will old age **26 a** come upon the world. Religion will be no more; all things will be disordered and awry;¹ all good will disappear.

But when all this has befallen, Asclepius, then the Master and Father, God, the first before all, the maker of that god who first came into being,² will look on that which has come to pass, and will stay the disorder by the counterworking of his will, which is the good. He will call back to the right path those who have gone astray; he will cleanse the world from evil, now washing it away with waterfloods, now burning it out with fiercest fire, or again expelling it by war and pestilence. And thus he

¹ *Inordinatio* = *ἀράξια*: *inrationabilitas* = *ἀλογία*.

² *Deus primipotens et unius gubernator dei*: perhaps, ὁ θεὸς ὁ πρωτάρχης καὶ τοῦ πρωτογόνου θεοῦ (sc. τοῦ κόσμου) δημονρύθος.

^a *Sc. subtractum ab Hystaspis vaticinatione, quam superius citat Lactantius.*

^b τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἑρός Brandt, codicum indicia secutus: τοῦ πρωτογενοῦς coni. Davis. 'dominus et pater et deus et primi et unius dei creator' *interpretatio Lat. in B et P.*

^c ἐκπαιᾶσας Brandt: εκτεταῖ ('malitia . . . percussa' *interpret. Lat.*) *B*: εκπεσαὶ *H*: ἐκπικαῖ *P*: εκπικαῖ ('excutiens' *interpret. Lat.*) Sedulius: ἐκπέσας Bernays.

ad antiquam faciem mundum revocabit, ut et mundus ipse adorandus videatur atque mirandus, et tanti operis effector et restitutor deus ab hominibus, qui tunc erunt, frequentibus laudum p[re]aconiis benedictionibusque celebretur. Haec enim mundi *(re)genitura*: cunctarum reformatio rerum bonarum, et naturae ipsius sanctissima et religiosissima restitutio, per[co] acta temporis cursu *(dei voluntate)*, quae est [[et fuit sine initio]] sempiterna.

26 b Voluntas enim dei caret initio, quae eadem est *(semper)*, et, sicuti est, [sempiterna] *((et fuit sine initio))*. Dei enim natura consilium est *[voluntatis]* bonita*(ti)s*.—*Ascl.* *((Voluntatis))* summa consilium, o Trismegiste?—*Trism.* Voluntas, o Asclepi, consilio nascitur, et ipsum velle e voluntate. Neque enim *impense* aliquid vult, qui est omnium plenissimus; *[[et ea vult quae habet]]* vult autem omnia bona. Et habet omnia quae vult, *((et ea vult quae habet))* omnia autem bona et cogitat et vult. 15

27 a Hoc est autem deus: eius imago mundus, boni *(bonus)*.—*Ascl.* Bonus, o Trismegiste?—*Trism.* Bonus, o Asclepi, ut ego te docebo. Sicuti enim deus omnibus speciebus vel generibus, quae in mundo sunt, dispensator distributorque est bonorum, id est sensus, animae, et vitae, sic et mundus tributor est et praestitor omnium quae mortalibus videntur bona, id est alternationis partum temporalium, fructuum nativitatis, augmentorum, et maturitatis, et horum similium.

27 b *[[ac per hoc deus, supra verticem summi caeli consistens, ubique est, omniaque circum inspicit. Sic est enim ultra caelum locus, 25 sine stellis, ab omnibus rebus corpulentis alienus.]]*

27 c *[[dispensator qui est, inter caelum et terram obtinet locum, quem Iovem vocamus. Terrae vero et mari dominatur Iuppiter Plutonius; et hic nutritor est animantium mortalium et fructiferarum. Horum omnium viribus fructus, arbusta, et terra vegetantur. Aliorum vero vires et effectus per omnia quae sunt distribuentur.]]* 30

27 d *[[Distribuentur]] vero qui terrae dominantur, et conlocabuntur in*

5 regenitura Bernays: genitura *w* 6–7 perfacta temporis cursu Kroll: per coacta temporis cursu BMPF: per coactum temporis cursum GL
 7 dei addidit Thomas: voluntate prius addiderat Goldbacher 10 (Trism.):
 ... consilium est voluntatis.—(Ascl.) 'Bonitas summa consilium, o Trismegiste?' codd. et edd. pr. 16 mundus boni ex mundus bonus corr. B | bonus
 addidit Kroll 20 sensus F: sensibus cett. 20–21 praestator B:
 praestitor cett. 21–22 id est alternationis GF: id est et alternationis
 cett. 24–32 Cap. 27 b et 27 c hinc transposui: vide post cap. 19 b (p. 324)
 33–4 infra: cap. 27 d hinc transposui: vide post cap. 37 (p. 360)

will bring back his world to its former aspect, so that the Kosmos will once more be deemed worthy of worship and wondering reverence, and God, the maker and restorer of the mighty fabric, will be adored by the men of that day with unceasing hymns of praise and blessing. Such is the new birth¹ of the Kosmos ; it is a making again² of all things good, a holy and awe-striking restoration³ of all nature ; and it is wrought in the process of time by the eternal⁴ will of God.

For God's will⁵ has no beginning ; it is ever the same, and **26 b** as it now is, even so it has ever been, without beginning. For it is the very being of God to purpose⁶ good.—*Ascl.* Is 'will' then, Trismegistus, summed up in 'purpose'?—*Trism.* Will, Asclepius, issues from purpose ; and from will issues each several act of will.⁷ Not without effect⁸ does God will a thing, for he is fully supplied with all things ; and all things that he wills are good. He has all things which he wills, and wills the things which he has ; and all that he purposes⁹ and wills is good.

Such is God. The Kosmos is God's image ; and since God is good, the Kosmos also is good.—*Ascl.* Do you say, Trismegistus, **27 a** that the Kosmos is good?—*Trism.* Yes, Asclepius ; and I will show you that it is so. God dispenses and distributes goods, namely, sense, soul, and life,¹⁰ to all kinds of beings¹¹ in the Kosmos ; and in like manner, the Kosmos gives and supplies all things which seem good to mortals, namely, the succession of births in time,¹² the formation, growth, and ripening of the

¹ *Regenitura* = παλιγγένεια.

² *Reformatio* = ἀνανέωσις.

³ *Restitutio* = ἀποκατάστασις, or ἐπανόρθωσις. *Religiosissima* = εὐσεβεστάτη?

But in what sense?

⁴ *Sempiternus* = άίδιος (or αἰώνιος?).

⁵ *Voluntas* = βούλησις.

⁶ *Consilium* = βούλη.

⁷ *Velle* = τὸ βούλεσθαι.

⁸ In place of *in pene*, some word equivalent to μάτην or ἀπάκτος seems to be needed.

⁹ *Cogitat* = βούλευεται.

¹⁰ *Sensus* = αἰσθησις: *anima* = ψυχή: *vita* = ζωή.

¹¹ *Speciebus vel generibus*: probably the translator's alternatives for a single Greek word, which may have been either εἴδεσι or γένεσι.

¹² Or, reading *partium*, 'the alteration of the seasons'.

civitate in summo initio Aegypti, quae a parte solis occidentis condetur, ad quam terra marique festinabit omne mortale genus.—
Ascl. Modo tamen hoc in tempore ubi isti sunt, o Trismegiste?—
Trism. Conlocati sunt in maxima civitate in monte Libyco.]

27e-29b [Et haec usque eo narrata sint. De inmortali vero aut de mortali modo disserendum est. Multos enim . . . stellas illuminat.]

29c Secundum etenim deum hunc crede, o Asclepi, omnia gubernantem [omniaque mundana illustrantem] animalia, sive animantia sive inanimantia. Si enim animal mundus vivensque 10 semper et fuit et est et erit, nihil in mundo mortale est. Viventis etenim semper uniuscuiusque partis [quae] est sicuti est; [in] ipsoque mundo semper uno, eoque animali semperque vivente, in eo nullus est mortalitatis locus. Ergo vitae aeternitatisque debet esse plenissimus, si semper eum necesse est vivere. 15

[Sol ergo, sicuti mundus sempiternus est, sic et ipse semper gubernator vitalium vel totius vivacitatis eorumque frequentator vel dispensator est.]

Deus ergo viventium vel vitalium, in mundo quae sunt, sempiternus gubernator est, ipsiusque vitae dispensator aeternus. 20 Semel autem dispensa[vi]t(a) vita vitalibus cunctis aeterna lege 30 praestatur hoc more, quo dicam. In ipsa enim aeternitatis vivacitate mundus agitur, et in ipsa vitali aeternitate locus est mundi: propter quod nec stabilit[er] aliquando nec conrumperatur, sempiternitate vivendi circumvallatus et quasi constrictus. 25 Ipse mundus vitae dispensator est his omnibus quae in se sunt, et locus est omnium quae sub sole gubernantur. Et commotio mundi ipsius ex duplii constat effectu: ipse extrinsecus vivificatur ab aeternitate, vivificatque ea quae intra se sunt omnia, differens numeris et temporibus statutis atque infixis cuncta per 30 solis effectum stellarumque discursum. Omnia[!] «autem» temporaria ratione divina lege conscripta, terrenum [[autem]] tempus aeris qualitate, aestuum frigorisque varietate dinoscitur, caeleste

5-7 Cap. 27e-29 b hinc transposui: vide post cap. 40c (p. 364) 10 si
 enim GLF: sive enim BMP | mundus GL: mundum BMPF 12 in
 seclusit Thomas 21 dispensata Thomas: dispensavit ω | vita B:
 vitam cett. | cuncta BM: cunctis cett. 24 stabilit aliquando Zink:
 stabili quando ω (totum locum refixit F, 31 omni Thomas: omnia ω

fruits of the earth, and the like. For you must deem the Kosmos ^{29c} a second god, Asclepius, a god who governs all living things, both those which have souls and those which are soulless.¹ For if the Kosmos has been and is and will be a living and ever-living being,² nothing in the Kosmos is mortal. It is the everlasting life of each of its several parts³ that makes the Kosmos what it is; and seeing that the Kosmos is ever one,⁴ and is a living and ever-living being, mortality can have no place in it. It must therefore be filled with life, and with eternal life, if it needs must live for ever.

It is God then that everlasting⁵ governs all the sources of life⁶ in the Kosmos; he is the eternal dispenser⁷ of life itself. But when life has once been dispensed to all the (intracosmic) sources of life, the supply of it is maintained in accordance with eternal law; and the manner of its maintenance I will proceed to explain. The Kosmos moves⁸ within the very life of eternity,⁹ ³⁰ and is contained in that very eternity whence all life issues;¹⁰ and for this reason it is impossible that it should at any time come to a stand, or be destroyed, since it is walled in and bound together, so to speak, by eternal life.¹¹ And the Kosmos is itself the dispenser of life to all things in it¹² here below, and the place in which are contained all things which are subject to control beneath the sun. The movement¹³ of the Kosmos itself consists of a twofold working;¹⁴ life is infused into the Kosmos from without by eternity;¹⁵ and the Kosmos infuses life into all things that are within it, distributing all things according to fixed and determined relations of number and time, by the operation of the sun and the movements of the stars. The process of time is wholly determined by God's law; but the lapse of terrestrial time is marked by the changing states of the atmosphere, and the variations of heat and cold; while that of celestial time

¹ *Animalia* = τὰ ζωὴν ἔχοντα : *animantia* = ἔμψυχα : *inanimantia* = ἀψυχα.

² *Animal vivensque semper* = ζῶον καὶ δεῖζων.

³ *Viventis semper uniuscuiusque partis* = ζῶος ᾧ ἐκάστου τῶν μερῶν, gen. abs.

⁴ *Ipsaque mundo semper uno* = καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ κόσμου ἐνδὲ δεῖ οὗτος, gen. abs.

⁵ *Sempiternus* = ἀδίος!

⁶ *Viventium vel vitalium* = ζωτικῶν?

⁷ *Aeternus* = αἰώνιος : *dispensator* = τραπέας. ⁸ *Agitatur* = κινεῖται.

⁹ *In ipsa aeternitatis vivacitate* = ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τοῦ αἰώνος ζωῇ?

¹⁰ *In ipsa vitali aeternitate* = ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ζωτικῷ αἰώνι?

¹¹ *Sempiternitas vivendi* = ἀδίος (or αἰώνιος) ζωῆ?

¹² *In se* = ἐν αὐτῷ.

¹³ *Commotio* = κίνησις.

¹⁴ *Effectus* = ἐργεῖα.

¹⁵ *Ab aeternitate* = ὑπὸ (or ἀπὸ?) τοῦ αἰώνος.

vero reversionibus siderum ad eadem loca temporaria conversione currentium. Et mundus est receptaculum temporis, cuius cursu et agitatione vegetatur. Tempus autem ordinatione servatur: ordo et tempus innovationem omnium rerum, quae in mundo sunt, per alternationem faciunt. Cunctis ergo ita se habentibus, 5 nihil stabile, nihil fixum, nihil inmobile [nec] nascentium, nec caelestium nec terrenorum. Solus deus *(stabilis)*, et merito *[solus]*; ipse enim in se est, et a se est, et circum se totus est, plenus atque perfectus, isque sua *firmus* stabilitate est, nec aliquius impulsu [nec] loco moveri potest, cum in eo sunt omnia et 10 in omnibus ipse est solus; nisi aliquis audeat dicere ipsius commotionem in aeternitate esse: sed magis et ipsa inmobilis *(est) aeternitas*, in quam omnium temporum agitatio remeat, et ex 15 qua omnium temporum agitatio sumit exordium. Deus ergo stabilis fuit, semperque similiter cum eo aeternitas constitut, 15 mundum non natum, quem recte *(in)sensibilem* dicimus, intra se habens. Huius [dei] imago hic effectus est mundus, aeternitatis imitator. Habet autem tempus, *«quamvis semper agitur»*, stabilitatis suaem vim atque naturam *[[quamvis semper agitur]]*, ea ipsa in se revertendi necessitate. Itaque quamvis sit aeternitas 20 stabilis, inmobilis, atque fixa, tamen quoniam temporis, quod mobile est, in aeternitatem semper revocatur agitatio, *[[eaque mobilitas ratione temporis vertitur,]]* efficitur ut et ipsa aeternitas, inmobilis

1-2 conversione F: conversatione cett. 2 recurrentium F 6 nec
 (post inmobile) abesse malit Kroll 9 firmus stabilitate scripsi: firma
 stabilitas ω 10 nec sectus Kroll 12 commotionem BM: com-
 motionem cett. 13-14 remeat . . . agitatio om. BM 15 consistit
 (sed is ex corr.) B: constitut cett. 16 insensibilem scripsi: sensibilem ω
 22-23 eaque . . . vertitur hinc ad cap. 40 b fin. (p. 354) transposui

is marked by the return of the heavenly bodies to their former positions¹ as they move in their periodic revolutions. The Kosmos is that in which time is contained ;² and it is by the progress and movement of time that life is maintained in the Kosmos. The process of time is regulated by a fixed order ;³ and time in its ordered course⁴ renews⁵ all things in the Kosmos by alternation. All things being subject to this process, there is nothing that stands fast,⁶ nothing fixed, nothing free from change,⁷ among the things which come into being, neither among those in heaven nor among those on earth. God alone stands unmoved, and with good reason ;⁸ for he is self-contained, and self-derived,⁹ and wholly self-centred,¹⁰ and in him is no deficiency or imperfection.¹¹ He stands fast in virtue of his own immobility, nor can he be moved by any force impinging on him from without, seeing that in him are all things, and that it is he alone that is in all things ; unless indeed one should presume to say that he moves (not in time, but) in eternity.¹² But it should rather be said that eternity also is motionless ; into eternity all movements of time go back,¹³ and from eternity all movements of time take their beginning. God then stands unmoved ;¹⁴ 31 and eternity likewise is ever changeless, containing in itself a Kosmos which is without beginning,¹⁵ even that Kosmos which we rightly call ‘imperceptible to sense’.¹⁶ This (sensible) Kosmos has been made in the image of that other Kosmos, and reproduces eternity in a copy. Now time, though it is ever in movement, possesses a faculty of stability peculiar to itself,¹⁷ in that its return into itself is determined by necessity. And accordingly, though eternity is stable, fixed, and motionless, yet since time is mobile, and its movement ever goes back into¹⁸ eternity, it results from this that eternity also, though motionless in itself, appears to be

¹ *Reversiones ad eadem loca* = ἀποκαταστάσεις.

² *Ordinatio* = διάραγις ?

³ *Receptaculum* = ὑποδοχή.

⁴ *Innovatio* = ἀνανέωσις.

⁵ *Ordo* = τάξις.

⁶ *Inmobilis* = δικίνητος.

⁷ *Stabilis* = έστάση.

⁸ *A se est* : he is αὐτογένητος.

⁹ *Merito* = εἰνότως.

¹⁰ *Circum se totus est* = αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ὅλος ἔστι.

¹¹ *Plenus atque perfectus* = πλήρης καὶ τέλειος ὁν.

¹² *In aeternitate* = ἐν αἰώνιῳ.

¹³ *Remeat* = ἀναφέρεται ?

¹⁴ *Stabilis fuit* = ἔστηκε. Constitit also presumably represents a Greek perfect.

¹⁵ *Non natum* = αὐτογένητον.

¹⁶ *Insensibilem* = νοητόν, or ἀνασθητόν in the sense of νοητόν.

¹⁷ *Vim atque naturam* = δύναμιν : *stabilitatis* = στάσεως : *sue* = ἰδίας.

¹⁸ *Revocatur in* = ἀναφέρεται εἰς ?

quidem sola, «*videatur agitari*» per tempus, in quo ipsa est, et est in eo omnis agitatio [[*videatur agitari*]]. Sic efficitur ut et aeternitatis stabilitas moveatur, et temporis mobilitas stabilis fiat fixa lege currendi. Sic et deum agitari credibile est in se ipsum eadem immobilitate. Stabilita[s] etenim ipsius [in] magnitudine : est immobilis agitatio ; ipsius enim magnitudinis immobili(ta)s lex est. Hoc ergo, quod est tale quod non subicitur sensibus, «*sive deus, sive aeternitas, sive uterque, sive alter in altero sive uterque in utroque sunt*», indefinitum, incomprehensibile, inaestimabile est ; nec sustineri etenim nec ferri nec indagari potest. 10 Ubi enim et quo et unde, et quomodo aut quale sit, incertum est. Fertur enim in summa stabilitate, et in ipso (fertur) stabilitas sua [[*sive deus, sive aeternitas, sive uterque, sive alter in altero sive uterque in utroque sunt*]]. Propter quod aeternitas sine definitione est temporis : tempus autem, quod definiri potest [vel] 15 numero, [vel] alternatione vel [alterius] per ambitionem redditus aeternum est. Utrumque ergo infinitum, utrumque videtur aeternum : (aeternitatis autem) stabilitas [enim], utpote defixa, quo sustinere quae agitabilia sunt possit «*(habendo inmobilem firmitatem)*», beneficio firmitatis merito obtinet principatum. 20

32 a Omnia ergo, quae sunt, primordia deus est et aeternitas. Mundus autem, quod sit mobilis, non habet principatum ; praevenit enim mobilitas eius stabilitatem suam in lege agitationis sempiternae, «*aeternitas quae secunda est*» [[*habendo inmobilem 25 firmitatem*]]. «*Haec ergo est aeternitas (in omnibus (quibus mundus iste perfectus est))* ; [[*quae nec coepit esse nec desinet*]]

5 stabilita etenim *scripti* : stabilitatis etenim *B* : stabilis etenim *M* : stabiliſtas enim *G* : stabilitates (*an -is t?*) enim *P* : stabilitas enim *L* | stabilitatis in magnitudine enim ipsius *F* 6 immobilitas *scripti* : immobilis *w* 11 et quomodo *MG* : aut quomodo *B* 13 sive deus *om.* *BM* 15 definiri non potest *GL* : definiri potest *cett.* 16 redditu *F* : redditus *cett.* 19 quo *F*, ‘*fortasse recte*’ Thomas : quod *cett.* 19–20 habendo inmobilem firmitatem *huc a cap. 32 a transposui* 23 lege *L* : legem *cett.* 24 aeternitas quae secunda est *huc a cap. 32 b* (p. 356, v. 6) *transposui* 25–7 *infra* : cap. 40 b (Haec ergo . . . et sequi) *huc transposui* 25–26 in omnibus . . . perfectus est *huc a cap. 39* (p. 362, v. 21) *transposui*

in motion, on account of its relation to time; for eternity enters into time, and it is in time that all movement takes place. Hence it follows that on the one hand eternity, stable though it be, is also mobile, and on the other hand, time, mobile though it be, is rendered stable by the immutability of the law by which its movement is determined. And in this way it is possible to hold that God also moves within himself;¹ though God, like eternity, is motionless; for the movement of God, being made stable by his greatness, is no movement, inasmuch as his greatness is necessarily motionless.² The being, then, of which I speak,—whether it is to be called God, or eternity, or both, and whether God is in eternity, or eternity in God, or each in the other,—this being, I say, is imperceptible by sense;³ it is infinite, incomprehensible, immeasurable;⁴ it exceeds our powers, and is beyond our scrutiny. The place of it, the whither and the whence, the manner and quality of its being, are unknown to us. It moves⁵ in absolute stability, and its stability moves within it. Eternity then is not limited by the conditions of time; and time, which admits of numerical limitations, is eternal in virtue of its cyclic recurrence.⁶ Thus time as well as eternity is infinite, and is thought to be eternal. But eternity is rightly⁷ held to rank above time, in virtue of⁸ its fixity; for it is firmly fixed, so as to be able, by its rigid immobility, to sustain those things which are in motion.⁹ God and eternity then are the first principles of all things which exist.¹⁰ The Kosmos does not hold the first and highest place, because it is mobile; for its mobility takes precedence of the immutability with which it obeys the law of its everlasting movement, which is a secondary sort of eternity. It is this sort of eternity that enters into all the parts of which the Kosmos is composed.¹¹ For the Kosmos,

¹ *Agitari in se ipsum* = αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κινέσθαι.

² *Stabilita . . . lex est* : perhaps, ἐν γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει αὐτοῦ καθεστῶσα δικίνητος ἔτοις ἡ κίνησις τοῦ γὰρ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ νόμος ἔστιν ἡ ἀκυνησία. (Or, retaining *immobilis*, ὁ γὰρ τῷ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ νόμος ἔστιν δικίνητος.)

³ *Quod est tale quod non subicitur sensibus* = τοιούτον δὲ οἷον μὴ ὑποκίνεται τοῖς αἰσθήσεσιν?

⁴ *Indefinitum* = ἀδιέστιν : *incomprehensibile* = ἀκατάληπτον : *inaestimabile* = ἀμέτρητον!

⁵ *Feritur* = φέρεται.

⁶ *Alternatione vel per ambitionem redditus* = τῆς ἀνακυκλώσεως?

⁷ *Merito* = εὐέργεια. ⁸ *Beneficio* = χάρην.

⁹ *Quo sustinere quae agitabilia sunt possit* = ἵνα ὑφεστάναι δύνηται τοῖς κινητοῖς.

¹⁰ *Omnium . . . aeternitas* = πάντων οὖν τῶν ὅντων ἀρχαὶ εἰσὶν δὲ θεῖς καὶ δὲ αἰών.

¹¹ *Quibus mundus iste perfectus est* = ἐξ ἣν δὲ κόσμος οὗτος ἀποτελεσται;

qui, fixa immutabili(s) lege currendi, sempiterna commotione versatur, «quae nec coepit esse nec desinet,» oriturque et occidit alternis [[saepe]] per membra, ita ut variatis temporibus «saepe» isdem quibus occiderat membris oriatur. Sic est enim rotundita(ti)s volubilis ratio, ut ita sibi coartata sint cuncta, ut initium 5 quod sit volubilitatis ignores, cum omnia se semper et praecedere videantur et sequi:» «eaque mobilita(ti)s ratione tempus vertitur.»

32 b Omnis ergo sensus divi(nus aeter)nitatis similis. Inmobilis ipse, in stabilitate se commovet sua: sanctus et incorruptus et 10 sempiternus est, et si quid potest melius nuncupari dei summi in ipsa veritate consistens aeternitas, plenissimus omnium (in)sensibilium et totius disciplinae, consistens, ut ita dixerim, cum deo. Sensus vero mundanus receptaculum est sensibilium omnium specierum et disciplinarum. Humanus vero (sensus . . .) ex 15 memoriae tenacitate, quod memor sit omnium quas gesserit rerum. Usque ad humanum enim animal sensus divinitas descendendo pervenit: deus enim summus divinum sensum

1 qui scripti: quae ω | immutabilis scripti: immutabili ω 2 occidit GF: occidet cett. 4–5 rotunditatis scripti: rotunditas ω 5–6 initium sit quod sit BMP (aliter ut quod sit inicium volubilitatis ignores superscript. man. recent. B): initium quod sit cett: initium, si quod sit, Thomas 7–8 eaque... vertitur huc a cap. 31 transposui 7 mobilitatis scripti: mobilitas ω | tempus scripti: temporis ω 9 divinus aeternitatis scripti: divinitatis ω: 'fortasse (divinus) divinitatis' Thomas 11 et si om. BM 12–13 insensibilium scripti: sensibilium ω 15 lacunam post vero significavit Goldbacher: pendet supplevit Brakman 17 divinitas (vel tis superscript. man. 2) B: divinitatis F 18 summus Thomas: summum ω (vel suum superscript. man. 2 B)

changeless in virtue of the unalterable law by which its motion is determined, revolves with an everlasting movement. That movement has had no beginning, and will have no end; it manifests itself and disappears by turns in the several parts of the Kosmos, and that in such fashion that again and again in the chequered course of time it manifests itself anew in those same parts in which it disappeared before. Such is the nature of circular movement; all points in the circle are so linked together, that you can find no place at which the movement can begin; for it is evident that all points in the line of movement both precede and follow one another for ever. And it is in this manner that time revolves.

The divine mind¹ is wholly of like nature with eternity. It is ^{32 b} motionless in itself, but though stable, is yet self-moving; it is holy, and incorruptible, and everlasting,² and has all attributes yet higher, if higher there be, that can be assigned to the eternal life of the supreme God, that life which stands fast in absolute reality.³ It is wholly filled with all things imperceptible to sense,⁴ and with all-embracing knowledge;⁵ it is, so to speak, consubstantial⁶ with God.

The cosmic mind⁷ is the recipient⁸ of all sensible forms⁹ and of all kinds of knowledge of sensible things.

The (merely) human mind¹⁰ is . . . , and is dependent on the retentiveness of man's memory, that is, on his remembrance of all his past experiences.¹¹

The divine mind¹² descends in the scale of being as far as man, but no farther; for the supreme God willed not that the divine

¹ Or 'intellect'. *Sensus divinus* = ὁ θεῖος νοῦς.

² *Incorrumpitus* = ἀφθαρτός: *semiperennus* = ἀδιός.

³ *Veritas* = ἀλήθεια.

⁴ *Plenissimum omnium insensibilium* = πλήρης (οր πλήρωμα) ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν νοητῶν.

⁵ *Totius disciplinae* = ὅλης ἐπιστήμης? Or τῆς τοῦ ὅλου ἐπιστήμης?

⁶ *Consistens* = συννοεστώς?

⁷ *Sensus mundanus* = ὁ κοσμικὸς νοῦς, or ὁ τοῦ κόσμου νοῦς.

⁸ *Receptaculum* = ὑποδοχή.

⁹ *Sensibiles species* = τὰ αἰσθητὰ εἶδη, or αἱ αἰσθηταὶ μορφαί.

¹⁰ *Humanus sensus* = ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς.

¹¹ *Omnium quas gesserit rerum* = πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων.

¹² *Sensus divinitas* = ὁ θεῖος νοῦς, or ἡ τοῦ νοῦ θείετης in the sense of ὁ θεῖος νοῦς.

cunctis confundi noluit, ne erubesceret aliorum commixtione animantium. Intellegentia enim sensus humani, qualis aut quanta sit, tota in memoria est praeteritorum: per eam enim memoriae tenacitatem et gubernator effectus est terrae. Intellectus autem naturae et qualitat^{is} sensus mundi ex omnibus quae 5 in mundo sensibilia sunt poterit provideri. [[aeternitas quae secunda est]] [ex sensibili mundo sensus (mundi) *natura* qualitasque dinoscitur. At intellectus qualitatis sensus summi dei sola veritas est, cuius veritatis in mundo nequidem extrema linea umbra(ve) dinoscitur. Ubi enim quid temporum dimensione 10 dinoscitur, ibi sunt mendacia; ubi geniturae, ibi errores videntur. [Vides ergo, o Asclepi, in quibus constituti quae tractemus, aut quae audeamus adtingere. Sed tibi, deus summe, gratias ago, qui me videndae divinitatis luminasti lumine. Et vos, o Tat et Asclepi et Hammon, intra secreta pectoris divina mysteria silentio 15 tegite et taciturnitate celate.]]

Hoc autem differt intellectus a sensu, quod intellectus noster ad qualitatem sensus mundi intellegendam et dinoscendam mentis pervenit intentione, ¹intellectus autem mundi¹ pervenit ad aeternitatem et deos noscendos qui supra se sunt. Et sic contingit homini- 20 bus ut quasi per caliginem quae in caelo sunt videamus, quantum possibile est per condicionem sensus humani. Haec autem intentio *prae* videndis tantis angustissima est nobis; latissima vero, cum viderit, felicitas e(st) conscientiae. *«Vides ergo, o Asclepi, in qui-* 25 *bis constituti quae tractemus, aut quae audeamus adtingere. Sed 25 tibi, deus summe, gratias ago, qui me videndae divinitatis luminasti*

¹ cunctis confundi *BMPF*: cunctis animantibus confundi *cell.* 5 enim *GL*: autem *cell.* | et qualitatis *Thomas*: et qualitate *BM*: ex qualitate *GPL*: qualitate et *F* 6 provideri *scripti*: pvideri ω 6-7 aeternitas quae secunda est *hinc ad cap. 32 a transposui* 7-8 ex sensibili... dinoscitur *seclusi* 7 *natura scripti*: datus ω 8 intellectus qualitatis sensus *scripti*: intellectus qualitatisque sensus *BM*: intellectus qualitatis qualitasque sensus *cell.* 10 umbra ω, sed ve add. man. 2 *B* 11 ibi sunt *Goldbacher*: ubi sunt ω | ibi errores *Goldbacher*: ubi errores (ergo res *B*) ω | videntur *B*: videntur *cell.* 23 *prae* videndis *Kroll*: pvidendis ω | bonis (nobis *superscript. man. post.*) *B*: nobis *cell.* (angustissima est pvidendis tantis bonis latissima *F*) 24 felicitas est *Kroll*: felicitate ω 26 tuae post divinitatis add. *F*

mind should be interfused with all things, lest it should be put to shame by mingling with the lower animals.

The knowledge which corresponds to the character and extent of the human mind¹ is based wholly on man's memory of the past; it is the retentiveness of his memory that has given him dominion over the earth. The knowledge which corresponds to the nature and character of the cosmic mind² is such as can be procured³ from all the sensible things in the Kosmos.⁴ But the knowledge which corresponds to the character of the supreme God's mind,⁵—this knowledge, and this alone, is truth;⁶ and of this truth not the faintest outline or shadow is discernible in the Kosmos. For where things are discerned at intervals of time, there is falsehood; and where things have an origin in time,⁷ there errors arise.

Thought,⁸ however, differs from mind⁹ in this respect, that our thought¹⁰ attains by mental effort¹¹ to the kind of knowledge which corresponds to the character of the cosmic mind;¹² and having come to know cosmic things, it furthermore attains to a knowledge of eternity and the supracosmic¹³ gods. And thus it comes to pass that we men see, as through dark mist, the things of heaven,¹⁴ so far as this is compatible with the conditions of the human mind.⁹ Our powers, when we aspire to the sight of things so high, are limited by narrow bounds; but great is man's happiness when he has seen that vision. You see, Asclepius, how lowly is our station, and how lofty are the things of which we treat; but to thee, O God supreme, I give my thanks, that thou hast shed on me the light¹⁴ whereby I see that which

¹ *Intellegentia sensus humani, qualis aut quanta sit = ἡ γνῶσις ἡ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπουν νοῦ ποιὸν καὶ ποιόν?*

² *Intellectus naturae et qualitatis sensus mundi = ἡ γνῶσις ἡ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν τοῦ κοσμικοῦ νοῦ?*

³ *Provieri = πορίζεσθαι?*

⁴ I.e. 'can be acquired by observation or investigation of all things perceptible by sense' (?).

⁵ *Intellectus qualitatis sensus summi dei = ἡ γνῶσις ἡ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν τοῦ νοῦ ἴψιον θεοῦ!*

⁶ *Veritas = ἀλήθεια.*

⁷ *Genitureae = γενέσεις.*

⁸ *Intellectus = διάνοια?*

⁹ Or 'intellect'. *Sensus = νοῦς.*

¹⁰ *Mentis intentione = τῇ τῆς νοήσεως ἐπιτάσσει?*

¹¹ *Ad qualitatem sensus mundi intellegendam et dinoscendum pervenit = φθάνει μέχρι τῆς γνώσεως τῆς κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν τοῦ κοσμικοῦ νοῦ?*

¹² *Deos qui supra se sunt = τοὺς ἐπὲπ αὐτὸν θεούς.*

¹³ *Quae in caelo sunt = τὰ ἐκουνηάτια?*

¹⁴ *Luminasti = ἐφάντωσας.*

- lumine. [Et vos, o Tat et Asclepi et Hammon, intra secreta pectoris divina mysteria silentio tegite et taciturnitate celate.]])
- 33a-34a** [[De inani vero . . . corporibus hominum signa.]] *Vide post cap. 18 a (pp. 316-320).*
- 34 b** [[His ergo sic se habentibus . . . in ipso enim nihil tale 5 consistit.]] *Vide post cap. 19 a (p. 322).*
- 34 c** [[Hic ergo sensibilis qui dicitur mundus . . . quasi ex vestimento esse coniecta.]] *Vide post cap. 19 c (p. 326).*
- 35. 36** [Unumquodque enim genus animalium . . . imaginum similitudines aenulo splendore reddentium.] *Vide post cap. 17 b 10 (pp. 328-330).*
- 37** Sed iam de talibus sint satis dicta talia. Iterum ad hominem rationemque redeamus, ex quo divino dono homo animal dictus est rationale. Minus enim miranda, etsi miranda sunt, quae de homine dicta sunt (cetera); omnium enim mirabilium vincit 15 admirationem, quod homo divinam potuit invenire naturam, eamque efficere. Quoniam ergo proavi nostri multum errabant circa deorum naturam, increduli et non animadvertentes ad cultum religionemque divinam, invenerunt artem qua efficerent deos <<de mundi natura convenientem>>; cui inventae adiunxe- 20 runt virtutem <<de mundi natura convenientem>> <<per quam idola et bene faciendi et male vires habere potuissent>>, eamque miscuerunt: quoniam (enim) animas facere non poterant, evocantes animas daemonum vel angelorum, eas indiderunt imaginibus sanctis divinisque mysteriis [per quas idola et bene faciendi et male 25 vires habere potuissent]. Avus enim tuus, Asclepi, medicinae primus inventor, cui templum consecratum est in monte Libyae circa litus crocodillorum, in quo eius iacet mundanus homo, id est corpus,—reliquus enim, vel potius totus, si est homo totus in sensu vitae, [melior] remeavit in caelum,—omnia etiamnunc 30 hominibus adiumenta praesta/ infirmis numine nunc suo, quae ante solebat medicinae arte praebere. Hermes, cuius avitum mihi nomen est, nonne in sibi cognomine patria consistens omnes

12-8 *infra* : sed iam . . . nominibus nuncupentur citat *Augustinus De civ. dei*
 8. 24 et 26 18 dictus *scripti* : dictum ω Aug. 15 vicit B (man. 1)
 et Aug.: vincit *cett.* 17 que *post eam om. B* (man. 1) et M
 20 *conveniente scripti* : *convenientem* ω Aug. 21 per quam *scripti* : per
 quas ω Aug. 22 miscuerunt *scripti* : *miscentes* ω Aug. 23 praestat
scripti : *praestans* ω Aug. | *nunc om. F* 22 ante *om. Aug.* | solebat
GF: solet *BMPL* : solent *Aug.* | *praebeti Aug.* 23 nonne Aug.:
 non ω (*om. F*) | *patria Aug.* : *patriam* ω

is divine.¹ [And you, Tat and Asclepius and Ammon, I bid you keep these divine mysteries hidden in your hearts, and cover them with the veil of silence.]

But as to these matters, let this suffice ; and let us now return ³⁷ to the topic of man, and that divine gift of reason,² in virtue of which man is called a rational animal.³ Marvellous is all that I have told you of man ; but one thing there is, more marvellous than all the rest ; for all marvels are surpassed by this, that man has been able to find out how gods can be brought into being,⁴ and to make them. Our ancestors were at first far astray⁵ from the truth about the gods ; they had no belief in them,⁶ and gave no heed to worship and religion. But afterwards, they invented the art of making gods out of some material substance⁷ suited for the purpose. And to this invention they added a supernatural force whereby the images might have power to work good or hurt, and combined it with the material substance ;⁸ that is to say, being unable to make souls, they invoked⁹ the souls of daemons,¹⁰ and implanted¹¹ them in the statues by means of certain holy and sacred rites. We have an instance in your grandfather, Asclepius, who was the first inventor of the art of healing, and to whom a temple has been dedicated in the Libyan mountain, near the shore of crocodiles.¹² There lies the material man,¹³ that is, the body ; but the rest of him,—or rather, the whole of him, if it is conscious life¹⁴ that constitutes a man's whole being,—has returned to heaven. And to this day he renders to the sick by his divine power all the aid which he used to render to them by his medicinal art. Again, there is my grandfather Hermes, whose name I bear. Has he not taken up his abode in his native city, which is named after him,¹⁵ and does he not help and safeguard all mortal men who come to him

¹ *Videndae divinitatis* = τοῦ τὸ θεῖον ἰδεῖν.

² *Ratio* = λογιστός ? ³ *Animal rationale* = λογικὸν ζῷον.

⁴ *Divinam inventire naturam* = θεῶν γένεσιν εὑρεῖν ?

⁵ *Quoniam errabant* = ἐπεὶ (οὐ ἐπειδὴ) πεπλανημένοι ήσαν.

⁶ *Increduli* = ἀπιστοὶ ὄντες.

⁷ *Mundi natura* = ὅλη τις φύσις.

⁸ *Cui inventae . . . eamque miscuerunt.* Perhaps something like this : τούτῳ δὲ τῷ εὑρήματι προσέθεσαν ἀρτέν (ορ δύναμίν) τινα δι' ἣς ἔμελλε τὰ εἴδωλα τούτων ἔσειν τοῦ εὖ τε καὶ κακῶν ποιεῖν, καὶ ταύτην συνεκέρασαν· ἐπεὶ γάρ κ.τ.λ.

⁹ *Evoçantes* = ἐκκαλέσαντες ?

¹⁰ *Daemonum vel angelorum* = δαιμόνων ?

¹¹ *Indiderunt* = ἐνέθεσαν ?

¹² That is, in the Fayum.

¹³ *Mundanus homo* = ὁ ὅλικὸς ἄνθρωπος.

¹⁴ *Sensus vitae* = ἡ ψυχικὴ αἰγαθησίς ?

¹⁵ Viz. Hermopolis.

mortales undique venientes adiuvat atque conservat? Isin vero Osiri(di)s quam multa bona praestare propitiam, quantis obesse scimus iratam! Terrenis etenim diis atque mundanis facile est irasci, utpote qui sint ab hominibus ex utraque natura facti atque compositi. Unde contigit ab Aegyptiis haec sancta animalia 5 nuncupari, colique per singulas civitates eorum animas, quorum sunt consecrata *(quasi imagines)* viventes, ita ut et eorum legibus incolantur et eorum nominibus nuncupentur. Per hanc causam, o Asclepi, quod *((quae))* aliis *[[quae]]* colenda videntur atque veneranda, apud alias dissimiliter habentur, [ac] propterea bellis 10

27 d se lacessere Aegyptiorum solent civitates. *((Consecrabuntur vero qui terrae dominantur, et conlocabuntur in civitate in summo initio Aegypti, quae a parte solis occidentis condetur, ad quam terra marique festinabit omne mortale genus.—Ascl.* Modo tamen hoc in tempore ubi isti sunt, o Trismegiste?—*Trism.* Conlocati 15 sunt in maxima civitate in monte Libyco.—»

38 a *Ascl.* Et horum, o Trismegiste, deorum, qui terreni habentur, *(evocatio)* cuiusmodi est *[qualitas]*?—*Trism.* Constat, o Asclepi, de herbis, de lapidibus, et de aromatibus divinitatis naturam in se habentibus. Et propter hanc causam sacrificiis frequentibus 20 oblectantur, hymnis et laudibus et dulcissimis sonis in modum caelestis harmoniae concinentibus, ut illud quod *[caeleste] ((inlectum in idola))* est *caeleste, us(u) et frequentatione (cultus) ((laetum)), [[inlectum in idola]] possit [[laetum]]* humanitatis patiens longa durare per tempora. Sic deorum fuctor est homo. 25

1 Isin δ et Aug.: ipsi B: ipsa MG

2 Fortasse Osiridis *(coniugem)*

4 ex utraque natura GL (*ex corr.*) et Aug.: extraque naturam *cett.* 5 contigit Aug.: contigit codd. Ascl.

7 consecratae (*ex corr.*) M et Aug.: consecrata *cett.*

6 et om. M et Aug. 8 incoantur B: inchoentur M: incolantur *cett.*

10 ac propterea (*h ante ac eras.; ea post propter add.*

*man. post.) B: hac propterea M: ac propterea *cett.* 11–16 Cap. 27 d*

(consecrabuntur ... monte Libyco) huc transposui 11 consecrabuntur scripsi:

distribuentur ω 19 divinitatis naturam MG: divinitatis naturalem man. I

B: vim divinitatis naturalem δ 23 caelesti, usu scripsi: caelesti usu man. 2

*B et ed. Rom.: caeleatus *cett.**

from every quarter? And Isis too, the wife of Osiris,¹—do we not know how many boons she confers when she is gracious, and how many² men she harms when she is angry? For terrestrial and material³ gods are easily provoked to anger, inasmuch as they are made and put together by men out of both kinds of substance. And hence it has come about that the sacred animals are recognized as such⁴ by the Egyptians, and that in the several cities of Egypt people worship the souls of the men to whom these animals have been consecrated⁵ as living statues;⁶ so that the cities are governed by the laws which those men made,⁷ and bear their names. Thus the same animals which some cities think it right to worship and revere are in other cities held in small esteem; and this, Asclepius, is the reason why the cities of Egypt are wont to make war on one another. Moreover, in time to come the rulers of the land will ^{27 d} be made gods, and their worship will be established⁸ in a city at the very border of Egypt, a city which will be founded towards the setting sun, and to which men of every race will speed by land and sea.⁹—*Ascl.* But tell me, Trismegistus, where are such deified rulers to be found in our own day?—*Trism.* Their worship is established in the great city in the Libyan mountain.—

Ascl. And these gods who are called ‘terrestrial’, Trismegistus, ^{38 a} by what means are they induced to take up their abode among us?¹⁰—*Trism.* They are induced, Asclepius, by means of herbs and stones and scents which have in them something divine.¹¹ And would you know why frequent sacrifices are offered to do them pleasure, with hymns and praises and concord of sweet sounds that imitate heaven’s harmony? These things are done to the end that, gladdened by oft-repeated worship,¹² the heavenly beings who have been enticed into the images may continue through long ages to acquiesce in the companionship of men. Thus it is that man makes gods.

¹ *Isin Osiridis* = Ἰσιν τὴν τοῦ Ὀσιρίδος (γυναικα).

² *Quantis* = ὅσοις.

³ *Terreni* = ἐπήγειροι: *mundani* = ὑλικοί?

⁴ *Nuncupari* = ὀνομάζεσθαι, which may have been wrongly substituted for *vocūs* εσθαι.

⁵ *Consecrata* = ἀφιερωμένα. Cf. Diod. I. 83, 1: περὶ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζύρων.

⁶ *Imagines viventes* = εἰκόνες ζῶσαι.

⁷ *Ita ut eorum legibus incolantur* = ὥστε κατὰ τοὺς ἔκεινων νόμους οἰκοῦνται αἱ τόλεις. ⁸ *Conlocabuntur* = ἴδρυθησονται, ορ καθιδρυθήσονται.

⁹ Viz. Alexandria.

¹⁰ *Evocatio* = ἐκκλησίς.

¹¹ *Divinitatis naturam* = θείαν φύσιν, ορ τῆς θείας τι φύσεως.

¹² *Usu et frequentatione cultus* = τῇ τῆς θρησκείας χρήσει καὶ πυκνώσει?

38 b Et ne putassis fort(e) *irritos effectus esse terrenorum deorum o Asclepi*: dii caelestes inhabitant summa caelstia, unusquisque ordinem quem accepit complens atque custodiens; hi nostri vero, singillatim quaedam curantes, quaedam sortibus et divinatione praedicentes, quaedam providentes hisque pro modo subvenientes, 5 humanis amica quasi cognatione auxiliantur. *(Ita) {caelestes dii catholicorum dominantur, terreni incolunt singula.}*—

39 *Ascl.* Quam ergo rationis partem εἰμαρμένη vel fata incolunt, o Trismegiste? [ante] {caelestes dii catholicorum dominantur, terreni incolunt singula.} — *Trism.* Quam εἰμαρμένη nuncupamus, 10 o Asclepi, ea est [{necessitas}] {effectrix rerum} omnium quae geruntur semper sibi catenatis {necessita(ti)s} nexibus vincta(e). Haec itaque est [aut] {effectrix rerum} aut deus summus, aut ab ipso deo qui secundus effectus est [deus], et omnium caelestium terrenarumque rerum firmata divinis legibus disciplina. Haec 15 itaque εἰμαρμένη et necessitas ambae sibi invicem individuo conexae sunt glutino; quarum prior εἰμαρμένη rerum omnium initia parit, necessitas vero cogit ad effectum quae ex illius primordiis pendent. Has ordo consequitur, id est textus et dispositio temporis rerum perficiendarum. Nihil est enim sine 20 ordinis compositione; [{in omnibus mundus iste perfectus est}] ipse enim mundus {vel maxime} ordine gestatur, vel totus

1 forte *irritos* *scripti*: fortuitos ω 9 ante *seclusi*: vel (an)ne *man.* 2 *B*: aut *L*: si *F*: ante *cett.* 12 vinctae *scripti*: vincta ω 14 et *scripti*: aut ω 17 quartum *GF*: quorum *cett.* 18 cogit ad effectum *man.* 2 *B* et *ed. Rom.*: cogit affectum *man.* 1 *B* et *M*: cogit affectum *vel effectum* *cett.* 21 in omnibus... perfectus est *hinc ad cap.* 40 b *transposui* 22 vel maxime *huc a cap.* 40 a *transposui*

19–21 ‘Haec itaque est . . . sine ordinis conpositione.’

Lydus *De mensibus* (Wuensch) 4. 7:

ἡ δὲ εἰμαρμένη ἐστὶν [καὶ η εἰμαρτή] [[ἐνέργεια]] η αὐτὸς ὁ θεός, η η μετ' ἑκένον^a τεταγμένη {ἐνέργεια}, καὶ^b πάντων οὐρανίων τε καὶ ἐπιγείων μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης (κατὰ θεῖον νόμον) τάξις. (. . .) καὶ η μὲν αὐτὰς κύει τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν πραγμάτων, η δὲ καταναγκάζει καὶ τὰ τέλη γίνεσθαι. ταύταις δὲ ἀκολουθεῖ τάξις [καὶ νόμος] (. . .). καὶ {γὰρ} οὐδὲν ἔτακτον.

^a ἑκένον *scripti*: ἑκένην Wuensch.

^b καὶ *scripti*: κατὰ Wuensch.

And you must not suppose, Asclepius, that the operations¹ 38 b of the terrestrial gods are to no purpose.² The celestial gods dwell in the heights of heaven, and there each one of them unwaveringly accomplishes the part assigned to him³ in the ordering of the Kosmos; but these our gods on earth below see to things⁴ one by one, predict events by means of sacred lots and divination, foresee what is coming and render aid accordingly; they assist, like loving kinsmen, in the affairs of men. Thus the celestial gods rule over things universal; the terrestrial gods administer⁵ particulars.

Ascl. But tell me, Trismegistus, what part of the government⁶ 39 of the universe is administered by Destiny?⁷—*Trism.* That which we name Destiny, Asclepius, is the force by which all events are brought to pass;⁸ for all events are bound together in a never-broken chain by the bonds of necessity. Destiny then is either God himself, or else it is the force which ranks next after God; it is the power which, in conjunction with Necessity, orders all things in heaven and earth according to God's law. Thus Destiny and Necessity are inseparably linked together and cemented⁹ to each other. Destiny generates the beginnings of things; Necessity compels the results to follow. And in the train of Destiny and Necessity goes Order, that is, the interweaving¹⁰ of events, and their arrangement¹¹ in temporal succession. There is nothing that is not arranged in order; it is by order above all else that the Kosmos itself is borne upon its course;¹² nay, the Kosmos consists wholly of order.

¹ *Effectus* = ἐνέργεια.

² *Irritus* = μάρασος?

³ *Ordo* = τάξις: *complens atque custodiens* = ἐκπληρῶν καὶ φυλάττων.

⁴ *Quaedam* . . . *quaequam* = τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ.

⁵ *Incolunt* = διουνόνται.

⁶ *Ratio* = οἰκονομία?

⁷ εἱμαρρένη vel *fata* = η εἱμαρρένη alone, or η εἱμαρρένη ή αἱ Μοῖραι?

⁸ *Effectrix rerum omnium quae geruntur* = η ἐνεργοῦσα πάντα τὰ γιγνόμενα?

⁹ *Conexas sunt glutino* = συγκεκόλλησται.

¹⁰ *Textus* = συμπλοκή, or ἐπιπλοκή.

¹¹ *Dispositio* = διάθεσις? *Rerum perficiendarum* = τῶν ἀποτελουμένων?

¹² *Gestatur* = φέρεται?

constat ex ordine. «*Prima ergo είμαρμένη est, quae iacto velut semine futurorum omnium sufficit prolem: sequitur necessitas, qua ad effectum vi coguntur omnia: tertius ordo, textum servans earum rerum quas είμαρμένη necessitasque disponit.*»

40 a Haec [ergo] tria, είμαρμένη, necessitas, ordo, [vel maxime] dei 5
nutu sunt effecta, qui mundum gubernat sua lege et ratione divina. Ab his ergo omne velle aut nolle divinitus aversum est totum; nec ira etenim commoventur nec flectuntur gratia, sed servunt necessitatē rationis aeternae, quae aeternitas] inaversibilis, immobilis, insolubilis est. [[*Prima ergo είμαρμένη est, quae iacto velut semine futurorum omnium sufficit prolem: sequitur necessitas, qua ad effectum vi coguntur omnia: tertius ordo, textum servans earum rerum quas είμαρμένη necessitasque disponit.*]]

40 b [Haec ergo est aeternitas *(in omnibus <quibus> mundus iste perfectus est)*: [*quaec nec coepit esse nec desinet*] quē, fixa 15 inmutabili(s) lege currendi, sempiterna commotione versatur, *(quaec nec coepit esse nec desinet,*] oriturque et occidit alternis [*saepe*] per membra, ita ut variatis temporibus *(saepe)* isdem quibus occiderat membris oriatur. Sic est enim rotundita(ti)s volubilis ratio, ut ita sibi coartata sint cuncta, ut initium quod sit 20 volubilitatis ignores, cum omnia se semper et praecedere videantur et sequi.]

40 c Eventus autem vel fors insunt omnibus permixta mun-
danis. (. . .)

* * * * *

27 e «*Et haec usque eo narrata sint. De inmortali vero et de 25 mortali modo disserendum est: multos enim spes timorque*

1-4 prima... disponit huc a cap. 40 a transposui 6 qui unus 5 et ed.
Rom.: quae vel que cett. 14-22 Cap. 40 b (haec ergo ... et sequi) hinc
transposui: vide post cap. 32 a (p. 352) 25 sqq.: cap. 27 e-29 b (et haec
stellas inluminat) huc transposui 25 sint man. post. B: sunt cett.
| et scripti: aut ω

25-6 *infra* 'de inmortali . . . sensus interitus' = Stob. 4. 52. 47, vol. v,
p. 1087 Hense:

'Ἐρμοῦ ἡ τὸν πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ *(θυητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀ)θανάτου νῦν λεκτέον* τοὺς γάρ πολλοὺς ὁ θάνατος φοβεῖ ὡς κακὸν μέγιστον, ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πράγματος. θάνατος γάρ γίγνεται διαλύσει ^a καμόντος σώματος, καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ πληρωθέντος τῶν ἀρμῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀριθμὸς γάρ ἔστιν ἡ ἀρμογή τοῦ σώματος^b. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ τὸ σῶμα ὅταν μηκέτι δύνηται ^c φέρειν τὸν ἀνθρωπον^d. καὶ τούτῳ ἔστι θάνατος, διάλυσις σώματος καὶ ἀφανισμὸς αἰσθήσεως σωματικῆς.

Of these three, the first is Destiny, which sows the seed, as it were, and thereby gives rise to all that is to issue from the seed thereafter; the second is Necessity, by which all results are inevitably compelled to follow; and the third is Order, which maintains the interconnexion of the events which Destiny and Necessity determine. But Destiny, Necessity, and Order, all **40a** three together, are wrought by the decree¹ of God, who governs the Kosmos by his law and by his holy ordinance.² Hence all will to do or not to do is by God's ruling wholly alien from them. They are neither disturbed by anger nor swayed by favour;³ they obey the compulsion of God's eternal ordinance, which is inflexible, immutable, indissoluble.

Yet chance or contingency⁴ also exists in the Kosmos, being **40c** intermingled with all material things.⁵ . . .

* * * * *

But enough of this. I must now speak of the mortal and **27e** immortal parts of man. The many are afraid of death, thinking

¹ *Natus = νεῦμα.*

² *Lex = νόμος: ratio = λόγος.*

³ *Gratia = χάρις.*

⁴ *Eventus vel fors = τύχη!* or *τὸ συμβεβηκός καὶ ἡ τύχη?*

⁵ *Mundana = δικαία?*

^a διαλύσει scripsi: διάλυσις codd.

^b Fortasse τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ πληρωθέντος τῶν [] ἐτῶν ἐφ' ἡ διαμένει (?) ἡ δρμογῆ τοῦ σώματος.

^c δύνηται Halm: δύναται codd.

^d Fortasse τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον.

mortis excruciat, verae rationis ignaros. Mors enim efficitur dissolutione corporis labore defessi, et numeri completi [quo] corporis membra in unam machinam ad usus vitales aptantur; moritur enim corpus, quando hominis vitalia ferre posse destiterit. Haec est ergo mors, corporis dissolutio et corporalis sensus 5 interitus: de qua sollicitudo supervacua est. Sed est alia necessaria, quam aut ignoratio aut incredibilitas contemnit humana.—

Ascl. Quid est, o Trismegiste, quod aut ignorant aut esse posse diffidunt?—*Trism.* Audi ergo, o Asclepi. Cum fuerit animae e corpore facta discessio, tunc (fiet) arbitrium examenque meriti 10 eius. Transiet (enim) in summi daemonis potestatem: isque eam cum piam iustumque pviderit, in sibi competentibus locis manere permittit; sin autem delictorum inlitam maculis vitiisque oblitam viderit, desuper ad ima deturbans procellis turbinibusque aeris igni et aquae saepe discordanti[bus] tradit, ut inter caelum 15 et terram mundanis fluctibus in diversa semper aeternis poenis agitata rapiatur: ut in hoc animae obsit aeternitas, quod sit inmortali sensu aeterno supplicio subiugata. Ergo ne his inplinemur, verendum, timendum, cavendumque esse cognosce: incredibiles enim post delicta cogentur credere, non verbis, sed 20 exemplis, nec minis, sed ipsa passione poenarum. «Praescia etenim omnium rerum divinitate, pro delictorum qualitatibus, perinde ut sunt, reddentur poenae.»—*Ascl.* Non ergo, Trismegiste, hominum delicta sola humana lege puniuntur?—*Trism.* Primo, Asclepi, «sunt mortalia» terrena quae sunt omnia [sunt 25

2 desolutione (vel dis- man. 2) *B*: desolatione *M* | Fortasse numeri completi (= *τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ πληρωθέντος*, gen. abs.) (annorum ad) quo(s) 3 vitalis (es man. post.) *B*: vitales *cett.* 6 sed est man. 2 *B*: sed et *cett.* 15 igni *BMF*: ignis *GPL* | discordantis *scripti*: discordantibus *ω* | tradit ut inter *Vulcanius*: traditur inter *BMLG*: traditur ut inter man. 2 *B*: tradit atque inter *F* 17 rapiatur *B*: raptatur *cett.* 18 sensu *scripti*: sententia *ω* 21-23 praescia... poenae *huc transposui*, mutato verborum ordine

it the greatest of evils, through ignorance of the truth. Death comes to pass through the dissolution of a worn-out body, and takes place at the completion of the number of years for which the bodily parts are coadjusted to form a single instrument for the discharge of the vital functions; for the body dies when it is no longer able to sustain the stress of human life. Death then is the dissolution of the body, and the cessation of bodily sense; and about this we have no cause to be troubled. But there is something else, which demands our anxious thought, though men in general disregard it through ignorance or unbelief.—*Ascl.* What is it, Trismegistus, that men do not know of, or do not believe to be possible?—*Trism.* I will tell you, ²⁸ Asclepius. When the soul has quitted the body, there will be held a trial and investigation of its deserts. The soul will come under the power of the chief of the daemons.¹ When he finds a soul to be devout and righteous, he allows it to abide in the region which is suited to its character; but if he sees it to be marked with stains of sin, and defiled with *(incurable)* vices, he flings it downward, and delivers it to the storms and whirlwinds of that portion of the air which is in frequent conflict with fire and water, that² the wicked soul may pay everlasting³ penalty, being ever swept and tossed hither and thither between sky and earth by the billows of cosmic matter.⁴ And so⁵ the everlasting³ existence of the soul is to its detriment in this respect, that its imperishable faculty of feeling⁶ makes it subject to everlasting³ punishment. Know then that we have good cause for fear and dread, and need to be on our guard, lest we should be involved in such a doom as this. Those who disbelieve⁷ will, after they have sinned, be forced to believe; they will be convinced, not by words, but by hard facts, not by mere threats, but by suffering the punishment in very deed. All things are known to God,⁸ and the punishments inflicted will vary in accordance with the character of men's offences.—*Ascl.* It is not true then, Trismegistus, that men's offences are punished only by human law?—*Trism.* Some parts of man, Asclepius, are mortal; that is to say,

¹ *Summus daemon* = δαμονιέρχης.

³ *Ut* = ἵνα.

² *Aeternus* = ἀΐδος.

⁴ *Mundanus* = ὑλικός.

⁵ *Ut* = ὥστε.

⁶ *Sensus* = αἰσθησίς.

⁷ *Incredibilis* = οἱ ἀπιστοῦντες.

⁸ *Praesicia . . . divinitate* = πάντων γὰρ τῷ θεῷ γνωρίμων ὄντων, or something of the sort. 'All things' must here mean all men's deeds, and especially their evil deeds.

mortalia]; tunc ea etiam, quae sunt corporali ratione viventia et a vivendo cadem corporum ratione deficientia. Ea omnia «in vita» pro vitae meritis aut delictis poenis obnoxia (...) tanto post mortem severioribus subiciuntur, quanto [[in vita]] forsitan fuerint celata, dum viverent, (delicta). [[Praesicia etenim omnium rerum divinitate reddentur perinde ut sunt pro delictorum qualitatibus poenae.]]—*Ascl.* Qua(re) sunt digni maioribus poenis, o Trismegiste?—*Trism.* Qui(a) damnati humanis legibus vitam violenter amittunt, ut non naturae animam debitam, sed poenam pro meritis reddidisse videantur. Contra iusto homini (...)» ¹⁰

* * * * *

33 b «Dico nunc daemonas quos credo «in terra[m]» commorari nobiscum, (et quos ...) «supra nos», et [heroas] quos in[ter]

3 vitae secludendum? 3-4 Fortasse poenis obnoxia sunt. Inmortalia vero quae sunt, poenis) tanto post mortem severioribus subiciuntur 7 quare scripsi: qui ω 8 quia scripsi: qui ω 11-3 infra: cap. 33 b (dico nunc ... commotio) huc transposui 12-1 infra: in aeris purissima parte scripsi: inter aeris purissimam partem ω

11 sgg (cap. 33 b). Lydus *De mens.* 4. 32 (Wuensch): ὅτι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἐρμῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ καλουμένῳ τελείῳ φησι

τοὺς μὲν τιμωροὺς τῶν δαιμόνων, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὑλῇ παρόντας, τιμωρεῖσθαι τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κατ' ἀξίαν· τοὺς δὲ καθαρτικούς, ἐν τῷ ἀέρι πεπηγότας, τὰς ψυχὰς μετὰ θάνατον ἀνατρέχειν πειρωμένας ἀποκαθαίρειν περὶ τὰς χαλαζώδεις καὶ πυρώδεις τοῦ ἀέρος ζώνας,

ὅς οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων ἐν Φαιδρῷ Τάρταρον καὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντα λόγῳ φησὶν οὕτως·

τοὺς δὲ σωτηρικούς, πρὸς τῷ σεληνιακῷ χώρῳ τεταγμένους, ἀποσώζειν τὰς ψυχάς.

Lydus *De mens.* 4. 148: κατὰ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Ἐρμῆν, ὃς ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ τελείῳ λόγῳ φησὶν οὕτως·

αἱ δὲ παραβάσαι ψυχαὶ τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας κανόνα, ἐπὰν ἀπαλλαγώσι τοῦ σώματος, παραδίδονται (κατὰ) τοῖς δαιμοσι, καὶ φέρονται [κατὰ] [[τοῦ ἀέρος]] σφενδονούμεναι (*legendum -νόμεναι?*) [καὶ] κατὰ τὰς πυρώδεις καὶ χαλαζώδεις (τοῦ ἀέρος) ζώνας,

ὅς οἱ ποιηταὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντα καὶ Τάρταρον καλοῦσιν.

firstly, all those parts of him which are of earthy substance, and secondly, those parts of him also which live their life after the manner of the body,¹ and likewise cease from life after the manner of the body. All these parts are liable to punishment in this life, so far as the man has deserved punishment by his offences. But man's immortal part is subject to punishment after death ; and that punishment is all the more severe, if his offences chance to have escaped detection² during his life on earth.—*Ascl.* But 29 a why, Trismegistus, do such men deserve severer punishment ?—
Trism. Because those who are condemned by human laws are forcibly³ deprived of life, and so it is held that they have not yielded up their life⁴ as a debt due to nature, but have paid by its loss the penalty which they deserved. But to the righteous man, on the other hand, . . .

* * * * *

I say that there are daemons who dwell with us here on earth, 33 b and others who dwell above us in the lower air, and others

¹ Perhaps, θυητά ἔστω, ὡς Ἀσκληπιός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅσα γήινα, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ σώματος λόγον (οὐ τρόπον) ἔσσηται.

² Quanto forsitan fuerint celata = έάν τύχῃ κρυφέντα.

³ Violenter = βιαλῶς.

⁴ Animam = ζῷην, or πνεῦμα ?

Lydus *De mens.* 4. 32 : 'Hermes of Egypt, in his *Crowning Discourse*, as it is called, says

that the daemons of punishment are present in the very matter (of the human body?), and punish men's sins according to their deserts ;

that the daemons of purgation are in the air and consist of coagulated air, and that when the souls after death are striving to ascend, these daemons purge them in those strata of the air which teem with hail and fire ;

and that the daemons of salvation are stationed near the lunar sphere, and bring the souls off in safety (to the place where they would be).'

aeris purissima[m] parte[m] [[supra nos]] [et] [[in terram]], ubi nec nubilis locus est nec nubibus, nec ex signorum aliquorum agitatio commotio.)

* * * * *

29 b <(In dei religione et in [summa] pietate praesidium est *(unum)*: deus enim tales ab omnibus tutatur malis. Pater enim omnium 5 vel dominus, et is qui solus est omnia, omnibus se libenter ostendit, non ubi sit loco, nec qualis sit qualitate, nec quantus sit quantitate, sed hominem sola intelligentia mentis inluminans; qui, discussis ab animo errorum tenebris, et veritatis claritate percepta, toto se sensu intelligentiae divinae commiscet, cuius 10 amore a parte naturae quae mortalis est liberatus, immortalitatis futurae concipit fiduciam. Hoc ergo inter bonos malosque dista[bi].t. <(Ut) [unus] enim quisque pietate, religione, prudentia, cultu, et veneratione dei clarescit, quasi oculi vera ratione perspecta et fiducia credulitatis suae¹ tantum inter homines quantum 15 sol lumine ceteris astris antistat. [Ipse enim sol non tam magnitudine luminis quam divinitate et sanctitate ceteras stellas inluminat].>

* * * * *

1 et interram *BM*: et in terram *PL*: et terram *GF*: et aethera *Kozio*.
 2 nec nubibus *B*: *om. cett.* 12–13 distat *scripti*: distabit *ω* 14–15 Fortasse clarescit, <(fiducia credulitatis suae> quasi oculis vera ratione perspecta [et] [[]] tantum 14 oculis *ed. Rom.*: oculi *ω* 18 inluminat *ω*: fortasse exsuperat

4–5 ‘in dei religione . . . tutatur malis.’ Lactantius *Div. inst.* 2, 15, 6: ‘adfirmat Hermes eos qui cognoverint deum non tantum ab incursibus daemorum tutos esse, verum etiam ne fato quidem teneri.

μία inquit φυλακή εύσέβεια. εύσεβοῦς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου οὕτε δάιμον κακὸς οὔτε εἰμαρμένη κρατεῖ· θεὸς γὰρ ρύεται τὸν εύσεβη ἐκ παντὸς κακοῦ. τὸ γὰρ ἐν καὶ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν εύσέβεια.’

Cyrillus c. *Iulian.* iv. 130 E, Migne vol. 76, col. 701 A: ‘γράφει δὲ ὁδὸς καὶ αὐτὸς (sc. ὁ τρισμέγιος Ἐρμῆς) ἐν Γάρ τῷ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν, περὶ τῶν ἀνοσίων δαιμόνων, ὃς δεῖ φυλάττεοθά τε καὶ φεύγειν προτροπάδην’

μία δὲ φυλακή ἔστι, καὶ αὐτῇ ἀναγκαῖα, η εύσέβεια· εύσεβοῦς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀγνοῦ καὶ σεμνοῦ οὔτ' ἀν δαιμῶν τις κακὸς οὔτε εἰμαρμένη κρατήσαι ποτὲ η ἀρξειεν. ὁ θεὸς γὰρ ρύεται τὸν τοιοῦτον, δύτα δύτως εύσεβη, ἐκ παντὸς κακοῦ.’

again,¹ whose abode is in the purest part of the air, where no mist or cloud can be, and where no disturbance is caused by the motion of any of the heavenly bodies.

* * * * *

(Lydus *De mens.* 4. 148:)² And the souls which have transgressed the rule of piety, when they depart from the body, are handed over to these daemons,³ and are swept and hurled to and fro in those strata of the air which teem with fire and hail.

* * * * *

The one safeguard is piety.⁴ Over the pious man neither evil **29 b** daemon nor destiny has dominion; for God saves the pious from every ill. Piety is the one and only good among men. The Father and Master of all, he who alone is all things, willingly reveals himself to all men. He does not indeed enable them to perceive him as situated in a certain place, or as having certain (sensible) qualities,⁵ or a certain magnitude; but he illuminates⁶ man with that knowledge alone which is the property of mind;⁷ whereby the darkness of error is dispelled from the soul,⁸ and truth⁹ is seen in all its brightness, and so man's consciousness¹⁰ is wholly absorbed in the knowledge of God;¹¹ and being freed, by his ardent love of God,¹² from that part of his being which makes him mortal,¹³ he is assured of his immortality in time to come. In this consists the difference between the good man and the bad. For in so far as a man is illumined¹⁴ by piety and devotion, by knowledge¹⁵ of God, and worship and adoration of him, . . .¹⁶ he surpasses other men as much as the sun outshines the other lights of heaven.

* * * * *

¹ *Dico nunc daemons &c.*: perhaps, λέγω δὲ δάιμονας οὐδὲ μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν οἰκεῖν ἐπὶ γῆς, *{οὐδὲ}* ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν *{ἐν τῷ περιγέλῳ δέρι}*, οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ.

² Absent in the Latin text of the *Asclepius*, but quoted from the Greek original by Lydus.

³ Viz. the daemons who dwell in the lower air.

⁴ *Dei religio et pietas = εὐσέβεια.* ⁵ *Qualitas = ποιόν.*

⁶ *Illuminans = φωτίζων.* ⁷ *Intelligentia = γνῶσις: mens = νοῦς?*

⁸ *Animus = ψυχή?* ⁹ *Veritas = ἀλήθεια.*

¹⁰ Or, 'man's thought'. *Sensus = αἴσθησις!* or *νοῦς?*

¹¹ *Intelligentia divina = ἡ θεῖα γνῶσις, or ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶσις.*

¹² Or, 'by his ardent desire for that knowledge (*gnosis*)'. *Amor = ἔρως.*

¹³ Or, 'from the mortal part of the universe'.

¹⁴ *Clarescit = φωτίζεται?* ¹⁵ *Prudentia = γνῶσις?*

¹⁶ Perhaps, 'and, in the assurance of his faith, beholds reality as though with bodily eyes'.

(Epilogus.)

40d *Trism.* ‘Dictum est vobis de singulis, ut humanitas potuit, ut voluit permisitque divinitas. Restat hoc solum nobis, ut benedicentes deum orantesque ad curam corporis redeamus: satis enim nos de divinis rebus tractantes velut animi pabulis saturavimus.’
5

41a De adyto vero egressi cum deum orare coepissent, in austrum respicientes,—sole etenim occidente cum quis deum rogare voluerit, illuc debet intendere, sicuti et sole oriente in eum qui subsolanus dicitur,—iam ergo dicentibus precationem Asclepius ait voce submissa: ‘O Tat, vis suggeramus patri tuo, e rit(u) ut 10 ture addito et pigmentis precem dicamus deo?’ Quem Trismegistus audiens atque commotus ait: ‘Melius, melius ominare, Asclepi: hoc enim sacrilegi simile est, cum deum roges, tus ceteraque incendere. Nihil enim deest ei, qui ipse est omnia, aut in eo sunt omnia. Sed nos agentes gratias adoremus; haec[15] sunt enim summi incensiones dei, gratiae cum aguntur a mortalibus.

10 o Tat, vis Thomas: o tatus man. pr. B: o tati man. post. B et cell.
| patri tuo, e ritu ut scripsi: patri iussit ut ω: patri tus e ritu, ut Reitzenstein
13 sacrilegii unus 5, Kroll: sacrilegis codd. cell. 15 hae ed. Rom.: haec ω
16 summi scripsi: summae ω

12-17 ‘melius, melius . . . a mortalibus.’ Lactantius *Div. inst.* 6. 25.
11: ‘Trismegistus Hermes . . . in illo sermone perfecto, cum exaudisset Asclepium quaerentem a filio suo utrum placaret patri eius proferri tus et alios odores ad sacrificium dei, exclamavit:

“Bene, bene ominare, o Asclepi: est enim maxima impietas tale quid de uno illo ac singulari bono in animum inducere. Haec et his similia huic non convenient: omnium enim quaeunque sunt plenus est, et omnium minime indigens. Nos vero agentes gratias adoremus; huius enim sacrificium sola benedictio est.”’

Epilogue.

Trism. ‘I have explained each of these matters to you,’ as far 40 d as my human powers availed, and as far as God willed and allowed. This only remains for us to do, that we should praise God and pray to him, and then turn our attention to the needs of the body; for our minds have been fed full with discourse 41 a concerning things divine.’

Having come forth from the sanctuary, they began their prayers to God, looking towards the South; for when a man wishes to pray to God at sunset, he ought to face southward, as at sunrise he ought to face eastward.² But when they had begun to pray, Asclepius whispered, ‘Tell me, Tat, shall we propose to your father that we should add to our prayer, as men are wont to do, an offering of incense and perfumes?’³ Trismegistus heard; and much disturbed, he said, ‘Hush, hush,⁴ Asclepius; it is the height of impiety to think of such a thing with regard to Him who alone is good.⁵ Such gifts as these are unfit for him; for he is filled with all things that exist, and lacks nothing.⁶ Let us adore him rather with thanksgiving; for words of praise⁷ are the only offering that he accepts.

¹ *Vobis*, plural.

³ *Subsolanus* = ἀπηλιάρης.

² *Pigmenta (alios odores Lactant.)* = ἀρώματα.

⁴ *Melius omninae = εὐφήμαι οἱ εὐφήμησον.*

⁵ *De uno illo ac singulari bono (Lactant.) = περὶ ἑκείνου τὸν ἔνα καὶ μόνον ἀγαθὸν ὄντα.*

⁶ *Omnium minime indigens (Lactant.) = πάντων ἀπροσδεής (οἱ ἀνενδεής).*

⁷ *Benedictio (Lactant.) = εὐλογία.*

41 b 'Gratias tibi (agimus), summe, exsuperantissime; tua enim gratia tantum sumus cognitionis tuae lumen consecuti.

Nomen sanctum,
et honorandum nomin(e di)v(i)no, quod solus do(min)us es,
(e)t benedicendum religione paterna, quoniam omnibus pater- 5
nam pietatem et dilectionem et amorem, et quaecumque est
dulcior efficacia, praebere dignaris,
condonans nos sensu, ratione, intelligentia :
sensu, ut te cognoverimus ;
ratione, ut te suspicionibus indagemus ;
cognitione, ut te cognoscentes [[gaudeamus]] ac lumine sal-
vati tuo (gaudeamus).
Gaudemus quod te nobis ostenderis totum ;

1 agimus addidit Reitzenstein 4 nomine divino scripsi: nomen unum ω:
nomine Reits. 4–5 quod solus dominus es, et benedicendum scripsi: quo
solus deus est benedicendus ω 6 dilectionem Eitrem: religionem ω
8 condonans GLF: condonas BMP 11 lumine scripsi: numine ω

Cap. 41 b ('Gratias tibi' etc.):—Papyrus magicus Mimaut (Louvre 2391) vv. 284–302; transcripsit Reitzenstein, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* vii (1904), p. 393 sq. Prius ediderant Wessely, *Denkschr. der k. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Classe* xxxvi, Wien, 1888, Abt. 2, p. 145 sq.; Reitzenstein, *Poinandres*, 1904, pp. 151–157. Denuo edidit Reitzenstein, *Die hellenist. Mysterienrel.*, 1910, p. 113 sq. Nuper recognovit S. Eitrem, *Les Papyrus magiques grecs de Paris* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II. Hist.-filos. Klasse*, 1923, No. 1), Kristiania, p. 34 sq.

(χ)άριν¹ σοὶ οἴδαμεν, (ὕψιστε,² ψυχῆ πάσῃ καὶ καρδίᾳ[ν]
πρός (σε) ἀνατεταμένη[ν].³
(τῇ γὰρ σῇ μόνῳ χάριτι τὸ φῶς τῆς γνώσεώς σου
εἰλήχαμεν.)⁴
(---) ἀφραστον δύομα (---),
τετιμημένον (δὲ) (τῇ)⁵ τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίᾳ, (ὅτι σὺ μόνος
εἶ κύριος),
καὶ εὐλογούμενον τῇ τοῦ (πατρ)ός, ὅτ(ι)⁶ π(ρὸ)s πάντας
καὶ περὶ πάντα[ς]⁷ πατρικὴν (εὖ)νοιαν⁸ καὶ στοργὴν
καὶ φιλίαν, καὶ εἴ τι(s) γλυκυτέ(ρα)[ν], ἐνεργ(εία)
ἐν(ε)δ(ε)ίξω,⁹
χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν¹⁰ νοῦν, (λόγ)ον,¹¹ γνῶσιν.
νοῦν μέ(ν),¹² ἵνα σὲ νοήσωμεν,
λόγον (δέ), (η)ν¹³ σὲ ἐπικαλέσωμεν,
γνῶσιν (δέ),¹⁴ ἵνα σὲ ἐπιγνόντες καὶ τῷ φωτί σου
σωθέντες χαῖρωμεν.
χα(ίρομε)ν ὅτι¹⁵ σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἔδ(ε)ίξας (ὅλον).¹⁶

'We thank thee, O thou Most High¹, with heart and soul wholly **41 b**
uplifted to thee ;

for it is by thy grace alone that we have attained to the light,²
and come to know thee.

We thank thee, O thou whose name no man can tell,
but whom men honour by the appellation 'God', because
thou alone art Master,

and bless by the appellation 'Father', because thou hast
shown in act³ toward all men and in all things loving-kind-
ness and affection such as a father feels, nay, yet sweeter
than a father's ;

for thou hast bestowed on us mind, and speech, and know-
ledge :

mind, that we may apprehend thee ;

speech, that we may call upon thee ;

and knowledge, that having come to know thee, and found
salvation in the light thou givest, we may be filled with
gladness.

We are glad because thou hast revealed thyself to us in all
thy being ;

¹ *Exsuperantissime* might stand for ὑπεροχώτατε; but perhaps it is an alternative translation of ὕψος.

² *Tantum = μόνον?* Or *tantum lumen τοσοῦτον φῶς*, 'this great light'?

³ The translator must have read *ἐνέργεια* (*efficacia*) as a nominative.

¹ χόριν Wessely | ² ὑψοτε add. Reitz. | ³ ψυχῇ πάσῃ καὶ καρδίᾳ
πρὸς σε ἀνατεταμένη scripsi : ψυχὴ πασα και καρδιαν προς . . ανατεταμενη Pap. :
om. Reitz. 1910 | ⁴ (τῇ γὰρ σῇ μόνῳ . . . εἰλάχαμεν.) addidi : (σῇ γὰρ
χάριτι τοῦτο τὸ φῶς τῆς γράσσως ἐλάβομεν) add. Reitz. | ⁵ τῇ Reitz.
| ⁶ τῷ πατρός, ὅτι πρὸς scripsi : τῇ τοῦ πατρός (προσκλήσει), ὅτι πρὸς
Reitz. : τῇ του . . οὐ οὐ . π . . s Pap., teste Reitz. τῇ του . . ου ου . πρ .
Pap., teste Eitrem. (Nescio an magis perperam scripsit δέοι προ πατρός, ει
δοσι (?) πρ δι) | ⁷ καὶ περὶ πάντα scripsi : καὶ προ παντας Pap. : καὶ πρὸς
πάντας Reitz. | ⁸ εἴνοιν Wessely | ⁹ καὶ εἰ τι γλυκυτέρα, ἐπεργεῖα ἐνεδείξω
scripsi : καὶ επιγλυκυτα . . γ ενεργ . . ενδέξω Pap., teste Eitrem : καὶ επιγλυκυ-
τάτην ἐνέργειαν ἐνεδείξω Reitz. | ¹⁰ ἡμῖν Reitz. : ὑμῖν Pap. | ¹¹ λόγον
Reitz. | ¹² μὲν Reitz. | ¹³ δέ, ἵνα Reitz. | ¹⁴ δέ add. Reitz.
| ¹⁵ ἐπιγνόντες καὶ τῷ φωτὶ σου σωθέντες χαίρομεν. χαίρομεν ὅτι scripsi : ἐπι-
γνοσώμεν χα . . . ν οτι Pap., teste Eitrem : ἐπιγνόντες χαίρομεν. (σωθέντες ὑπὸ^o
σοῦ) χαίρομεν ὅτι Reitz. | ¹⁶ ἔθεις (ὅλον) Reitz.

gaudemus quod nos in corporibus sitos aeternitate *(tua)*
fueris consecrare dignatus.
Haec est enim humana sola gratulatio, cognitio maiestatis
tuae.
Cognovimus te, [et] *<o>* lumen maximum solo intellectu sensi- 5
bili(*um*) ;
cognovimus te, o vitae <humanae> vera vita.
<<Cognovimus te>>, o <matrix> [naturarum] <rerum> omnium
fecunda, *<..>* praegnatio ;
cognovimus te, <o> totius naturae [tuo] conceptu plenissim(a)e 10
[cognovimus te]] aeterna perseveratio.
In omni enim ista oratione adorantes *(te solum)* bonum,
bonitatis tuae hoc tantum deprecamur, ut nos velis servari
perseverantes in amore cognitionis tuae, et numquam ab
hoc vitae genere separari. 15

'Haec optantes convertamus nos ad puram et sine animalibus
cenam.'

1 aeternitate tua *scripti*: aeternitati *ω* : fortasse aeterna vita tua 5 et
om. F: *seclusus Thomas* | sensibilium *scripti*: sensibili *ω* 7 cognovi-
mus *scripti*: intellegimus *ω* | Fortasse o vita vera *<humanae>* vitae
8 cognovimus te *huc transposuit Reitz.* 9 Fortasse *<per patris im>* praeg-
gnatio *<nem gravida>* 10 plenissimae *Reitz.* : plenissimū (*u in rasura*
man. post.) *B:* plenissime *cell.* 13 Fortasse te precamur | servari
scripti: servare *ω* 18 convertamus *scripti*: convertimus *ω*

χαίρομεν δ(*τι ἐν πλάσμασιν*¹⁷ ήμᾶς δύτας ἀποθεῶσαι
ἡξίωσι) ας¹⁸ τῇ σεαυτοῦ).¹⁹
χάρις ἀνθρώπου πρὸς σὲ μ(ία) τὸ *(σὸν μέγεθος)*
γνωρίσαι.²⁰
ἐγνωρίσαμεν *(σε), ω <ζωὴ ἀληθὲς>* τῆς ἀνθρω-
πίνης *ζωῆς*.
(*ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ω φῶς*) *<μεγίστον>* Γάπάσης γνώ-
σεως^{1. 21}
ἐγνωρίσαμεν *(σε), ω[ν]*²² μήτρα *(παντοφ)* ὄρε²³, ἐν
π(α)τρὸς φυτ*(ε)ξία*²⁴ *(κυοῦσα)*.
ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ω *(τοῦ τὸ πᾶν ἐν)* στάσει κυκλο-
φοροῦντος²⁵ αἰώνιος διαμονή.
(*τ*)ούτῳ σὲ τῷ λόγῳ²⁶ προσκυνήσαντες *(τὸν μόνον*
ἀγαθὸν δύτα, παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος) μ(η)δε-
μίαν διτήσωμεν *(χάριν πλὴν)* *(τόδε μόνον)*. (*θ*)έλη-
σον²⁷ ήμᾶς διατηρηθῆναι ἐν τῇ σῇ γνώσῃ καὶ
φιλότητι, καὶ [*τὸ*] μή(ποτε) σφαλῆναι²⁸ τοῦ
τοιούτου (*βίου*).²⁹

we are glad because, while we are yet in the body, thou hast deigned to make us gods by the gift of thine own eternal life.

Man can thank thee only by learning to know thy greatness. We have learnt to know thee, O thou most brightly shining light of the world of mind;¹

we have learnt to know thee, O thou true life of the life of man.²

We have learnt to know thee, O thou all-prolific Womb, made pregnant by the Father's begetting³; we have learnt to know thee, O thou eternal constancy of that which stands unmoved, yet makes the universe⁴ revolve.

With such words of praise do we adore thee, who alone art good; and let us crave from thy goodness no boon save this: be it thy will that we be kept still knowing and loving thee, and that we may never fall away from this blest way of life.⁵

'Having prayed thus,⁶ let us betake ourselves to a meal unpolluted by flesh of living things.'⁷

¹ *Solo intellectu sensibilium* = τὰν νοητῶν.

² This and the preceding clause are interchanged in the Greek as given in the Papyrus.

³ *Praegnatio* (or *impraegnatio*) = φύεια. ⁴ *Totius naturae* = τοῦ παντός?

⁵ I.e. the bliss which is enjoyed by those who know and love God, and which Hermes and his pupils are now enjoying.

⁶ Probably an aorist participle in the Greek. ⁷ *Animalia* = ζμψυχα.

| ¹⁷ ὅτι ἐν πλάσμασιν Εἰτρεμ (ο . . . λασμασιν Ραρ., teste Eitrem) : ὅτι
ἐν σώμασιν Reitz. | ¹⁸ ἀποθέωσαι ἥβωσας scripsi: ἀποθέωσας Reitz.:
απ. θεω. as Pap., teste Reitz.; αποθεω. as Pap., teste Eitrem | ¹⁹ σεαυτοῦ
θέα Reitz.: σεαυτοῦ δυνάμειν vel θελήσαι εἰ Eitrem. Αν σεαυτοῦ αἰωνί(θητη)
vel αἰωνί(φ ζῶ)? | ²⁰ πρὸς σέ, σοῦ τὸ μέγεθος γνωρίσας Reitz.: προς σέ
μετά γνωρίσας Ραρ., teste Reitz.: προς σέ μ . . το . νωρίσας Ραρ., teste Eitrem
| ²¹ ἐγνωρίσαμέν σε, ἡ φῶς μόνη τῇ νοήσει αἰσθητόν (= solo intellectu sensible)
Reitz.: . γνωρίσαμε . . . απαρχῆς γνώσεως Ραρ., teste Eitrem. Num scribebundum
ἐγνωρίσαμεν(ν σε, ἡ λ)α(μ)πᾶς (μέγιστη τ)ῆς γνώσεως (vel τῶν νοητῶν)?
| ²² ἐγνωρίσαμέν σε, ὦ Reitz.: εγνωρίσμενος Ραρ. | ²³ μήτρα παντοφόρη
scripsi: μήτρα κυνοφόρε (πάντων) Reitz.: μήτρα . . . ope Ραρ., teste Eitrem
| ²⁴ ἐν πατρὸς φυτείᾳ scripsit Reitz., sed ad sequentiam transpositum: εμ π. τρος
φυται Ραρ., teste Reitz.; ε μήτρας φυται Ραρ., teste Eitrem | ²⁵ ὡ τοῦ τὸ
πᾶν ἐν στάσει κυκλοφοροῦντος scripsi (pro quo legisse puto interpretem Latinum
ἢ τοῦ παντὸς ἐν πᾶσι κυκλοφοροῦντος): ὠρτα . . . φορου . τος Ραρ., teste Eitrem:
ἢ τοῦ κυκλοφοροῦντος (ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς φυτείᾳ) Reitz. | ²⁶ τούτῳ σὲ τῷ λόγῳ
scripsi: ουτος ον . . . Ραρ., teste Eitrem: ούτας οὖν σε Reitz. | ²⁷ μηδε-
μίαν αἰτήσαμεν χάριν πλὴν (vel ει μή) τόδε μόνον θέλησον scripsi: μ. δεμαν
ητησαμεν. ελησον Ραρ., teste Eitrem: οὐδεμίαν ητησαμεν δέσμων (παρὰ
τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος (?)), πλὴν θέλησον Reitz. | ²⁸ ἐν τῇ σῇ γνώσει καὶ
φιλότητι, καὶ μήποτε σφαλῆσαι scripsi: εν τῇ σῃ γν . σ τῇ το
μη σφαλῆσαι Ραρ., teste Eitrem: ἐν τῇ σῇ γνώσει, παρατηθεῖς τὸ μὴ σφαλῆσαι
Reitz.: ἐν τῇ σῇ γνώσει τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ (?) πρὸς (I) τὸ μὴ σφαλῆσαι Eitrem
| ²⁹ τοιούτου βίου scripsi: τοιούτου γένους τοῦ βίου Reitz.

LIST OF THE HERMETIC EXCERPTS IN

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THE ANTHOLOGIUM OF STOBAEUS

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STOBAEI HERMETICA

EXCERPTUM I

Stobaeus 2. 1. 26, vol. ii, p. 9 Wachsmuth (*Floril. 80. 9* Meineke).

Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ.

1 Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπόν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον φέ καὶ νοῆσαι δυνατόν. τὸ γὰρ [ἀσώματον σώματι σημῆναι ἀδύνατον, καὶ τὸ] τέλειον τῷ ἀτελεῖ καταλαβέσθαι Γού δυνατόν], καὶ τὸ ἀίδιον τῷ διλιγοχρονίῳ συγγενέσθαι δύσκολον. τὸ μὲν 5 γὰρ ἀεὶ ἔστι, τὸ δὲ παρέρχεται καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀληθές ἔστι, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ φαντασίας Γοκιάζεται]. [ὅσον οὖν τὸ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἴσχυροτέρου καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον τοῦ κρείττονος 2 διέστηκε,] τοσοῦτον (διέστηκε) τὸ θυητὸν τοῦ θείου. ἡ δὲ μέση τούτων διάστασις ἀμαρρᾶ τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ θέαν. 10 ὁφθαλμοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ σώματα θεατά [γλώττη δὲ τὰ ὄρατὰ λεκτά]: τὸ δὲ ἀσώματον καὶ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ μὴ ἔξ ὑλῆς Γοποκείμενον] ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰσθήσεων καταληφθῆναι οὐ δύναται. Γοννοῦμαι, ὁ Τάτ, Γοννοῦμαι ὁ ἔξειπεν ἀδύνατον· τοῦτο ἔστιν ὁ θεός.¹

15

Codices Stob.: S (saeculi xi ineuntis), M (saecc. xii ineuntis vel xi extremi), A (saec. xiv), B (saec. xvi).

Pseudo-Justinus *Cohortatio ad gentiles* 38 (Otto, Tom. II, *Opera Justini addubitate, 1879*): 'Ἐρμοῦ . . . λέγοντος' "Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν ἔστι χαλεπόν, φράσαι δὲ δύνατον φέ καὶ νοῆσαι δυνατόν."

Lactantius *Epitome 4. 5* (Brandt): 'Illiuius (sc. Hermac Trismegisti) ad filium scribentibus exordium tale est: "Deum quidem intelligere difficile est, eloqui vero impossibile, etiam cui intellegere possibile est: perfectum enim ab imperfecto, invisibile a visibili non potest comprehendendi."

Cyrillus *contra Julianum 1. 31* (Migne Patr. Gr. 76. 549): ὁ δέ γε τρισμέγιστος Ἐρμῆς οὕτω πῶς φησι: "Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπόν . . . ὑπὸ φαντασίας Γοκιάζεται. ὅσφ οὖν τὸ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἴσχυροτέρου καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον τοῦ κρείττονος διέστηκε, τοσοῦτον τὸ θυητὸν τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀθανάτον."

1 ἐκ τῶν scripsi: om. S: ἐκ τοῦ codd. cett. 2 νοῆσαι μὲν Cyril, Stob. A: νοῆσαι μὲν ἔστι Ps.-Just.: μὲν νοῆσαι Stob. SM: quidem intelligere (i.e. μὲν νοῆσαι) Lact. 2-3 φέ καὶ νοῆσαι δυνατόν Ps.-Just.: etiam cui intelligere possibile est (i.e. καὶ φέ ν. δ.) Lact.: εἰ καὶ ν. δ. Cyril. (Aubert): si cui etiam intelligere possibile (i.e. εἴ τι καὶ ν. δ.) Cyril. (Oecolampadius): om. codd. Stob. 3 καὶ τὸ Stob. A: τὸ γάρ cett. | συμβῆναι Stob. A: σημῆναι Stob. codd. cett. et Cyril. 3-4 ἀσώματον . . . καὶ τὸ codd. Stob. et Cyril.: om. Lact.

STOBAEUS

EXCERPT I

An extract from the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.

To conceive God is difficult ; and to describe Him is impossible, even if one is able to conceive Him. For it is not easy for that which is imperfect to apprehend that which is perfect, and it is hard for that which is of short duration to have dealings with that which is everlasting. The one ever is, the other passes ; the one is real, the other is but shadowed forth by sense-picturing. So widely is that which is mortal separated from that which is divine. And the wide interval between them dims men's vision of the Beautiful. With our eyes we can see bodies ; but that which is incorporeal and invisible and without shape, and is not composed of matter, cannot be apprehended by senses such as ours. . . .¹

¹ Perhaps, 'When I have in my mind a conception of this, my son', (viz. of 'that which is incorporeal', &c.,) 'I have a conception which it is impossible to express in words ; and such is God' (i. e. God is incorporeal, &c., and therefore, is something that cannot be told in words).

4 Post ἀτελεῖ add. *invisibile a visibili* (i.e. καὶ τὸ ἀόρατον τῷ ὄρατῷ) Lact. | καταλαβέσθαι codd. Stob. : καταλαμβάνεσθαι Cyril. : *comprehendi* (i.e. καταλαμβάνεσθαι?) Lact. : fortasse καταλαβεῖν | οὐ δινατόν codd. Stob. et Cyril. : *non potest* (i.e. οὐ δύναται) Lact. : fortasse οὐκ εὑχερές 5 συγγενέσθαι codd Stob., Cyril. (Aub.): *semperitnum conferre* (i.e. συνενέγκασθαι?) *cum momen-* taneo Cyril. (Oecol.) | τὸ μὲν Stob. B, Cyril. : ὁ μὲν Stob. SMA 6 δλῆθες Cyril. : δλήθεια Stob. A : δλήθεια Stob. codd. cett. 7 σκιάζεται codd. Stob., Cyril. (Aub.): *adumbratur* Cyril. (Oecol.): fortasse *σκιαγραφεῖται* | σωσ οὖν τὸ Cyril. (Aub.): *quantum igitur* (i.e. σῶσ οὖν τὸ) Cyril. (Oecol.): τὸ δι codd. Stob. 8 τοσούτον Cyril. (Aub.): *tantum etiam* (i.e. τοσούτον καὶ) Cyril. (Oecol.): *τοσούτον δύσιν* codd. Stob. | τὸ θυητὸν τοῦ θείου codd. Stob. : τὸ θυητὸν τοῦ θείου καὶ δόδανάτον Cyril. (Aub.): *a divino et immortali-* moriale (i.e. τοῦ θείου καὶ δόδανάτου τὸ θυητόν) Cyril. (Oecol.) | Post θείου καὶ δόδανάτου addit Cyrilus εἰ τις οὖν δώδωματος δόθαλμός . . . μῆτε ἑαυτῷ ἀνόμοιον (vide *Testim.*) : quod videtur aliunde sumptum esse 10 μέσην codd.: μεσηγὴ Usener : fortasse διὰ μέσου 13 μῆτε B: μῆτε SA: μῆδε Meineke, Wachsm. | συγκέιμενον Meineke. Fortasse μῆτε ἔτι δύλης ὑφ(εστὸς μῆδε ἔτι στοιχείων συγκέιμενον | Ante ἄπο add. καὶ A 14-15 ἐννοοῦμαι . . . ὁ θεός ομ. B. Fortasse *τοῦτο* ἐννοούμενος, ὡς Τάτ, ἐννοοῦμαι ὃ ἔξεπεν ἀδύνατον τοιούτοις δέ) ἐστιν ὁ θεός 15 ἀδύνατον A : οὐ δινατόν S

EXCERPTUM II A

Stobaeus 3. ii. 31, vol. iii, p. 436 Hense (*Floril.* 11. 23 Meineke).

Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ.

- 1 Περὶ ἀληθείας, ὁ Τάτ, οὐκ ἔστι δυνατὸν *(κατ' ἀνθρωπον ὄντα, *ζῷον ἀτελές, ἐξ ἀτελῶν συγκείμενον μερῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων σωμάτων καὶ πολλῶν τὸ σκῆνος* *(ἔχοντα) συνεστός [τολμήσαντα εἰπεῖν]*. δ δέ ἔστι δυνατόν 5 *[ἢ δίκαιον], τοῦτο φημί, ἀληθειαν εἶναι ἐν μόνοις τοῖς ἀδίοις**
- 2 *[σώμασιν] (. . .) Γων.* καὶ τὰ *(ἀίδια) σώματα αὐτὰ* *(μὲν καθ' αὐτὰ) ἀληθῆ ἔστι, πῦρ αὐτόπυρ [μόνον καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο], γῆ αὐτόγυνη [καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο], ἀὴρ αὐτοάηρ, ὕδωρ αὐτούδωρ [καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο]. τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα σώματα ἐκ πάντων τούτων 10 συνέστηκεν. ἔχει μὲν γάρ *(τι) πυρός, ἔχει δὲ καὶ γῆς [ἔχει]* καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος· καὶ οὔτε πῦρ ἔστιν *(ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀληθὲς)* οὔτε γῆ οὔτε ὕδωρ οὔτε ἀέρος, οὔτε οὐδὲν ἀληθές. εἰ δὲ μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡ σύστασις ἡμῶν ἔσχε τὴν ἀληθειαν, πῶς ἀν δύνατο ἀληθειαν ἢ ἰδεῖν ἢ εἰπεῖν; *[νοῆσαι δὲ (δυνατὸν) 15 μόνον ἐὰν ὁ θεὸς θέλῃ.]**
- 3 πάντα οὖν, ὁ Τάτ, τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀληθῆ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι· τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας μιμήματα *[καὶ] οὐ πάντα, δλίγα δέ.* *[ταῦτα] (τὰ δὲ) ἄλλα ψεῦδος καὶ πλάνος, ὁ Τάτ, *[καὶ δέξαι,] (ἐκ) φαντα-**
- 4 *σίας [καθάπερ εἰκόνες] συνεστῶτα.* δταν δὲ ἀνωθεν τὴν 20 ἐπίρροιαν ἔχῃ ἡ φαντασία, τῆς ἀληθείας γίγνεται μίμησις. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἀνωθεν ἐνεργείας, ψεῦδος καταλείπεται· καθάπερ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν *(τὸ [[μὲν]] σῶμα) (ἢ ἐν) τῇ γραφῇ δείκνυσι *(μὲν) [[αὐτὴ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σῶμα]] κατὰ [τὴν] φαντασίαν *(τὸ σῶμα) τοῦ ὄρωμένου, *(αὐτὴ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι 25 σῶμα.)* καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὄραται ἔχουσα, βλέπει δὲ οὐδέν· *(καὶ ὅτα,) ἀκούει δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἔχει μὲν ἡ γραφή, ψευδῆ δέ [*ἔστι], τὰς τῶν ὄρωντων δψεις*****

Exc. II A: codices S, M, A, L, Br.

1 Ἐρμοῦ om. Br | τοῦ pro τῶν LB
2-20 περὶ ἀληθείας . . . εἰκόνες συνεστῶτα (§§ 1-3) infra leguntur post τὸν δὲ ὄντα (§ 15 fin.) M 2 περὶ ἀληθείας om. LB
3 περὶ ἀληθείας om. LB | ταῦτα pro ὁ Τάτ L 4 μερῶν scripsi: μελῶν codd.
6 δίκαιον S: δίκαιον ἔστι(y) cert. Fortasse δίκαιον (γάρ) *(τολμήσαντα εἰπεῖν)* post τοῦτο φημί 7 σώμασιν, ὃν καὶ τὰ σώματα codd.
9 αὐτὸς ἀὴρ SA¹ 9-10 ὕδωρ . . . ἄλλο Br: om. LSMA
10-13 τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα . . . οὔτε ἀήρ: Lactant. Dīv. insl. 2. 12. 4, ⁴ (Trismegistus)

EXCERPT II A

From the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.

Hermes. Concerning reality, my son Tat, it is not possible for 1 one who is but a man to speak adequately; for man is an imperfect creature, composed of parts¹ which are imperfect, and his mortal frame is made up of many alien bodies. But what it is within my power to say, that I do say, namely, that² reality exists only in things everlasting The everlasting bodies,² as they are in themselves,—fire that is very fire, earth that is very earth, air that is very air, and water that is very water,—these indeed are real. But our bodies are made up of all these elements together; they have in them something of fire, but also something of earth and water and air; and there is in them neither real fire nor real earth nor real water nor real air, nor anything that is real. And if our composite fabric has not got reality in it to begin with, how can it³ see reality, or tell of reality?

All things on earth then, my son, are unreal; but some of 3 them,—not all, but some few only,—are copies of reality. The rest are illusion and deceit, my son; for they consist of mere appearance. When the appearance flows in from above,⁴ it 4 becomes an imitation of reality. But apart from the working of power from above, it remains an illusion; just as a painted portrait presents to us in appearance the body of the man we see in it, but is not itself a human body. It is seen to have eyes, and yet it sees nothing; it is seen to have ears, and yet it hears nothing at all. The picture has all else too that a living man has, but all this is false, and deceives the eyes of those who look

¹ Viz. portions of the four cosmic elements.

² Perhaps, ‘that I do say (for it is right to speak boldly), namely, that’, &c.

³ Perhaps, ‘how can we’.

⁴ Or ‘receives the influx (of . . .) from above’.

nostra corpora ex his quattuor elementis constituta esse dixit a deo : habere				
namque in se aliquid ignis, aliquid aeris, aliquid aquae, aliquid terrae, et neque				
ignem esse neque aerem neque aquam neque terram.’	12	καὶ δέπος S: ἔχει		
καὶ δέπος LABr 15 δύναυτο SA. Fortasse δύναιμεθα 17 ὡς Τάτ om.				
LA Br ἀληθῆ scripsi : ἀλήθεια codd. 17-18 τὰ δὲ ἀληθῆ A: τῆς δὲ				
ἀληθείας cett. 19 καὶ δόξαι codd. : fortasse κατὰ δόξαν 20 Fortasse				
ὅταν μὲν γάρ 23 ἡ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ scripsi : τῆς γραφῆς codd. 20-6 infra :				
καὶ δρθαλμοὺς . . . οὐτε νοήσουμεν οὔτ' εἰσόμεθα (§ 5 fin.) om. Br 27 καὶ ὥτα				
add. Flussas				

έξαπατῶντα, τῶν μὲν δοκούντων ἀληθῆ ὄρᾶν, τῶν δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντων ψευδῶν.

5 ὅσοι μὲν οὖν Γού¹ <...>, ψεῦδος ὄρῶσιν· ὅσοι δὲ . . ., ἀλήθειαν ὄρῶσιν. ἔαν οὖν ἔκαστον τούτων οὔτω νοῶμεν ἢ ὄρῶμεν ὡς ἔστιν, ἀληθῆ καὶ νοοῦμεν καὶ ὄρῶμεν· ἔαν δὲ 5 παρὰ τὸ δν, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς οὔτε νοήσομεν οὕτ' ὄψόμεθα.

7 <Γούτως¹ ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐν τῇ γῇ νοῶ(ν) καὶ λέγω(ν)
[φαντασίαι εἰσὶ καὶ δόξαι πάντα] ἀληθῆ νοῶ καὶ λέγω.—

Οὐκ οὖν τὸ [τε] ἀληθῆ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν, τοῦτο ἀλήθειαν δεῖ 6 καλεῖν;—Τί δαί?>—Ἐστιν οὖν, <ὁ> πάτερ, ἀλήθεια καὶ ἐν 10 τῇ γῇ. [[καὶ οὐκ ἀσκόπως]]—Σφάλλῃ, ὁ τέκνον. ἀλήθεια μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἔστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὁ Τάτ, οὔτε γενέσθαι δύναται· περὶ δὲ ἀληθείας (ἀληθῆ) νοῆσαι ἐνίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, [οἷς ἔαν ὁ θεὸς τὴν θεοποτικὴν δωρήσηται δύναμιν,] [γενέσθαι]

7 (οὐδὲν κωλύει) [[ούτως ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ. νοῶ καὶ 15 λέγω. φαντασίαι εἰσὶ καὶ δόξαι πάντα. ἀληθῆ νοῶ καὶ λέγω.—Οὐκ οὖν τό τε ἀληθῆ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν, τοῦτο ἀλήθειαν δεῖ 8 καλεῖν;—Τί δαί?]] [τὰ δυτα [δεῖ] νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν] [ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς] <καὶ οὐκ ἀσκόπως> <ἐπον ὅτι> τοῦτο ἀληθές ἔστι, τὸ μὴ εἴδεναι μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἐνθάδε. 20

9 πῶς ἀν καὶ δύναιτο (ἀληθές τι ἐνθάδε) γενέσθαι, ὁ τέκνον; ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθειά [τελεωτάτη ἀρετῇ] ἔστιν αὐτὸ τὸ ἄκρατον ἀγαθόν, τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ ὑλῆς θολούμενον. μήτε ὑπὸ σώματος περιβαλλόμενον, γυμνὸν φανόν, ἀτρεπτὸν [σεμνὸν] ἀναλοίωτον [ἀγαθόν]. τὰ δὲ ἐνθάδε, ὁ τέκνον, οὐλά ἔστιν ὄρᾶς, 25 ἀδεκτα [τούτου] τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, φθαρτὰ παθητὰ διαλυτὰ τρεπτά, 10 δεῖ ἐναλλοιούμενα, ἀλλα ἔξ ἀλλων γινόμενα. ἀ οὖν μηδὲ πρὸς ἐαυτὰ ἀληθῆ ἔστι, πῶς δύναιτο ἀληθῆ εἶναι; πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἀλλοιούμενον ψεῦδος ἔστι, μὴ μένον ἐν φέρεται, φαντασίας δὲ [μετατρεπόμενον] ἀλλας καὶ ἀλλας ἐπιδεικνύμενον [ἡμῖν]. 30

1 ἀληθῆ scripsi: ἀλήθειαν codd. 3-4 Fortasse ὅσοι μὲν οὖν φαντασίας (vel φαντάσματα) ὄρῶσι, ψεῦδος ὄρῶσιν· ὅσοι δὲ τὰ δύτα ὄρῶσιν, ἀλήθειαν ὄρῶσι LSMA: ἀληθῶς A 5 ὀψόμεθα scripsi: εἰσόμεθα codd. 6 διψόμεθα scripsi: εἰσόμεθα codd. 7-10 § 7 (ούτως . . . Τί δαί) huc transposui 7 Pro ούτως fortasse <τούτων δ> ούτως <ἐχόντων> | ἀληθὲς οὐδὲ LSMA | εἶναι scripsi: ἔστιν codd. | νοῶν καὶ λέγων scripsi: νοῶ καὶ λέγω LSMA Br: νοῶ καὶ λόγῳ Trincavelli: νύφ καὶ λόγῳ Turnebus 8 εἰσὶ LSMA: δ' εἰσὶ Br | ἀληθῆ νοῶ καὶ λέγω om. LBr | νύφ καὶ λόγῳ Turn. 10 τί δαὶ SM: τί δέ LABr | ἔστιν οὖν om. Br | ὃ addidit Wachsm. 11 καὶ οὐκ ἀσκόπως hinc ad § 8 transposui 14 τὴν θεοποτικὴν δωρήσεται L: δωρήσηται τὴν θεοποτικὴν A 15-18 § 7 (ούτως . . . Τί δαί) hinc transposui: vide post § 5 19 καὶ οὐκ δοκόπως huc; a § 6 transposui 20 τὸ μὲν L: τὸ μὴ cert. | εἶναι Ruecheler: εἰδέναι codd. 22 Fortasse η γὰρ ἀλήθεια τελεωτάτη ἀρετῆ

at it; they think that what they see is real, but it is really an illusion.

Those then who . . . see illusion ; but those who . . . see reality.¹ 5
 If then we think or see each of these things as it is, we think and see truly;² if we think and see them otherwise than they are, we shall neither think nor see truly. And so, when I think and 7 say that nothing on earth is real, I am thinking and speaking truly.—*Tat*. Well then, when a man thinks and speaks truly, is it not right to call that 'truth' (or 'reality')?—*Hermes*. What 6 do you infer from that?—*Tat*. If that is so, father, it follows that there is some reality even on earth.—*Hermes*. You are mistaken, my son. There is no reality on earth ; it cannot come into being here below ; but none the less it is possible for some men to think truly about reality ; and I was not speaking unadvisedly, 8 when I said that it is true that there is nothing real here below.

How is it possible, my son, that anything real should come 9 into being on earth ? For reality is the absolute and unmixed Good ;³ it is that which is not fouled by matter, nor muffled in body ; it is bare of coverings, and shines with light undimmed ; it is immutable and unalterable. But the things on earth, my son,—what *they* are, you can see. They are not capable of receiving the Good ; they are subject to destruction and to perturbation ; they are dissoluble and mutable, ever altering, and changing from one thing into another. And seeing that they 10 are not even true to themselves,⁴ how could they possibly be real ? Everything that changes is illusory, because it does not stay in the state in which it is, but presents appearances that vary.

¹ Perhaps, 'Those then who see mere appearances see an illusion ; but those who see things as they are see reality'.

² The word ἀληθῆς may mean either 'real' or 'true'. I translate this word and its derivatives 'true', 'truly', 'truth' in some phrases of this paragraph, but 'real', 'really', 'reality' in the rest of the document. It is the double meaning of the word that gives occasion for Tat's argument.

³ Perhaps, 'reality is the most perfect excellence ; and the real is the absolute and unmixed Good'.

⁴ Or 'not real even in relation to themselves'. A thing is 'untrue to itself', or 'unreal in relation to itself', when it does not continue to be what it is at a given moment.

καὶ τὸ ἀληθές) ἔστιν κ.τ.λ | ἀκρατον codd. : ἀκρότατον Turnebus
 23-24 ὑπὸ σώματος περιαγαλλόμενον L 25 ἀγαθίν secludi vult Meineke
 25-26 ὅράς ἀδεκτα LMBr : ὥρασθαι δεκτὰ SA Turnebus 26 τοῦδε S: τοῦτον
 cett. 27 μηδὲ Meineke : μήτε codd. 28 πῶς ἣν δύνατο Meineke
 29 μέρον Turnebus : μόρον codd. 30 ἐπιδεικνύμενον scripsi : ἐπιδείκνυται
 ἡμῖν codd.

16 «[τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος, ὁ τέκνον, φθείρεται.] πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς φθορὰ κατέλαβε [καὶ ἐμπεριέχει καὶ ἐμπεριέξει ἡ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς πρόνοια]. χωρὶς γὰρ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ γένεσις δύναται συστῆναι». [πάσῃ δὲ γενέσει φθορὰ ἔπειται, ἵνα πάλιν γένηται (πάντα).] τὰ γὰρ γιγνόμενα ἐκ τῶν φθειρομένων 5 ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι φθείρεσθαι δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀνάγκη, ἵνα μὴ στῇ ἡ γένεσις [τῶν ὄντων]. [πρώτον τούτον δημιουργὸν γνώριζε] [εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τῶν ὄντων.] τὰ οὖν ἐκ φθορᾶς γινόμενα ψευδῆ ἀν εἴη, ὡς ποτὲ μὲν ἀλλα ποτὲ δὲ ἀλλα γινόμενα. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ (πάλιν) γίνεσθαι (ἀ)δύνατον τὸ δὲ 10 18 μὴ (ταύτη δὲ) πῶς ἀν ἀληθὲς εἴη;») «μεταβαλλόμενα δὲ ψεύδεται [καὶ τὰ προόντα καὶ] τὰ ὄντα. ταῦτα μέντοι οὕτω νόει, ὁ τέκνον, ὡς καὶ τῶν ψευδῶν τούτων [ἐνεργειῶν] ἀνωθεν ἡρτημένων ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας· τούτου δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος, τὸ ψεῦδός φημι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνέργημα εἶναι.») — 15

II Οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπος ἀληθής ἔστιν, ὁ πάτερ;—Καθότι ἀνθρωπος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής, ὁ τέκνον. τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές ἔστι (τὸ) [καὶ] ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου τὴν σύστασιν ἔχον, καὶ μένον καθ' αὐτὸν οἷον ἔστιν· δὲ δὲ ἀνθρωπος ἐκ πολλῶν συνέστηκε, καὶ οὐ μένει καθ' αὐτὸν, τρέπεται δὲ καὶ μεταβάλλεται (εἰς) 20 ἡλικίαν ἐξ ἡλικίας καὶ ιδέαν ἐξ ιδέας [καὶ ταῦτα ἔτι ὡν ἐν τῷ σκήνει]. καὶ πολλοὶ τέκνα οὐκ ἐγνώρισαν χρόνου διάγονος μεταξὺ γενομένουν, καὶ πάλιν τέκνα γονεῖς ὅμοιως. τὸ οὖν οὕτως μεταβαλλόμενον ὥστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι, (πῶς) δύναται ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὁ Τάτ; οὐ τούναντίον ψεῦδός ἔστιν, ἐν ποικίλαις 25 γινομένων φαντασίαις τῶν μεταβολῶν; σὺ διὸ οὐδεὶς ἀληθὲς [τι] εἶναι [[τὸ]] μόνον «(τὸ) [ἀίδιον]» (ἀεὶ δὲ). δὲ δὲ ἀνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀεὶ· ἀρα οὐδὲ ἀληθής ἔστι, φαντασία δέ [ἔστι] τις 17 [ἀνθρωπος]. «φαντασίας οὖν καλεῖν δεῖ [ταῦτα] «(τοὺς ἀνθρώπους), ὁ τέκνον, εἴ γε δρθῶς προσαγορεύομεν [[τὸν 30 ἀνθρωπὸν]] [ἀνθρωπότητος φαντασίαν], τὸ [δὲ] (μὲν) παιδίον παιδίου φαντασίαν, τὸν δὲ νεανίσκον νεανίσκου φαντασίαν,

1-11 § 16 (τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος . . . ἀληθὲς εἴη;) huc transposui
 1 Fortasse τὸ δὲ
 〈φθειρομένον πάντα〉 ψεῦδος, ὁ τέκνον [φθείρεται] | δὲ (ante ψεῦδος) om.
 MA | ταῦτα (pro πάντα) Turnebus | δε (ante ψεῦδος) cett.
 2 περιέχει A: ἐμπεριέχει cett.
 3 ἀληθοῦς om. L | χωρὶς δὲ A: χωρὶς γὰρ cett. 3-4 Fortasse οὐδὲ (εἰς)
 γένεσιν δύναται συστῆναι (τι) 4-5 πάλι γένηται S 5 γινόμενα SM:
 γιγνόμενα cett. 7 τούτον LMA: τούτῳ Br: οὖν (?) τὸν S: οὖν τὸν
 Turnebus 8 γνώριζε S: γνώριζε ex γνωρίζει corr. A: νόμιζε LMBr
 | τὰ γοῦν ἐκ A 9-10 ἀλλα γενόμενα A 10 ἀδύνατον Turnebus: δύνατὸν
 LSMA: οὐ δύνατον Br ex emend. 11 ταύτῳ ὃν scripsi: αὐτὸν codd.
 11-15 § 18 (μεταβαλλόμενα . . . ἐνέργημα εἶναι) huc transposui 11 δὲ

And all things on earth are overtaken by destruction ; for 16 without destruction things cannot come into being. The things which come into being must needs arise out of those which are destroyed ; and the things which come into being must needs be destroyed, in order that coming-into-being may not stop. The things which come into being out of destruction must therefore be illusory, because they come to be different things at different times. For it is not possible that the same things should come into being again ; and how can that be real, which is not the same that it was before ? Inasmuch as things change, 18 they are illusory. But at the same time you must understand, my son, that these illusory things are dependent on Reality itself, which is above ; and that being so, I say that the illusion is a thing wrought by the working of Reality.¹—

Tat. But what of man, father ? Is not man real ?—*Hermes.* In 11 so far as he is man, my son, he is not real. For the real is that which consists of itself alone, and continues to be such as it is in itself ; but man is composed of many different things, and does not continue to be such as he is in himself, but shifts and changes from one time of life to another, and from one form to another. Oftentimes men fail to recognize their own children after a short interval, and children likewise fail to recognize their parents. And when a thing so changes that it is not known, how can that 12 thing be real, my son ? Is it not an illusion, inasmuch as its changes manifest themselves in varying appearances ? You must understand that that which ever is, and that alone, is real. But man is not a thing that ever is ; and therefore man is not real, but is only an appearance. We ought then to call men 17 ‘appearances’, my son, if we name them rightly. We ought to call a child ‘the appearance of a child’, and a youth ‘the

¹ I. e. the material world is an unreal appearance, but this unreal appearance is produced by God’s working.

(ante ψεύδεται) codd. : fortasse δὴ 14-15 τούτον δὲ . . . τῆς ἀληθείας om. M 18 δὲ A : οὐδὲ cert. 16-17 ἀληθής (bis) codd. : ἀληθές (bis) Hense 18 τὸ εἴ Turnebus : καὶ εἴ LSMABr | μόνον LBr : μόνον SMA 18-19 Fortasse μένον οἶον ἔστι καθ' αὐτό 19 δὲ ὁ ἀνθρώπος S 20 Fortasse οὐ μέντι (οὖτις ἔστι) καθ' αὐτὸν | καὶ ἐμβάλλεται L 23 γεγενημένον L 26 γενόμενον scripsi : γενόμενον codd. | σὺ δὴ scripsi : σὺ δὲ codd. 27 εἶναι μόνον τὸ δέ οὐ scripsi : εἶναι τὸ μόνον δίδον LMBR : εἶναι τὸ μόνον καὶ δίκαιον SA : εἶναι, τὸ μένον καὶ δίκαιον Turnebus 29-4 infra : § 17 (φαντασίας οὐν . . . γέρων γέρων) huc transposui 29 καλεῖν δὲ LSM : δεῖ καλεῖν ABr | ταῦτα LSMBr : τὰ τοιαῦτα A 32-1 infra : φαντασίαν (post γενίσκου et post ἀνδρὸς) om LBr

τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὸς φαντασίαν, τὸν δὲ γέροντα γέροντος φαντασίαν οὔτε γάρ [δ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος οὔτε] τὸ παιδίον παιδίον (μένει), οὔτε δὲ νεανίσκος νεανίσκος, οὔτε δὲ ἀνήρ ἀνήρ, οὔτε δὲ γέρων γέρων.]⁵ ή δὲ φαντασία ψεῦδος ἀν εἴη [ἀκρότατον].—

13 Οὐδὲ ταῦτα οὖν, ὡς πάτερ, τὰ ἀλλα σώματα [[έπει μεταβάλλεται]] ἀληθῆ ἔστι(ν); (⟨έπει μεταβάλλεται⟩) (καὶ ταῦτα.) —Πᾶν μὲν οὖν τὸ [γεννητὸν καὶ] μεταβλητὸν οὐκ ἀληθές. [[ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ προπάτορος γενόμενα τὴν ὑλην δύναται ἀληθῆ ἔσχηκέναντι]] ἔχει δέ τι καὶ ταῦτα ψεῦδος ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ.¹⁰ οὐδὲν γάρ, μὴ μένον ἐφ' αὐτῷ, ἀληθές ἔστιν. (⟨ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ προπάτορος (ἄφθαρτα) γενόμενα, τὴν ὑλην¹¹ δύναται ἀληθῆ ἔσχηκέναντι⟩)—

14 ⟨Τί οὖν ἀν εἴποι τις⟩ ἀληθές, ὡς πάτερ [[τί οὖν ἀν εἴποι τις]];— Μόνον τὸν ἥλιον, παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα μὴ μεταβαλλόμενον, μένοντα δὲ ἐφ'¹⁵ ἑαυτῷ [ἀληθειαν]. διὸ καὶ τὴν (τῶν) ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντων δημιουργίαν αὐτὸς μόνος πεπίστευται, ἀρχῶν πάντων καὶ ποιῶν πάντα. δὸν καὶ σέβομαι, καὶ προσκυνῶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀληθειαν, μετὰ τὸν ἕνα καὶ πρῶτον (θεὸν) τοῦτον δημιουργὸν γνωρίζω(ν).—

15 Τί οὖν ἀν εἴποι (τις ἀληθὲς) τὴν πρώτην ἀληθειαν, ὡς²⁰ πάτερ;—"Ἐνα καὶ μόνον, ὡς Τάτ., τὸν μὴ ἐξ ὑλης, τὸν μὴ ἐν σώματι· τὸν ἀχρώματον, τὸν ἀσχημάτιστον· τὸν ἄτρεπτον, τὸν μὴ ἀλλοιούμενον· τὸν ἀεὶ δύτα.—

16 [[τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος . . . ἀληθὲς εἴη ;]] Vide post § 10.

17 [[φαντασίας οὖν . . . γέρων γέρων.]] Vide post § 12. ²⁵

18 [[μεταβαλλόμενα δὲ . . . ἐνέργημα εἶναι.]] Vide ante
§ 11.

1 δὲ (ante γέροντα) om. SMA 8-4 νεανίσκος, οὔτε δὲ γέρων γέρων, οὔτε δὲ ἀνήρ ἀνήρ S Turnebus 8-26 οὐδὲ ταῦτα . . . δὲ ὄντα (§§ 13-15) et τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος . . . ἐνέργημα εἶναι (§§ 16-18) inverso ordine habent LBr 8 γεννητὸν καὶ LSM: γενητὸν καὶ ABr | Fortasse Πᾶν μὲν οὖν τὸ γεννητὸν καὶ (μεταβλητόν, πᾶν δὲ τὸ) μεταβλητὸν οὐκ ἀληθές 11 ἐφ' αὐτῷ L: ἐφ' αὐτῷ MABr: ἐφ' αὐτῷ corr. ex ἐφ' αὐτῷ S 12 ὑλην codd.: fortasse οὐσίαν vel ὑπαρξίαν | ἀληθῶς L: ἀληθῆ cett. 18 ἀληθειαν eiecit Buecheler 17-19 δὸν καὶ . . . δημιουργὸν γνωρίζω om. LMABr 18 ἀληθειαν, καὶ μετὰ Turnebus 19 γνωρίζων scripsi: γνωρίζω S Turnebus 20 εἴποι τις ἀληθὲς τὴν scripsi: εἴποι τις τὴν vult Hense: εἶναι τὴν LSMABr Turn.: εἶναι λέγεις τὴν Flussas

appearance of a youth', and an adult man 'the appearance of an adult man', and an old man 'the appearance of an old man'; for the child does not remain a child, nor the youth a youth, nor the adult man an adult man, nor the old man an old man. And appearance must be illusion.—

Tat. And what of these everlasting bodies;¹ father? Are they 13 too unreal? For they too suffer change.—*Hermes.* Everything that is subject to change is unreal; and the everlasting bodies also have in them something that is illusory, inasmuch as they suffer change; for nothing is real, which does not continue to be as it is. But seeing that they have been made indestructible by the Forefather, it may well be that the existence which they have received from him is real.—

*Tat.*² What then can we call real, father!—*Hermes.* The Sun alone; 14 because the Sun, unlike all other things, does not suffer change, but continues to be as he is. Wherefore the Sun alone has been entrusted with the task of making all things in the universe; he rules over all things, and makes all things. Him do I worship, and I adore his reality, acknowledging him, next after the one supreme God, as the Maker.—

Tat. What then, father, can be called real in the supreme 15 degree?—*Hermes.* He alone, my son, and none but He, who is not made of matter, nor embodied; who is colourless and formless; who is changeless and unalterable; who ever is.—

¹ The 'everlasting bodies' are the heavenly bodies and the cosmic elements. In § 2, the term is used to denote the elements.

² § 14 is inconsistent with the context; it must have been inserted by a sun-worshipper.

EXCERPTUM II B

Stobaeus I. 41. 1 a, vol. i, p. 273 Wachsmuth (*Ecl.* I. 698 Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ.

- 1 ἔγω [ῳ τέκνου] καὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἑνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας Γπρῶτον τόδε συγγράφω¹. οὐδεμία γὰρ ἀν Γγένοιτο δικαιοτάτη² εὐσέβεια [ἢ] τοῦ νοῆσαι τὰ ὄντα καὶ χάριν τῷ ποιήσαντι ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅμολογῆσαι· ὅπερ διατελῶν οὐ παύσομαι.
- 2 Τί οὖν ἀν τις πράττων, ὁ πάτερ, εἰ μηδέν ἔστιν ἀληθὲς ἐνθάδε, καλῶς διαγάγοι τὸν βίον;—Εὐσεβῶν, ὁ τέκνου. ὁ δὲ εὐσεβεῖν ξητῶν [ἄκρως] φιλοσοφήσει. χωρὶς γὰρ φιλοσοφίας [[ἄκρως]] εὐσεβῆσαι ἀδύνατον· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν οἴα ἔστι (τὰ ὄντα), καὶ πῶς διατέτακται, καὶ οὐπὸ τίνος, καὶ ιο ἑνεκεν τίνος, χάριν εἰσεται ὑπὲρ πάντων τῷ δημιουργῷ ὡς πατρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ τροφεῖ χρηστῷ καὶ ἐπιτρόπῳ πιστῷ· ὁ δὲ χάριν ὅμολογῶν εὐσεβήσει.
- 3 ὁ δὲ ⟨⟨ἄκρως⟩⟩ φιλοσοφῶν (μαθήσεται καὶ ποὺ ἔστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ τίς ἔστιν ἐκείνη· καὶ μαθών, ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐσε- 15 βέστερος ἔσται, ⟨⟨καὶ οὐκέτι ἀποστῆναι δυνάσθεται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.⟩⟩) οὐδέποτε γάρ, ὁ τέκνου, ψυχὴ [ἐν σώματι οὐσα καὶ] κουφίσασα ἐαυτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ ὄντως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀληθοῦς δλισθῆσαι δύναται ἐπὶ τῷ ἐναντίον· δεινὸν γὰρ ἔρωτα ἵσχει καὶ λήθην πάντων τῶν κακῶν ψυχὴ μαθοῦσα 20 ἐαυτῆς τὸν προπάτορα. [[καὶ οὐκέτι ἀποστῆναι δύναται τοῦ 4 ἀγαθοῦ.]] το(ῦ)το, (ῳ) τέκνου, τοῦτο εὐσεβείας ἔστι τέλος· ἐφ' ὁ ἀφικ[ν]όμενος καὶ καλῶς βιώσῃ, καὶ εύδαιμόνως τεθνήξῃ, τῆς ψυχῆς σου μὴ ἀγνοούσης ποὺ αὐτὴν δεῖ 25 ἀναπτῆναι.
- 5 ⟨. . .⟩ αὕτη γὰρ μόνη ἔστιν, ὁ τέκνου, [ἢ] πρὸς ἀληθειαν ὀδός· ἦν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι ὥδευσαν, καὶ ὀδεύσαντες

Exc. II B: codices F (saec. xiv), P (saec. xv).

1 τῶν scripsi: τοῦ codd. 3 Fortasse πρὸς (πάν)των τὴνδε (τὴν) συγγραφὴν προτιμῶ 3-4 ἀν λέγοιτο δικαιότερον Usener 4 ἡ εἰειτ Meineke 6 εἰ μὴ δὲ P 7 εὐσεβῶν Usener: εὐσέβει codd. 8 εὐσεβεῖν ξητῶν scripsi: εὐσεβῶν codd. | φιλοσοφεῖ P 9 ἄκρως hinc ad § 3 init. transposui 11 εἶσται ὑπὲρ πάντων Gaisford: ἔπειται ὑπὲρ πάντων F: om. P 13 εὐσεβῆσις P 14 ὁ δὲ ἄκρως φιλοσοφῶν μαθήσεται scripsi: δὲ εὐσεβῶν εἶσται codd. 15 Fortasse καὶ (ταῦτα) μαθῶν 16 δυνήσεται scripsi: δύναται codd. 18 ὄντος Usener: ὄντος FP 20 ἴσχη P | Fortasse ἔρωτα ἵσχει (τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ) 21-22 ἀποστῆναι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δύναται P 22 τοῦτ' ὁ τέκνου Meineke: τάτε τέκνου FP | ἴσται scripsi: ἔστω codd. 23 ἀφικόμενος Meineke: ἀφικούμενος codd.

EXCERPT II B

An extract from the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.¹

I esteem² this treatise more highly than any other, on account of the benevolence towards men and piety towards God that is expressed in it; for there is nothing that could more rightly be called piety than to apprehend in thought the things that are, and to give thanks for them to Him who made them. And this I will continue to do without ceasing.

Tat. If then there is nothing real here below, what must a man ² do, father, to live his life aright?—*Hermes.* He must be pious, my son. And he who seeks to be pious will pursue philosophy. Without philosophy, it is impossible to be pious; but he who has learnt what things are, and how they are ordered, and by whom, and to what end, will give thanks for all things to the Maker, deeming him a good father and kind fosterer and faithful guardian; and thus rendering thanks, he will be pious.

And he who pursues philosophy to its highest reach will learn ³ where Reality is, and what it is; and having learnt this, he will be yet more pious. And thenceforward it will be impossible for him to fall away from the Good. For never, my son, can a soul that has so far uplifted itself as to grasp the truly good and real slip back to the evil and unreal; for the soul acquires a wondrous yearning for the Good, and oblivion of all evils, when it has learnt to know its own Forefather. This, my son, ⁴ this³ is the consummation of piety; and when you have attained to it, you will live your life aright, and be blest in your death; for your soul will not fail to know whither it must wing its upward flight.

. . . For this,⁴ my son, is the only road that leads to Reality. ⁵ It is the road our ancestors⁵ trod; and thereby they attained

¹ Exc. II B is evidently a continuation of Exc. II A. The two excerpts together make up a complete *libellus*. Stobaeus cut the *libellus* in two, and placed the two pieces in different parts of his *Anthologium*.

² This section appears to be a note on Exc. II B, written by an admiring reader.

³ Viz. knowledge of God, the Forefather of the human soul.

⁴ Perhaps, ‘(But you must begin by abandoning the body (i.e. ridding yourself of its debasing influence);) for this’, &c.

⁵ ‘Our ancestors’, who once were men like you and me, but now are gods. See Corp. X. 5.

26 Fortasse {πλὴν δεῖ σε πρῶτον τὸ σῶμα ἐγκαταλεῖψαι} αὗτη γὰρ κ.τ.λ. (vide § 8) | πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν Ρ 27 καὶ (post ήν) om. F

ἔτυχον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. σεμνὴ αὐτῇ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ λεία¹, χαλεπὴ δὲ ψυχῆι ὁδεῦσαι ἐν σώματι οὐσῃ. πρῶτον [μὲν] γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔαυτῇ πολεμῆσαι δεῖ, καὶ [δια]στάσιν μεγάλην ποιῆσαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους (τὰ) πλέω νικηθῆναι. ἐνὸς γὰρ γίγνεται πρὸς δύο ἡ [συ]στάσις, τοῦ μὲν (ἄνω) σπεύδοντος, τῶν δὲ 5 καθελκόντων κάτω καὶ ἔρις καὶ μάχη πολλὴ πρὸς ἄλληλα τούτων γίγνεται [τοῦ μὲν φυγεῖν βουλομένου, τῶν δὲ κατα- 7 σχεῖν σπευδόντων]. ἡ δὲ νίκη ἀμφοτέρων οὐχ ὅμοια· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν σπεύδει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κακὰ κατοικεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐλευθερωθῆναι ποθεῖ, τὰ δὲ τὴν δουλείαν ἀγαπᾷ.¹⁰ κἀν μὲν νικηθῆ τὰ δύο μέρη, μεμένηκεν (έφ') ἔαυτῷ(ν)² ἡρεμα(τα) καὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος (ὑπήκοα). ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἐν ἡττηθῆ, ὑπὸ τῶν δύο ἀγεται καὶ φέρεται, τιμωρούμενον τῇ ἐνθάδε 8 διαιτῇ. οὐτός ἐστιν [ῳ τέκνον] ὁ (περὶ) τῆς ἐκεῖσε ὁδοῦ ἀγών[ος]. δεῖ γάρ σε, ὡς τέκνον, πρῶτον [τὸ σῶμα [πρὸ τοῦ 15 τέλους] ἐγκαταλεῖψαι, καὶ] νικῆσαι τὸν ἐναγώνιον βίον³, καὶ νικῆσαντα, οὕτως ἀνελθεῖν.

EXCERPTUM III

Stobaeus I. 41. 6 b, vol. i, pp. 285-289 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 728-740 Heeren).

(Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ.)

1 [[ἐνέργειαι γάρ, ὡς Τάτ, ἀσώματοι αὐταὶ οὖσαι, ἐν σώμασίν εἰσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἐνεργοῦσι. διόπερ, ὡς Τάτ, 20 καθότι ἀσώματοι εἰσι, καὶ ἀθανάτους αὐτὰς φῆς εἶναι· καθότι δὲ χαρὶς σωμάτων ἐνεργεῖν οὐ δύνανται, φημὶ αὐτὰς εἶναι ἀεὶ ἐν σώματι.]]

2 [τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τι ἡ ἔνεκά τινος γενόμενα προνοίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ὑποπέπτωκότα.]

25

1 λεία codd.: fortasse θεία 3 ἔαυτῆς P¹ | στάσιν scripsi : διάστασιν codd. 4 τὰ πλέω νικηθῆναι scripsi : πλεονεκτηθῆναι codd. 5 στάσις Hecren ex cod. Vat. : σύστασις FP | ἄνω σπεύδοντος scripsi : φυγόντος FP 5-7 τῶν δὲ . . φυγεῖν βουλομένου om. P 10 τὸ δὲ τὴν P 11-12 ἐφ' ἔαυτῶν ἡρεμαῖ scripsi (ἐν ταῦτῷ ἡρεμα Usener): ἔαυτῶν ἥρημα P²: ἔαυτῶν ἥρημα FP¹ 13 τιμωρούμενον P²: τιμωρούμενη FP¹ 15 ἀγών Usener: ἀγωγός FP 18 τὸν ἐναγώνιον βίον codd.: fortasse τὸν ἀγώνα τοῦτον 17 Post οὗτος ἀνελθεῖν addunt codd. νῦν δέ, ὡς τέκνον, κεφαλίους τὰ ὄντα διεξελέσομαι κ.τ.λ. (vide Exc. XI)

19-23 § 1 (ἐνέργειαι . . . ἐν σώματι) hinc transposui: vide post § 11 24-25 Fortasse τὰ γὰρ [] γινόμενα προνοίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ὑποπέπτωκεν. (αὐταὶ δὲ διὰ τῶν θείων σωμάτων ἐνεργοῦσι.) 24 γινόμενα Usener

to the Good. It is a holy and divine road ; but it is hard for the soul to travel on that road while it is in the body. For the 6 soul must begin by warring against itself, and stirring up within itself a mighty feud ; and the one part of the soul must win victory over the others, which are more in number. It is a feud of one against two,¹ the one part struggling to mount upward, and the two dragging it down ; and there is much strife and fighting between them. And it makes no small difference 7 whether the one side or the other wins ; for the one part strives towards the Good, the others make their home among evils ; the one yearns for freedom, the others are content with slavery. And if the two parts are vanquished, they stay quiet in themselves, and submissive to the ruling part ; but if the one part is defeated, it is carried off as a captive by the two, and the life it lives on earth is a life of penal torment. Such is the contest 8 about the journey to the world above. You must begin, my son, by winning victory in this contest, and then, having won, mount upward.

¹ The 'one' is mind or reason; the 'two' are *θυμός* and *ἐπιθυμία*, i.e. 'repugnance' (or self-assertion against opponents) and 'desire', which are the two forms of passion.

- 3 [ἀδύνατον ἀργά ποτε μεῖναι τῆς ἴδιας ἐνέργειας. τὸ γὰρ δὲ ἀεὶ ἔσται. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ σῶμα καὶ ςώη ἔστι.]
- 4 [[τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπεται τὸ καὶ ἀεὶ τὰ σώματα εἶναι. διὸ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν σωμάτωσίν φημι ἀιδίαν ἐνέργειαν εἶναι. εἰς γὰρ σώματα ἐπίγεια διαλυτά, σώματα δὲ δεῖ εἶναι, τόπους 5 καὶ ὄργανα τῶν ἐνέργειῶν ταῦτα, αἱ δὲ ἐνέργειαι ἀθάνατοι, τὸ δὲ ἀθάνατον ἀεὶ ἔστιν, ἐνέργεια καὶ η σωματοποίησις, εἴ γε ἀεὶ ἔστι.]]
- 5 [[παρέπονται δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ οὐκ ἀθρόως παραγιγνόμεναι· ἀλλὰ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν 10 ἐνεργοῦσιν, δομοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ περὶ τὰ ἀλογα οὐσαι, αἱ δὲ καθαρώτεραι ἐνέργειαι κατὰ μεταβολὴν τῆς ησυχίας τῷ λογικῷ μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς συνεργοῦσαι.]]
- 6 [[αὗται δὲ αἱ ἐνέργειαι τῶν σωμάτων εἰσὶν ἡρτημέναι. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν θείων σωμάτων ἔρχονται εἰς τὰ θυητὰ 15 αὗται αἱ σωματοποιοῦσαι, ἑκάστη δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνέργειη η περὶ τὸ σῶμα η τὴν ψυχήν. καὶ αὕτῃ μέντοι τῇ ψυχῇ συγγίγνονται χωρὶς σώματος· ἀεὶ δὲ ἐνέργειαι εἰσιν, οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ η ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι θυητῷ ἔστι· δύναται γὰρ χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος εἶναι· αἱ δὲ ἐνέργειαι χωρὶς τῶν σωμάτων οὐ 20 δύνανται εἶναι.]]

7 ιερὸς λόγος [ἔστιν [[ῳ τέκνον]] οὗτος].

Συνεστάναι μέν, «[[ῳ τέκνον]],» σῶμα χωρὶς ψυχῆς οὐ δύναται, τὸ δὲ ἐνέργειας εἰσθαι δυνατόν.—Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις, οὐ πάτερ;—Οὕτω νόησον, ω Τάτ. τῆς ψυχῆς χωρισθείσης 25 τοῦ σώματος, ἐπιμένει αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τὸν τῆς ἐπιμονῆς χρόνον ἐνέργειται, διαλυόμενον καὶ ἀειδὲς γιγνόμενον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ δύναται πάσχειν τὸ σῶμα χωρὶς ἐνέργειας. ἐπιμένει οὖν (ἐν) τῷ σώματι η ἐνέργεια, [αὐ]τῇ(ς) ψυχῆς χωρισθείσης.

8 αὗτη οὖν η διαφορὰ ἀθανάτου σώματος καὶ θυητοῦ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀθανάτον ἐκ μᾶς ὑλης συνέστηκε, τὸ δὲ οὐ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ πάσχει. (καὶ τὸ μὲν κρατεῖ, τὸ δὲ κρατεῖται) πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐνεργοῦν

1-2 Fortasse (τὰ γὰρ θεῖα σώματα) ἀδύνατον ἀργά ποτε μεῖναι τῆς ἴδιας ἐνέργειας. το(ι)γαρο(ῦ)ν δεὶ ἔσται (η ἐνέργεια!). Haec post § 10 subsequi possent | τὸ γὰρ ἐν F 3-8 § 4 (τούτῳ . . . δεὶ ἔστι) hinc transposui: vide post § 11 9-13 § 5 (παρέπονται . . . συνεργοῦσαι) hinc transposui: vide post § 11 14-21 § 6 (αὗται . . . δύνανται εἶναι) hinc transposui: vide post § 11 24 τὸ δὲ ἐνέργεισθαι δυνατὸν scripsi: τὸ δὲ εἶναι δύνανται F: om. P 30 τῆς scripsi: αὗτη codid.

EXCERPT III

(From the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.)

A holy discourse.

7

Hermes. A body, my son, cannot hold together¹ without soul ; but it is possible for it to have forces working in it, though it be without soul.—*Tat.* What do you mean by that, father?—*Hermes.* You must understand the matter thus, my son *Tat*. When the soul has been separated from the body, the body itself lasts on ; and as long as the body lasts on, it is being acted on by forces. It is being broken up, and gradually disappearing ; and the body could not undergo these processes if there were not a force at work in it. This force then stays on in the body after the soul has been parted from it.

This² then is the difference between an immortal body and a mortal body. 8 The immortal body consists of a single kind of matter; the mortal body does not. The immortal body acts on other things ; the mortal body is acted on. {The immortal body has the mastery, and the mortal body is mastered;} for everything which puts forces in action has the mastery, and that which is

¹ I. e. cannot exist as an organized whole.

² § 8 breaks the connexion between § 7 and § 9, and must have been inserted here by error.

κρατεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐνεργούμενον κρατεῖται. καὶ τὸ μὲν κρατοῦν, [ἐπιτακτικὸν καὶ] ἐλεύθερον ⟨ὅν⟩, ἄγει, τὸ δὲ ⟨κρατούμενον⟩, δοῦλον ⟨ὅν⟩, φέρεται.

9 ⟨καὶ μὴν ⟨αὐτὸς⟩ ἐνέργειαι οὐ μόνον τὰ ἔμψυχα ἐνεργοῦσι σώματα, ⟩⟨ἀλλὰ⟩ καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, ⟨τὰ⟩ ἔνδα καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ [[ἄλλα]] δροια, αὔξουσαι τε [καὶ καρποφοροῦσαι] 5 καὶ πεπάνουσαι, καὶ φθείρουσαι καὶ τήκουσαι καὶ σήπουσαι καὶ θρύπτουσαι, καὶ τὰ δροια ἐνεργοῦσαι, δσα δύναται σώματα ἄψυχα πάσχειν. ἐνέργεια γὰρ κέκληται, ω τέκνον, αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ⟨τὸ δὲ οὐ γίγνεται⟩ δ τί ποτε ἔστι τὸ γιγνόμενον.
10 ἀεὶ δὲ γίγνεσθαι δεῖ [καὶ] πολλά, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα. 10 οὐδέποτε γὰρ χηρεύει τῶν δυτῶν τινὸς ὁ κόσμος, ἀεὶ δὲ φερόμενος, ⟨ἀεὶ⟩ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κυίσκει τὰ δυτα [οὐδέποτε ἀποει- φθησόμενα αὐτοῦ τῆς φ[θ]ορᾶς].

* * * * *

11 πᾶσα οὖν ἐνέργεια νοείσθω ὡς [ἀεὶ] ἀσάματος οὐσα, ἥτις 15 ἀν ἦν οἰωδήποτε σώματι.

12 ⟨ἐνέργειαι γάρ, ω Τάτ, ἀσώματοι αὐταὶ οὖσαι, ἐν σώμασιν είσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἐνεργοῦσι. διόπερ, ω Τάτ, καθότι (μὲν) ἀσώματοι είσι, καὶ ἀθανάτους αὐτάς φημι εἶναι, καθότι δὲ χωρὶς σωμάτων ἐνέργειν οὐ δύνανται, φημὶ αὐτάς εἶναι ἀεὶ ἐν σώματι.⟩ 20

13 ⟨τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἔπειται [τὸ] καὶ ⟨τὸ⟩ ἀεὶ [τὰ] σώματα εἶναι. διὸ καὶ [αὐτὴν] τὴν σωματο(ποίη)σίν φημι ἀιδίαν [ἐνέργειαν] εἶναι. εἰ[s] γὰρ σώματα ἐπίγεια διαλυτά, σώματα δὲ δεῖ εἶναι, τόπους καὶ ὅργανα τῶν ἐνέργειῶν [ταῦτα] ⟨ὑπάρξοντα⟩, αἱ δὲ ἐνέργειαι ἀθανάτοι, τὸ δὲ ἀθανάτον ἀεὶ ἔστι[ν ἐνέργεια], καὶ 25 ἡ σωματοποίησις [εἴ γε] ἀεὶ ἔστι.⟩

14 ⟨αὐταὶ δὴ ⟨ἀ[ι]σώματο[πο]ιοι οὖσαι⟩⟩ αἱ ἐνέργειαι τῶν σωμάτων εἰσὶν ἡρτημέναι· καὶ ⟨γὰρ⟩ ἀπὸ [μὲν] τῶν θείων σωμάτων ἔρχονται εἰς τὰ θυητά [αὐταὶ] [αἱ σωματοποιῶσαι]. ἔκαστη δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνέργει ἡ περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡ τὴν ψυχήν. καὶ 30

1 τὸ μὲν κρατούμενον F 2 ὁν (ante ἀγει) add. Heeren | φέρεται FP:
ἀγει Meineke 3 καὶ μὴν αἱ scripsi : αἱ μὲν codd. 4 ἀλλὰ cod.
Vatic.: om. FP 6 παπταίνουσαι Pl 9 γενόμενον F 10 δεῖ om. P
| καὶ om. Heeren 12-13 Fortasse οὐδέποτε ἀποειφθησόμενος [] τῆς φ[θ]ορᾶς
13 φορᾶς Canter : φορᾶς codd. 14 ἀσώματος scripsi : ἀθανάτος codd. 15 ὢ
om. P 16-20 § 1 (ἐνέργειαι . . . ἐν σώματι) huc transposui 16 ἐνέργεια
F | ἀσώματος F | αὐταὶ Meineke : αὐταὶ F : ταῦται Pl 17 ἐνεργοῦσι F :
ἐνεργοῦσαι P 18 αὐτοὺς F | φημι Wachsmuth : φῆς FP 19 αὐτοὺς
F 21-26 § 4 (τούτῳ . . . ἀεὶ ἔστι) huc transposui 22 σωματοποίησιν
scripsi : σωμάτωσιν codd. | ἀιδίαν ἐνέργειαν F : δεῖδιενέργειαν P 23
ει Canter : εις FP | ἐπίγεια Pl : ἐπίγερα FP¹

acted on by forces is mastered. And that which has the mastery is free, and takes the lead; but that which is mastered is in servitude, and is passively borne along.

Moreover, the forces work not only in bodies that have souls ⁹ in them,¹ but also in soulless bodies, such as logs and stones and the like, increasing their bulk and bringing them to maturity, corrupting, dissolving, rotting and crumbling them, and carrying on in them all processes of that sort that it is possible for soulless bodies to undergo. For this, my son, is the very meaning of the term 'a force-at-work'; it signifies (that by which is worked) every sort of process that goes on.

And there must be going on at all times many processes, or ¹⁰ rather, every kind of process. For the Kosmos is never bereft of any of the things that are; ever in movement, it is ever breeding within itself the things that are.

* * * * *

You must understand then that every force is incorporeal, ¹¹ whatever force may be at work in any kind of body.

For forces, my son, though they are themselves incorporeal, ¹ are in bodies, and work by means of these bodies. And so, my son, inasmuch as they are incorporeal, I say that they are immortal; but inasmuch as they cannot work apart from bodies, I say that they are always in a body.

Hence it follows that there are always bodies in existence. And ⁴ for this reason I say that the production of bodies must be everlasting. For if earthly bodies are dissoluble, and there must be bodies to serve as places and instruments for the working of the forces, and the forces are immortal, and that which is immortal exists for ever, then it follows that the production of bodies must go on for ever.

The forces, though they are themselves incorporeal, are de- ⁶ pending on the bodies; for they come from the divine bodies,² and enter into mortal bodies. But each of them acts either on

¹ The writer ought rather to have said 'in bodies that *have had* souls in them'.

² I.e. the heavenly bodies.

25 ἔστι: ἔστιν, ἐνέργεια codd. 27-5 *infra*: § 6 (ἀνταί... δύναται εἶναι) *huc transposui* 27 ἀνταί: ἀνταί codd. | δῆ: scripsi: δὲ odd. | δομάτων οὖσαι scripsi: αἱ σωματοποιοῦσαι codd.

αὐτῇ *(γὰρ) [[μέντοι]]* τῇ ψυχῇ συγγίγνονται, *(οὐ) ((μέντοι))*
χωρὶς σώματος. [άει δὲ ἐνέργειαί εἰσιν.] οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ ἡ
ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι [θυητῷ] ἔστι, δύναται γὰρ χωρὶς τοῦ σώμα-
τος εἶναι· αἱ δὲ ἐνέργειαι χωρὶς τῶν σωμάτων οὐ δύνανται
εἶναι.)

5

5 *⟨παρέπονται δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ οὐκ ἀθρόως παραγιγνόμεναι·*
ἀλλὰ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμα τῷ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον
[ἐνεργοῦσι] *(παραγίγνονται)*, δομὸν τῇ ψυχῇ *(εἰσελθοῦσαι, καὶ)*
περὶ τὰ ἀλογα *(μέρη ἐνεργοῦσαι, αἱ δὲ καθαρώτεραι ἐνέρ-*
γειαι κατὰ μεταβολὴν τῆς ηλικίας, τῷ λογικῷ μέρει τῆς 10
ψυχῆς συνεργοῦσαι.)

12 *τῶν δὲ ἐνεργειῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι τῶν θείων σωμάτων* *(ἐνεργητικαί)*,
αἱ δὲ τῶν φθαρτῶν καὶ *(τῶν εἰς τὰ φθαρτὰ ἐνεργοῦσῶν)* αἱ μὲν
καθολικαί, *(αἱ δὲ γενικαί,)* αἱ δὲ *(εἰδικαί.* [καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν γενῶν, αἱ δὲ
[τῶν μερῶν] ἐνὸς ἑκάστου.] θείαι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αἱ εἰς τὰ *(ά)ιδια 15*
σώματα ἐνεργοῦσαι· αὗται δὲ καὶ τελειαὶ εἰσιν, ὡς εἰς τελεια σώματα.
(καθολικαὶ δὲ αἱ εἰς τὰ φθαρτὰ σύμπαντα) γενικαὶ δὲ αἱ δὲ ἐνὸς ἑκάστου
γένους τῶν ζῴων *(εἰδικαὶ δὲ αἱ εἰς ἕκαστόν ⟨τι⟩ τῶν ὅντων [[τι]].)*

13 οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ὃ τέκνον, συνάγει πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι
ἐνεργειῶν. εἰ γὰρ *[άναγκη τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν σώμασιν εἶναι]* 20
πολλὰ *[δὲ]* σώματα ἐν κόσμῳ, πλείους φημὶ εἶναι τὰς
ἐνεργείας τῶν σωμάτων. ἐν ἐνὶ γὰρ πολλάκις σώματι ἔστι
μία καὶ δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη *(. . .)*, χωρὶς τῶν *(τῇ γενέσει)*
ἐπομένων καθολικῶν· καθολικὰς γὰρ ἐνεργείας φημὶ τὰς
(τῶν) ὅντων σωματωτικάς *[[διὰ δὲ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν 25*
κινήσεων γινομένας]]· χωρὶς γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τὸ
σῶμα συστῆναι οὐ δυνατόν. ἔτεραι δέ εἰσιν *(εἰδικαὶ*
ἐνέργειαι *ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τεχνῶν καὶ*
*ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ ἐνεργημάτων*¹ *. . .*

14 *. . .* *⟨διὰ δὲ τῶν αἰσθήσεων [καὶ τῶν κινήσεων] (φανερὰς 30*
γινομένας·) παρέπονται γὰρ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις *[καὶ αἰσθήσεις,*
μᾶλλον δὲ ἀποτελέσματα τῶν ἐνεργειῶν *(αἱ) αἰσθήσεις εἰσί.*

15 νόησον οὖν, ὃ τέκνον, διαφορὰν ἐνεργείας *καὶ αἰσθήσεως.*
ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐνέργεια *ἄνωθεν πέμπεται·* ἡ δὲ αἰσθησις, ἐν τῷ
σώματι οὖσα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχουσα, δεξαμένη 35

8-11 § 5 (παρέπονται . . . συνεργοῦσαι) huc transposui
γοῦσαι scripsi: οὗται codd. 10 ήλικίας corr. cod. Vat.: ήσυχίας FP
| λοξῷ P¹: λογικῷ cett. 14 εἰδικαὶ Meineke: ίδικαὶ FP 15 θεία P¹
| αἱ FP²: καὶ P¹ | άδια Canter (an θεῖα): ίδια FP 17 γενικαὶ

the body or on the soul ; for they enter into connexion with the soul also, but not apart from the body. The soul is not always in a body ; it can exist apart from the body ; but the forces cannot exist apart from the bodies.

The forces which accompany the soul do not all arrive at the 5 same time. Some of them arrive at the moment of the man's birth, entering into his body together with the soul, and acting on the irrational parts of the soul ; but the purer forces arrive when he reaches the age of adolescence, and co-operate with the rational part of the soul.

Of the forces at work,¹ some act on the divine bodies, and others act on 12 perishable bodies. *(Of those which act on perishable bodies,) some are universal, (some are general,) and some are special. Those forces which act on the everlasting bodies are divine ; and these are also perfect ; for the bodies on which they act are perfect. (Those forces are universal, which act on all perishable bodies together ;) those forces are general, the action of which extends throughout any one kind of living beings ; and those forces are special, which act on an individual.*

Hence it is to be inferred, my son, that all things are full 13 of forces at work. If there are many bodies in the Kosmos, I say that the forces at work are more in number than the bodies. For in a single body there are often a first and a second and a third . . . , besides the universal forces which accompany the birth of bodies. I call those forces 'universal', which bring the bodies of things into being ; without them the body cannot be built up. And besides these there are special forces. . . .

. . . and made manifest by means of the sensations ; for the 14 sensations accompany the forces, or rather, the sensations are effects produced by the forces.

You must understand, my son, the difference between a force 15 at work and a sensation. The force is sent down from above ; but sense, which is in the body, and gets its being from the body,

¹ § 12 seems inconsistent with the context, and was probably written by another person.

scripsi : μερικαὶ codd. 18 γένος om. P | εἰδικαὶ Meineke : ιδικαὶ FP
20 σώματι P 25 τῶν ὄντων scripsi : ὄντως codd. | σωματωτικὸς
Usener : σωματικὸς codd. 25-26 διὰ . . . γυνομένας hinc ad § 14 init.
transposui 27 οὐ δυνατὸν F : ἀδύνατον P | εἰδικαὶ Meineke : ιδικαὶ FP
31 αἱ Heeren : καὶ FP 32 ἀποτέλεσματα F² P² : ἀποτέλεσμα F¹ : ἀποτέλεσμα P¹ | αἱ add. F² 33 οὐ om. F 33-34 καὶ αἰσθήσεως· ή
μὲν ἐνέργεια addidit Wachsmuth (γὰρ addidi) : καὶ αἰσθήσεως· ή μὲν add. P²
marg.

τὴν ἐνέργειαν φανερὰν ποιεῖ, καθάπερ αὐτὴν σωματοποιῆσασα. διόπερ *(τὰς μὲν ἐνέργειας ἀσωμάτους καὶ ἀθανάτους)*, τὰς *(δὲ) αἰσθήσεις καὶ σωματικὰς καὶ θυητάς φημι εἶναι, (ἐπὶ) τοσοῦτον συνεστώσας ὅσον καὶ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ γὰρ συγγεννῶνται τῷ σώματι αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ συναποθνή-⁵*

16 σκουσι. *((καὶ τὰ μὲν))* *(θυητὰ σώματα αἰσθησιν ἔχει)* τὰ δὲ ἀθάνατα σώματα *[[αὐτὰ μὲν]]* αἰσθησιν οὐκ ἔχει, ως ἔξ οὐσίας *(οὐ)* τοιαύτης συνεστῶτα. ἡ γὰρ αἰσθησις οὐδὲ ὅλως ἄλλου ἐστὶ *[σωματικὴ]* *(καταληπτικὴ)* ἡ τοῦ προσγινομένου τῷ σώματι *[κακοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ]*, ἡ τοῦ πάλιν αὖ ἀπογινο-¹⁰ μένου τοῖς δὲ ἀιδίοις σώμασιν οὔτε προσγίνεται *(τι)* οὔτε **18** ἀπογίνεται· διὸ αἰσθησις ἐν ἑκείνοις οὐ γίνεται. *((αἱ γὰρ) αἰσθήσεις [μέν] εἰσὶ παθητικαὶ [δέ], κατὰ αὑξῆσιν μόνον καὶ κατὰ μείωσιν γιγνόμεναι. τὸ δὲ πάθος καὶ *(ἡ)* αἰσθησις ἀπὸ μιᾶς κορυφῆς ἥρτηνται, εἰς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ συνάγονται· ὑπὸ ¹⁵ δὲ τῶν ἐνέργειῶν *(ἀποτελεῖται συναμφότερα)*.))—*

17 'Ἐν παντὶ οὐν *(παθητῷ)* σώματι αἰσθησις *[αἰσθάνεται] (γίνεται);—'Ἐν παντί, ὁ τέκνον· καὶ *(γὰρ)* ἐνέργειαι *(ἐν) πάσιν ἐνέργοντι.*—Κάν τοις ἀψύχοις, ὁ πάτερ;—Κάν *(τοῖς) ἀψύχοις*, ὁ τέκνον. διαφορὰ δέ εἰσι τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἱ ²⁰ μὲν *(γὰρ)* τῶν λογικῶν μετὰ λόγου γίγνονται, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων *Γ*σωματικαὶ εἰσὶ μόνον, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀψύχων *(. . .).**

18 *[[αἰσθήσεις μέν εἰσι, παθητικαὶ δέ, κατὰ αὑξῆσιν μόνον δὲ κατὰ μείωσιν γιγνόμεναι. τὸ δὲ πάθος καὶ αἰσθησις ἀπὸ μιᾶς κορυφῆς ἥρτηνται, εἰς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ συνάγονται, ὑπὸ ²⁵ δὲ τῶν ἐνέργειῶν.]])*

19 τῶν δὲ ἐμψύχων *[ἔψων]* εἰσὶ δύο ἄλλαι *Γ*ένέργειαι, αἱ παρέπονται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι, λύπῃ καὶ χαρᾷ. χωρὶς τούτων *ἔψων* *[ἐμψυχον]* *[καὶ μάλιστα] (ἄ)λογ[ικ]ον αἰσθέσθαι ἀδύνατον.* διὸ καὶ ἴδιας ταύτας εἴναι φημι *[τῶν 30 παθῶν ἴδεας]* τῶν *(ά)λογ[ικ]ῶν μᾶλλον* *ζέψων*, *(ώς τούτων μᾶλλον)* ἐπικρατούσας. *[αἱ μὲν ἐνέργειαι *(ά)φανῶς* ἐνερ-²⁰ γοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ αἰσθήσεις τὰς ἐνέργειας ἀναφαίνουσιν.]* αὗται δέ, οὓσαι σωματικαί, ἀνακινοῦνται ὑπὸ *(τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ἀντέχονται δέ)* τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλόγων μερῶν διὸ καὶ ³⁵

4 τοσοῦτων P¹ | καὶ (post ὅσον) om. P 7 Post αὐτὰ μὲν add. dθάνατον
 P Θ ὅλον P¹: ὅλον P² | σωματικὴ seclusit Heeren | καταλη-
 πτικὴ addidi: fortasse σημαντικὴ | προσγινομένου scripsi: προσγενομένου
 codd. 10-11 ἀπογινομένου scripsi: ἀπογενομένου codd. 11 τι add.
 Wachsmuth 18-19 § 18 (αἰσθήσεις . . . ἐνέργειῶν) huc transposui

receives the force and makes it manifest, giving it a bodily existence, so to speak. I say then that the forces are incorporeal and immortal, but the senses are corporeal and mortal, continuing in existence only so long as the body does; for the senses are generated together with the body, and perish with it. And mortal ¹⁶ bodies have sense; but the immortal bodies¹ have not sense, because they do not consist of that sort of substance.² For sense cannot apprehend anything whatever except that which is added to the body, or that which on the other hand is taken from the body; but nothing is added to or taken from the everlasting bodies, and therefore sensation does not take place in them. For sensations have to do with changes that befall the body, ¹⁸ and take place only in connexion with increase and decrease of the body. The bodily change and the sensation are attached to a single head, and joined in one; and both together are effected by the forces at work.—

Tat. Does sensation take place then in every body that is ¹⁷ subject to change?—*Hermes.* Yes, my son; for there are forces at work in all such bodies.—*Tat.* Even in soulless bodies, father?—*Hermes.* Yes, my son, even in soulless bodies. But there are different kinds of sense. The sensations of rational beings are accompanied by reason; those of irrational animals are merely . . .; and those of soulless things . . .

But beings that have souls in them have two other things, ¹⁹ which accompany the sensations and the bodily changes, namely, pain and enjoyment. It is impossible for an irrational animal to have a sensation without feeling pain or enjoyment; and so I say that pain and enjoyment are proper to the irrational animals rather than to men; for the irrational animals are more completely mastered by them. Pain and enjoyment, being corporeal, ²⁰ are stirred up by the sensations, and take hold of the irrational parts of the soul; and therefore I say that both of them work

¹ I.e. the heavenly bodies.

² I.e. of such substance as admits of sense. The substance of which the writer holds them to consist is probably the Aristotelian 'fifth substance'.

13 καὶ (post μόνον) P²: δὲ FP¹ 14 ἡ addidit Wachsmuth 17 αἰσθησις
 F²P²: αἰσθησις F¹P¹ 18 ἐνεργεία P | ἐν add. Heeren 18 κάν (bis)
 Usener: καὶ (bis) codd. | rois add. Meineke 29 ἀλογον̄ scripsi: λογικὸν
 codd. 30 ἴδεα scripsi: ἴδεα codd. 30–31 τῶν παθῶν ἴδεα seclusit
 Wachsmuth 31 ἀλογῶν scripsi: λογῶν F¹: λογικῶν cett. 32 ἐπικρα-
 τούσας P²: ἐπι κρατούσας FP¹ 32–33 αἱ μὲν . . . ἀναφένονται seclusit
 Wachsmuth

άμφοτέρας φημὶ κακωτικὰς εἶναι. τό τε γὰρ χαίρειν, μεθ' ἡδονῆς τὴν αἰσθησιν παρέχον, πολλῶν κακῶν εὐθέως αἴτιον συμβαίνει[ν] τῷ παθόντι ἡ τε λύπη, ἀλγηδόνας καὶ ὀδύνας ἴσχυροτέρας παρέχουσα, τὸν βίον λυμαίνεται. διόπερ εἰκότως ἀμφότεραι κακωτικὰ ἀν εἶησαν.—

21 ⁵ Ἡ αὐτὴ ἀν εἴη αἰσθησις ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος¹, ὁ πάτερ; —Πῶς νοεῖς, ὁ παῖ, ψυχῆς αἰσθησιν; οὐχ ἡ μὲν ψυχὴ ἀσώματος, ἡ δὲ αἰσθησις σῶμα;—^{..} Ἡν εἴη, ὁ πάτερ, ἡ αἰσθησις ἡ ἐν σώματι ὥστα τυγχάνει.²—Ἐὰν δὲ σώματον αὐτὴν θῶμεν, ὁ τέκνον, δομοίαν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὴν ἀποφανοῦμεν ¹⁰ ἡ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀσώματα ὅντα φαμὲν ἐν σώμασιν *(εἶναι)*. ἡ δὲ αἰσθησις οὔτε ἐνεργειά ἔστιν οὔτε ψυχή, *Γ*ούτε ἀσώματόν τι ἄλλο παρὰ τὰ προειρημένα³. οὐκ ἀν οὖν εἴη ἀσώματον. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσώματον, σῶμα ἀν εἴη. [τῶν γὰρ ὅντων δεῖ τὰ μὲν σώματα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ¹⁵ ἀσώματα.]

EXCERPTUM IV A

Stobaeus I. 49. 5, vol. i, p. 322 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I.* 806 Heeren).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ἐρμοῦ).

[*ὅτι* ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀεικύνητος.]

- 1 Ἐφαρμεν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς *(τὰς τῶν) (σωμάτων)* κινήσεις τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν *(φυσικῶν)* ἐνεργειῶν, τὰς δὲ ὑπὸ ²⁰ τῶν *[[σωμάτων]]* *(ψυχῶν γίνεσθαι)*.
- 2 [φαμὲν δὲ τὴν ψυχήν, *(ἀσώματον οὖσαν,*⁴) *έξ* οὐσίας τινὸς *[οὐχ ὄλης]* γεγενῆσθαι *[[ἀσώματον οὖσαν]]* καὶ αὐτῆς ἀσωμάτου οὐσης. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάγκη ἔκ τινος γεγενῆσθαι.]
- 3 ὅσων μὲν οὖν *(σωμάτων)* τῇ γενέσει φθορὰ ἐπακολουθεῖ, τούτοις δύο κινήσεις παρακολουθεῖν ἀνάγκη, τὴν τε *(γινομένην ὑπὸ τῆς)* ψυχῆς, ὑφ' ἧς κινεῖται *(τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τόπον)*, καὶ τὴν *[τοῦ σώματος]* *(ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως)*, ὑφ' ἧς αὔξεται καὶ

1 Fortasse κακωτικὰς εἶναι *(τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)*

3 συμβαίνει Heeren: συμβαίνειν FP

4 παρέχουσα, τὸν βίον λυμαίνεται scripsi: παρέχεται codd.

mischief. Enjoyment causes sensation to be accompanied by pleasure, and so forthwith becomes the cause of many evils to the man who feels it; and pain, producing intense distress and anguish, (spoils a man's life). It may therefore be said with good reason that both of them work mischief.

Tat. . . . , father?¹—*Hermes*. What do you mean, my son, by 21 'sense belonging to the soul'? Is not the soul incorporeal, and is not sense a body?—*Tat.* . . .²—*Hermes*. If we say that sense is incorporeal, my son, we shall be making it a thing like the soul, or the forces at work; for these, we say, are incorporeal, and are in bodies. But sense is neither force at work nor soul, . . . ; it cannot therefore be incorporeal. And if it is not incorporeal, it must be a body.

EXCERPT IVA

From a Discourse of Hermes.

I said in my General Discourses, that of the movements of 1 bodies some are worked by the forces of nature, and others by souls. [§ 2]³

All bodies then of which the coming-into-being is followed by 3 destruction must necessarily be accompanied by two movements, namely, the movement worked by the soul, by which bodies are moved in space, and the movement worked by nature, by which bodies are made to grow and to waste away, and are resolved

¹ Perhaps, 'Does sense belong both to the body and to the soul, father?'

² Perhaps, 'Why should not sense itself be incorporeal, father, though it is in a body?'

³ [§ 2. 'But I say that the soul, being incorporeal, has been made of some substance which is itself incorporeal. For everything that has been made must necessarily have been made of something.']}

8–9 Fortasse *(Tί γάρ οὐκ ἀσώματος αὐτὴν)* ἀν εἴη, ὃ πάτερ, η αἰσθησις, εἰς (καὶ) ἐν σώματι οὖσα τυγχάνει; Θη (ante ἐν) del. P² | ἀσώματον scripsi: ἐν σώματι codd. 10 ἀποφαινούμεν F 12 οὔτε Wachsmuth: οὐδὲ FP 15 δεῖ Canter: δεῖ FP

19 ἔφαμεν scripsi: ἔφημεν Wachsmuth (codd.?) 21 φυχῶν γίνεσθαι addidi; vide § 3 23 ἀσώματον οὖσα καὶ P¹ 26 ὅσων P¹: ὅσον FP¹ | οὖν F: σὺν P 27 παρακολουθεῖν FP: fortasse παρέκεσθαι 27–28 γινο-μένην ὥπο τῆς addidi (τῆς add. P² marg.) 28 φυχῆς P²: φυχῆν FP¹

- φθίνει, ἔτι δὲ καὶ *(φθαρὲν)* [ἀναλυθέντα] ἀναλύεται. ταύτην
δρίζομαι τὴν κίνησιν τῶν φθαρτῶν σωμάτων.
- 4 *<...>* ή δὲ ψυχὴ ἀεικίνητος, δι τι ἀεὶ *(ἐν τε)* ἐαυτῇ κινεῖται
καὶ ἄλλοις κίνησιν ἐνεργεῖ. κατὰ τοῦτον οὖν τὸν λόγον
ἔστι ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, καθ^{βτι} ἀεικίνητος, *(ἐν ἐαυτῇ)* 5
ἔχουσα [κίνησιν] τὴν αὐτῆς ἐνέργειαν.
- 5 ιδέαι δὲ ψυχῶν, θεία, ἀνθρωπίνη, ἀλογος.
ἡ μὲν οὖν θεία τοῦ θείου σώματος *(κινητική, ...)* αὐτῆς
ἐνέργεια· ἐν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κινεῖται, καὶ [*εἰσαύτῳ* δὲ] κινεῖ.
- 6 [[έπαν γὰρ θνητῶν ἕφων ἀπαλλαγῇ, χωρισθεῖσα τῶν 10
ἀλόγων ἐαυτῆς μερῶν, ἔξελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ θείον σῶμα, ὡς
ἀεικίνητος ἐν αὐτῷ κινεῖται, συμπεριφερομένη τῷ παντί.]]
- 7 η δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη ἔχει μέν *(τι)* καὶ [τὸ] τοῦ θείου, συνήπται
δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα *(μέρη)*, η τε ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὁ θυμός·
καὶ *(γὰρ)* αἴται [μὲν ἀθάνατοι καθότι καὶ αὐται αἱ] ἐνέργειαι 15
τυγχάνουσιν *(օνσα)*, ἐνέργειαι δὲ θνητῶν σωμάτων. διὸ τοῦ
[[μὲν]] θείου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐσης *((μὲν))* ἐν τῷ θείῳ
σώματι, πόρρω τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰσέλθῃ τοῦτο
εἰς θνητὸν σῶμα, κάκεινα ἐπιφέρεται, καὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτῶν
6 γίνεται *[άει]* *(κακὴ η)* ψυχὴ [ἀνθρωπίνη]. *((έπαν γὰρ τοῦ))* 20
θνητογά τάματος ἀπαλλαγῇ, χωρίζεται τῶν ἀλόγων ἐαυτῆς
μερῶν, εἰσελθοῦσα *(δὲ)* εἰς τὸ θείον σῶμα, ὡς ἀεικίνητος
(օνσα) ἐν αὐτῷ κινεῖται, συμπεριφερομένη τῷ παντί.}}
- 8 η δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων συνέστηκεν ἐκ θυμοῦ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας.
διόπερ καὶ ἄλογα ἐκλήθη τὰ ἕφα ταῦτα, στερήσει τοῦ 25
[α]λογ(ικ)οῦ τῆς ψυχῆς.
- 9 τετάρτην δὲ νόει τὴν τῶν ἀψύχων *(ἐνέργειαν)*, ητις ἔξωθεν
οὖσα τῶν σωμάτων ἐνεργεῖ κινοῦσσα. αὐτη δὲ ἀν εἴη η ἐν τῷ
θείῳ σώματι κινουμένη *(ψυχή)*, καὶ ωσπερ κατὰ πάροδον
ταῦτα κινοῦσσα.—

30

3 Fortasse *(τῶν δὲ ὀιδίων σωμάτων κίνησις μά, η ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς γινομένη. . .)*
ἐν τε ἐαυτῇ scripsi: *ἐν αὐτῇ* Wachsmuth: ἐαυτῇ F (in ras.), P¹: καὶ αὐτῇ P¹
5 καθότι scripsi: καὶ codd. 9 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ FP: μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ
Wachsmuth | καὶ αὐτῷ Patritius: καὶ ἐαυτῷ FP¹: καὶ ἐαυτὸν P²
10-12 § 6 (*έπαν . . . παντί*) hinc transposui: vide post § 7 13 μέν τι καὶ
τοῦ scripsi (*μὲν καὶ τι τοῦ Heeren*): μὲν καὶ τὸ τοῦ FP 15 αὐται αἱ F:
αἴται αἱ P¹: αἴται (om. αἱ) P² marg. 18 οὖσαι scripsi: αἱ F: om. P
18 τυγχάνουσιν οὖσα F: τυγχάνουσιν P¹: τυγχάνουσιν P² 19 ἐπονέται
scripsi: ἐπιφοτῆ codd. 20 γίνεται κακὴ η ψυχὴ scripsi: γίνεται
δὲ ψυχὴ (γ. δει η ψυχὴ P²) ἀνθρωπίνη codd. 20-21 τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος
scripsi: θνητῶν ἕφων codd. 21 χωρίζεται scripsi: χωρισθεῖσα codd.

into their elements when they have been destroyed. Thus I define the movement of perishable bodies.

. . .¹ Soul is ever in motion ; for it is ever moving within 4 itself, and works movement for other things. And for this reason all soul is immortal, inasmuch as it is ever in motion, having its motive force within itself.

There are three different kinds of souls,—divine soul, human 5 soul, and irrational soul.

The divine soul is that which moves the divine body.² . . . its motive force,³ it moves itself in the divine body, and it moves that body.

The human soul has in it something that is divine ; but there 7 are joined to it also the irrational parts, namely, desire and repugnance. These also are motive forces, but motive forces that have to do with mortal bodies. And so, as long as the divine part of the soul is in the divine body, desire and repugnance are far away from it ; but when the divine part has entered into a mortal body, they come into being as accretions on it, and it is through their presence that the soul becomes bad. For when the soul has been released from the mortal body, 6 it is separated from its irrational parts ; and it enters into the divine body, and, as it is ever in motion, it is moved in that body, being borne along in the circling movement of the universe.

But the soul of irrational animals consists of repugnance and 8 desire ; and that is why these animals are called 'irrational', because they are deprived of the rational part of the soul.

And you must understand that there is a fourth kind of motive 9 force, which acts on soulless bodies. It is outside the bodies, and is operative in moving them. This must be the soul that is in motion in the divine body, and moves soulless bodies incidentally, so to speak.—

¹ Perhaps, '(But the everlasting bodies (i.e. the heavenly bodies) have one movement only, namely, that which is worked by soul. . . .)'.

² 'The divine body' probably means the sphere of heaven.

³ Perhaps, 'Its motive force acts in two ways'.

EXCERPTUM IV B

Stobaeus i. 41. 6 a, vol. i, p. 284 Wachsmuth (*Ed. I.* 726 Heeren).

'Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ.

1 'Ορθῶς ταῦτα ἀπέδειξας, ὃ πάτερ ἔκεινο δὲ ἔτι με δίδαξον. ἔφης γάρ που τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐνεργείας εἶναι τοῦ λογικοῦ. νῦν δὲ φῆς τὰ ἄλογα ἥψα στερήσει τοῦ λογικοῦ ἄλογα εἶναι καὶ κεκλήσθαι δῆλον ⟨δ⟩; ὅτι ἀνάγκη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τὰ ἄλογα ἥψα μὴ μετέχειν ἐπιστήμης μηδὲ τέχνης, διὰ τὸ ἐστερῆσθαι τοῦ λογικοῦ.—
 2 Ἀνάγκη γάρ, ὃ τέκνον.—Πῶς οὖν ὄρῳμεν, ὃ πάτερ, τιὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνῃ χρώμενα, οἷον τοὺς μύρμηκας τὰς τροφὰς ἀποθησαυριζόμενους [τοῦ χειμῶνος], καὶ τὰ ἀέρια ἥψα ὁμοίως καλιὰς ἑαντοῖς συντιθέντα, τὰ δὲ τετράποδα 3 γνωρίζοντα τοὺς φωλεοὺς τοὺς ἴδιους;—Ταῦτα, ὃ τέκνον, οὐκ ἐπιστήμη ὡὐ(δὲ) τέχνῃ ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει. ἡ γάρ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἡ τέχνη διδακτ[ικά] εἰσι· ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων [οὐδεὶς] οὐδὲν διδάσκεται. *(καὶ τὰ ⟨μὲν⟩ [δὲ] φύσει γιγνό-* 15 *μενα ἐνεργείᾳ [[μὲν]] γίγνεται καθολικῇ τὰ δὲ ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνῃ ⟨γιγνόμενα⟩ [εἰδόσι] ⟨τισὶ⟩ παραγίγνεται, οὐ πᾶσι.*
 4 [[γιγνόμενα]] [[ὑπὸ φύσεως ἐνεργεῖται]]. οὖν οἱ ἀνθρώποι *⟨πάντες⟩ ἀνω βλέπουσιν ⟨τοῦτο μὲν γάρ⟩ ⟨ὑπὸ φύσεως ἐνεργεῖται⟩* οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀνθρώποι μουσικοί, οὐδὲ πάντες 20 *τοξόται ἡ κυνηγοί, οὐδὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ⟨πράττουσι πάντες⟩, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν, ⟨ὅσοι⟩ τι ἔμαθον, ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης* 5 *ἐνεργούσης. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ⟨εἰ⟩ οἱ μέν τινες τῶν μυρμήκων τοῦτο ἐπράττον, οἱ δὲ οὐ, καλῶς ἀν ἔλεγες ἐπιστήμη αὐτο(ὺς) [τοῦτο πράττειν] καὶ τέχνῃ συνάγειν τὰς τροφάς· εἰ δὲ 25 πάντες ὁμοίως ἀγονται [[ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως]] ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄκοντες, δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστήμη οὐδὲ τέχνη τοῦτο πράττουσιν, ⟨ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φύσεως⟩ ⟨ἀγόμενοι⟩.*

2 ἐκέινο scripsi : ἐκέινα codd. 4 ἐνεργείας scripsi : ἐνέργειαν codd.
 5 δ' addidit Wachsmuth 9 χρώμενος P 13 οὐδὲ Meineke: οὐ FP
 14 διδακτά Patritius: διδακτικά FP | ταῦτα scripsi : τούτων codd.
 15 οὐδεὶς 'fortasse secludendum' Wachsmuth 16 καθολική F: καθεκτική P | τὰ δὲ Heeren: τῷ δὲ FP 17 εἰδόσι FP: εἰδικῶς Wachsmuth
 19 πάντες addidit Wachsmuth 23 εἰ οἱ scripsi: ex οἱ corr. εἰ F: οἱ P
 24 αὐτὸς scripsi: αὐτὸς codd. 26 τούτων P 27-28 Post τοῦτο πρά-

EXCERPT IV B

From the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.¹

Tat. You have explained these things rightly, father ; but there **1** is another thing about which I ask you to give me further instruction. You said before that knowledge and skill are forces put in action by the rational part of the soul. But now you tell me that it is because the irrational animals are deprived of the rational part of the soul, that they are irrational and are so called ; and it is clear that it follows of necessity from this that the irrational animals have no portion of knowledge or skill, since they are deprived of the rational part.—*Hermes.* Yes, my son, it necessarily follows.—*Tat.* How is it then, father, that we see **2** some of the irrational animals using knowledge and skill,—the ants, for instance, storing up their food, and the birds of the air building nests for themselves, and the four-footed beasts knowing their own lairs?—*Hermes.* It is not by knowledge or skill, my son, **3** that they do these things, but by natural instinct. Knowledge and skill are things that are taught ; but none of the irrational animals are taught to do the things you speak of. And the things that are done by instinct are done by a force that is universal in its working ; but the things that are done by knowledge and skill are acquired by some, and not by all. For **4** instance, all men look upward ;² for this is done by nature's working ; but not all men are musicians, nor are all men archers or hunters ; and all other such things also are done, not by all men, but by some of them, that is, by those who have learnt to do this or that ; for it is knowledge and skill that are at work. In the same way, if some ants only did this, and others did not, **5** you would have been right in saying that it is by knowledge and skill that they collect their food ; but if all of them alike are led to do this, and do it involuntarily, it is clear that it is not by knowledge or skill that they do it, but by nature's leading.

¹ Exc. IV B appears to be a continuation of Exc. IV A.

² That is, men stand erect with upturned face, in contrast to the beasts, which 'look downward'.

τουσιν add. codd. *ἐνέργειαι γάρ, ὡς Τάτ,* ἀσώματοι αὐταὶ οὖσαι, κ.τ.λ.: vide Exc. III

EXCERPTUM V

Stobaeus I. 41. 8, vol. i, p. 290 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 744
Heeren).

'Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν [πρὸς Ἀμμωνα] πρὸς Τάτ.

1 καὶ ὁ μὲν [κύριος καὶ πάντων] δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀιδίων σωμάτων, ὁ Τάτ, ἅπαξ ποιήσας οὐκέτι ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ ποιεῖ ταῦτα γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς παραδοὺς καὶ ἐνώσας ἀλλήλους ἀφῆκε φέρεσθαι, μηδενὸς ἐνδέοντα [ὡς ἀίδια]. εἰ δὲ δέονται τινῶν, § ἀλλήλων δέησονται, οὐδεμιᾶς δὲ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφορᾶς, (. . .) Γὼν¹ ἀθάνατα· ἔδει γὰρ τὰ ὑπὸ ἑκείνου σώματα γενόμενα τοιαύτην ἔχειν [καὶ] τὴν φύσιν.

2 ὁ δὲ ημέτερος δημιουργός, ἐν σώματι ὅν, ἐποίησεν ήμᾶς, καὶ ποιεῖ ἀεὶ καὶ ποιήσει, σώματα (ἔχοντας) διαλυτὰ καὶ θυητά. οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἡν αὐτῷ μιμεῖσθαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ (. . .) ἀδύνατον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης οὐσίας ἐποίησεν, οὐσης ἀσωμάτου, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς γε[ι]νομένης σωματώσεως ἐποίησεν ήμᾶς.

3 εἰκότως οὖν [κατὰ τὸν ὄρθον λόγον] ἑκεῖνα μὲν τὰ σώματα, § ως ἔξ ἀσωμάτου οὐσίας γεγενημένα, ἀθάνατά ἔστι· τὰ δὲ ημέτερα διαλυτὰ καὶ θυητά, ως τῆς Γύλης² ήμῶν ἐκ σωμάτων 4 συνεστώσης. διὸ (καὶ) [τὸ] ἀσθενῆ ἔστι, καὶ πολλῆς ἐπικουρίας δεόμενα. πῶς γὰρ ἀν καὶ τὸ τυχὸν ἀντέσχειν ὁ σύνδεσμος ήμῶν τῶν σωμάτων, εἰ μή τινα εἶχεν ἐπεισερχο- 20 μένην τροφὴν ἐκ τῶν [ὅμοιων] στοιχείων, καὶ ὑπεσωμάτου ήμᾶς (αὐτῇ) καθ' ἐκάστην [τὴν] ήμέραν; καὶ γὰρ γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος ἐπιρροὴ ήμῶν γίγνεται, ἥτις τὰ σώματα ήμῶν νεοποιοῦσα συνέχει τὸ σκῆνος.

5 (. . .) ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὰς κινήσεις ἐσμὲν ἀσθενέστεροι, 25 φέροντες (αὐτὰς) [κινήσεις] μηδὲ ήμέρας μιᾶς. εὐ γὰρ ἵσθι, ὁ τέκνον, διτι εἰ μὴ ἐν ταῖς νυξὶν ήμῶν ἀνεπαύετο τὰ σώματα, οὐκ ἀν πρὸς μίαν ήμέραν ἀντέσχομεν. διθεν ἀγαθὸς ὅν δημιουργός, (καὶ) πάντα προεπιστάμενος, εἰς διαμονὴν τοῦ ζώου ἐποίησε τὸν ὑπὸν, (φάρμακον) μέγιστον τοῦ καμάτου 30

1 πρὸς Ἀμμωνα verba 'ex titulo eclogae antecedentis ('Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀμμωνα, Exc. XV) male iterata' Wachsmuth 5 μηδενὸς scripsi: μηδὲν codd. | ως ἀίδια F: καὶ ἀίδια P 6 δέονται scripsi: δεήσονται codd. 7 Fortasse ὥστε ταῦτα μὲν ἀθάνατα 14 γενομένης scripsi: γεναμένης codd. 16 γεγενημένα F 18 διὸ καὶ ἀσθενῆ ἔστι scripsi: διὰ τὸ ἀσθενῆ εἶναι codd. 22 τὴν del. P² 26 εὐ F: εἰ P 28 ἀντέ-

EXCERPT V

From the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.

And the Maker of the everlasting bodies, my son, having once 1 made them, did not thereafter make them, nor does he make them now; he gave them over into their own keeping, and having united them to one another, left them to go their way, as things that are in need of nothing. If they need anything, they need one another; but they have no need of the addition of anything from without. . . . immortal;¹ for the bodies which were made by Him could not but be of such nature.

But the Maker by whom we men were made,² being himself 2 embodied, made us, and ever is and will be making us, as beings whose bodies are dissoluble and mortal. For it was not permitted to him to imitate his own Maker, especially as (<. . . . Moreover, . . . was) impossible; for the Maker of the everlasting bodies made them of the first substance, which is incorporeal, but our Maker made us of the corporeal things that had been made.

It is with good reason then that the everlasting bodies are 3 immortal, inasmuch as they have been made of incorporeal substance; but our bodies are dissoluble and mortal, inasmuch as our fabric is composed of bodies. And for this reason our 4 bodies are weak, and need much help. How could the bond that holds our bodies together have endured even for a little time, were it not that they receive into them nutriment which comes from the elements, and that this nutriment renews our bodies day by day? For we receive an influx of earth and water, fire and air, which renovates our bodies, and holds our mortal frame together.

. . . so that we are too weak to endure the strain of our 5 movements, and cannot bear them for one day. Be assured, my son, that, were it not that our bodies rest at night, we could not hold out for a single day. And so the Maker,—being good, and foreknowing all things,—to the end that the living being might last on, made sleep, a potent remedy for the weariness

¹ Perhaps, '<(Those bodies then are) immortal'.

² This second 'Maker' must be either the Kosmos or the Sun.

τῆς κινήσεως, καὶ ἐπ' ἵστητος ἔταξεν ἑκατέρῳ χρόνῳ
 6 [μᾶλλον δὲ τῇ ἀναπαύῃ πλείονα]. μεγίστην δὴ νόει, *(ῳ)*
 τέκνου, τοῦ ὑπνου τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἐναντίαν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς,
 οὐκ ἐλάττον^(α δ') ἐκείνης. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ κινήσεώς
 ἐστιν ἐνεργητική, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον *(ὁ ὑπνος . . .)*. *(διὸ)* καὶ τὰ 5
 σώματα ἔηνον οὐ δύναται χωρὶς ὑπνου· ἀνεστις γάρ [*καὶ*
 7 ἀφεσίς] ἐστι *'τῶν συνδέτων τῶν μελῶν'*. καὶ ἔσωθεν ἐνεργεῖ,
 σωματοποιῶν τὴν ἐπεισελθοῦσαν ὑλην, ἐκάστῳ τὸ οἰκεῖον
 διαστέλλων, τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ τῷ αἷματι, τὴν δὲ γῆν *(τοῖς)* ὁστέοις
 καὶ μυελοῖς, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα τοῖς νεύροις [*καὶ φλεψί*], τὸ δὲ πῦρ ¹⁰
 τῇ ὄρασει. διόπερ καὶ ἥδεται ἀκρως τὸ σῶμα τῷ ὑπνῷ
 ταύτην ἐνεργοῦντι τὴν *'ἡδονήν'*.

EXCERPTUM VI

Stobaeus I. 21. 9, vol. i, p. 189 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I.* 468
 Heeren).

'Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ.

- 1 'Ἐπεί μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν γενικοῖς λόγοις ὑπέσχου
 δηλώσαι περὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐξ δεκανῶν, νῦν μοι δήλωσον ¹⁵
 περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων ἐνέργειας.—Οὐδ[ε]ις φθόνος,
 ὁ Τάτ· καὶ ὁ κυριώτατος πάντων λόγος καὶ κορυφαιώτατος
 οὗτος ἀν εἴη. *εὐ* δὲ νόει [*οὕτως*].
- 2 ἔφαμέν σοι περὶ τοῦ Ἰωδιακοῦ κύκλου, *[[[καὶ]]* τοῦ *((καὶ))*
 Ἰωφόρου, καὶ τῶν πέντε πλανητῶν καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ²⁰
 καὶ τοῦ ἐκάστου τούτων κύκλου.—Ἐφης γάρ, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε.
 —Οὕτως βούλομαι σε νοεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐξ
 δεκανῶν, μεμνημένον ἐκείνων, *ἰν'* εὐγνωστός σοι καὶ ὁ περὶ
 τούτων λόγος γένοιτο.—Μέμνημαι, ὁ πάτερ.—
- 3 *((Ε))*φαμέν που, ὁ τέκνου, περιεκτικὸν τῶν ἀπάντων εἶναι ²⁵

1 ἑκατέρῳ Meineke : ἐκάστῳ FP | χρόνῳ Gaisford : χρόνῳ FP 2 δὴ
 scripsi : δὲ codd. 3 ἐναντία P 4 ἐλάττονα δ' Heeren : ἐλάττον FP
 5 ἐνεργητική scripsi : ἐνέργεια codd. 6 δύναται P : δύνανται F 7 τῶν
 (ante μελῶν) F : om. P 8 ἐπεισελθοῦσαν P 9 τοῖς add. Meineke
 10 μυελοῖς codd. : fortasse μῦσι 12 ἐνεργοῦντι Meineke : ἐνεργοῦντος codd.
 | ἡδονήν codd. : fortasse ἐνέργειαν

13 sqq. Lemma et §§ 1-7 ('Ἐπεί μοι . . . καὶ κοινῆ) desunt in cod. P
 13 τῶν scripsi : τοῦ cod. 16 οὐδεὶς Meineke : οὐδὲ εἰς F 18 οὐδεὶς

produced by movement; and he assigned time in equal portions to movement and to sleep. Know then, my son, that the work ⁶ wrought by sleep is a great work. It is contrary to that wrought by the soul, but of no less import; for as the soul works movement, even so (sleep works repose. And for this reason) our bodies cannot live without sleep; for sleep is a relaxing of Moreover, sleep works within us, building into the ⁷ body the matter that has entered in, and distributing to each part of the body that kind of matter which is appropriate to it, water to the blood, earth to the bones and marrow,¹ air to the nerves, and fire to the organs of sight. And so the body feels intense pleasure when sleep is doing this work.

EXCERPT VI

From the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.

Tat. In your former General Discourses you promised to ¹ explain about the thirty-six Decans; I therefore ask you to tell me about them now, and to explain their working.—*Hermes.* I am quite willing, Tat; and of all my teachings, this will be of supreme importance, and will stand highest among them. I bid you mark it well.²

I have told you before about the zodiacal circle, which is also ² called the animal-bearing circle, and about the five planet-stars and the sun and the moon, and the several circles of these seven bodies.—*Tat.* You have, thrice-greatest one.—*Hermes.* I desire you then, in your thoughts about the thirty-six Decans also, to bear in mind what I have told you, that so my teaching about the Decans also may be intelligible to you.—*Tat.* I bear in mind what you have told me, father.—

Hermes. I told you, my son, that there is a body which encloses ³

¹ Perhaps, ‘bones and muscles’.

² Or, ‘You must understand the matter thus’.

σῶμα. ἐννόησον οὖν [καὶ] αὐτὸς ὥσπερ κυκλοειδὲς *(τὸ)* σχῆμα· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει τὸ πᾶν.—Τοιοῦτον *(τὸ)* σχῆμα νιῶ οὕτως ὡς λέγεις, ὡς πάτερ.—Τὸ δὲ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ σώματος τούτου[ς] τετάχθαι τὸν τριάκοντα ἐξ δεκανούς, μέσους τοῦ *(τοῦ)* παντὸς κύκλου *(καὶ)* τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, διορίζοντας ἀμφοτέρους τὸν κύκλον, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον μὲν κουφίζοντας, τὸν *(δὲ)* ζῳδιακὸν καθορίζοντας.

4 *(. . .)* Γυμφερομένους τοῖς πλάνησι καὶ ισοδυναμεῖν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς φορᾷ κατὰ τὸ ἐναλλάξ τοῖς ἐπτά¹. καὶ τὸ μὲν περιεκτικὸν ἐπέχειν σῶμα,—ἔσχατον γὰρ ἀνὴν *[ἐν]* *(τῷ 10 τάχει)* τῆς φορᾶς αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτὸν *[τῷ πάσχειν]*,—ἐπισπεύδειν δὲ τὸν ἐπτὰ ἄλλους κύκλους, διὰ τὸ βραδύτεραν κίνησιν *(αὐτοὺς)* κινεῖσθαι τοῦ *(τοῦ)* παντὸς κύκλου *[ὥσπερ οὖν ἀνάγκη]* *[αὐτοὺς κινεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ παντός]*.

13 *(Ӯπὸ δὲ τούτους ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη ἄρκτος, κατὰ μέσον 15 τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, ἐξ ἀστέρων συγκειμένη ἐπτά, ἔχουσα ἀντίζυγον ἑτέραν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς. ταύτης *[μὲν]* ἡ ἐνέργειά ἐστι καθάπερ ἄξονος, μηδαμοῦ μὲν δυνούσης μηδὲ ἀνατελλούσης, μενούσης δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ, *[τῆς]* περὶ *(τὸ)* αὐτὸς στρεφομένης, ἐνεργούσης δὲ τὴν *(τοῦ)* ζῳδιοφόρου κύκλου *(περιφοράν. . . .)**²⁰ παραδιδούσα τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ἀπὸ μὲν *[τῆς]* νυκτὸς ἡμέρᾳ, ἀπὸ *(δ')* ἡμέρας νυκτὶ.

5 νοήσωμεν οὖν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐπτὰ *(. . .)* καὶ *Γάντα τὸν κύκλον*¹ *(. . .)*, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ ἀπάντων ὥσπερ φύλακας αὐτοὺς περιίστασθαι, *[πάντα] συνέχοντας *[καὶ]* τὰ 25 πάντα, καὶ τηροῦντας τὴν τῶν πάντων εὐταξίαν.—Οὕτως γὰρ νιῶ, πάτερ, ἐξ ὅν λέγεις.*

6 *"Ετι δὲ νόησον, *(ὦ)* Τάτ, δτι καὶ ἀπαθεῖς εἰσιν ὅν οἱ ἄλλοι ἀστέρες πάσχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπεχόμενοι τὸν δρόμον στηρίζουσιν οὔτε κωλύσουσιν ἀναποδίζουσιν, *(. . .)* ἀλλ' οὔδε 30 μὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἡλίου σκέπονται"*¹, ἀπερ πάσχουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι ἀστέρες· ἐλευθέροι δὲ ὅντες, ὑπεράνω πάντων ὥσπερ

1 αὐτὸς F: αὐτοῦ Meineke 3 οὖν Heeren: οὖν F 4 τούτον Heeren: τούτου F 5 καὶ add. Heeren 7 καθορίζοντας scripsi: καθορίζοντας F
8 Fortasse συμφερομένους [] [[]] τῷ τοῦ παντὸς φορᾷ *[*(καὶ ισοδυναμεῖν)*]* κατὰ τὸ ἐναλλάξ τοῖς ἐπτά¹ 10-11 τῷ τάχει τῆς φορᾶς scripsi: ἐν τῷ φορᾷ cod. 11 ὁρ scripsi (*ὄν, τῷ τάχει* Usener): ἐν τῷ τάσχει F 12 διὰ τὸ Heeren: διὰ τε F 15-23 § 13 (*ὑπὸ δὲ . . . νυκτὶ*) huc transposui
18 ἀπὸ P 17 ὁ om. P 19 τῆς seclusit Wachsmuth | τὸ add. Wachsm. 20 τοῦ add. Heeren | ζῳδιοφόρου Wachsm.: ζῳδιοφόρου FP | περιφοράν add. Heeren 22 ὁ add. Heeren 23-24 Fortasse καὶ τὰς

all things. You must conceive the shape of that body as circular ; for such is the shape of the universe.—*Tat.* I conceive its shape as circular, even as you bid me, father.—*Hermes.* And you must understand that below the circle of this body are placed the thirty-six Decans, between the circle of the universe¹ and that of the zodiac, separating the one circle from the other ; they bear up, as it were, the circle of the universe, and look down on the circle of the zodiac.

. . . They retard the all-enclosing body,—for that body would 4 move with extreme velocity if it were left to itself,—but they urge on the seven other circles, because these circles move with a slower movement than the circle of the universe.

And subject to the Decans is the constellation called the Bear,¹³ which is centrally situated with regard to the zodiac. The Bear is composed of seven stars, and has overhead another Bear to match it. The function of the Bear resembles that of the axle of a wheel ; it never sets nor rises, but abides in one place, revolving about a fixed point, and making the zodiacal circle revolve. . . . transmitting the world from night to day, and from day to night.

Let us understand then that both the . . . of the seven planets 5 and all . . . ;² or rather, that the Decans stand round about all things in the Kosmos as guardians, holding all things together, and watching over the good order of all things.—*Tat.*—Even so I conceive them, father, according to your words.—

And further, my son, you must understand that the Decans 6 are exempt from the things that befall the other stars. They are not checked in their course and brought to a standstill, nor hindered and made to move backwards, (as the planets are;) nor yet are they . . . ,³ as are the other stars. They are free, and exalted above all things ; and as careful guardians and over-

¹ I.e. the outermost sphere, which is ‘the all-enclosing body’.

² Perhaps, ‘that the movements (or the circles) of the seven planets, and all other things also, are governed by the Decans’.

³ Perhaps, ‘nor yet are they (deprived of their power when) hidden from sight by the light of the sun’.

τῶν ἐπτὰ (κυνῆσεις) (vel τοὺς τῶν ἐπτὰ κύκλους) καὶ (τὰ) πάντα (τοῖς δεκανοῖς ὑποτετάχθαι) 25–26 συνέχοντας τὰ πάντα scripsi (καὶ συνέχοντας τὰ πάντα Wachsm.) : πάντα συνέχοντας καὶ τὰ πάντα F 30 Fortasse ἀναποδίζουσιν, (ἄπειροι πάντοι οἱ πλάνητες)

φύλακες ἀκριβεῖς καὶ ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ παντὸς περιέ(ρ)χονται
τῷ νυχθημέρῳ τῷ πᾶν.—

- 7 Ἄρ' οὖν [[καὶ]] οὐτοι, ὁ πάτερ, ἔχουσι ⟨⟨καὶ⟩⟩ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
ἐνέργειαν;—Τὴν μεγίστην, ὁ τέκνον. εἰ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἐνερ-
γοῦσι, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἔκαστον καὶ κοινῇ; 5
8 [οὗτως, ὁ τέκνον] τῶν ⟨μὲν γὰρ⟩ καθολικῶς πάντων συμ-
βαινόντων [τ]ὴν ἐνέργειαν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐστίν· οἶνον [δὲ λέγω
νόησον] βασιλεὺς ὁν μετατροπαῖ[ων], πόλεων ἐπαναστάσεις,
λιμοί, λοιμοί, Γάμπωτις¹ θαλάσσης, γῆς σεισμοί, οὐδὲν τούτων,
9 ὁ τέκνον, χωρὶς τῆς τούτων ἐνέργειας γίνεται. [ἔτι τε πρὸς 10
τούτοις νόησον] ⟨. . .⟩ εἰ γὰρ οὐτοι μὲν ἐπιστατοῦσιν ἐκείνων,
ἡμεῖς δὲ [καὶ] ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐπτά ἐσμεν, οὐ νοεῖς καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς
τὴν[α] ἐκείνων φθάνειν ἐνέργειαν, ἢτοι ὑπ' [εἰς] αὐτῶν ἢ δι'
ἐκείνων ⟨ἐνεργουμένην⟩;
- II ⟨ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ⟨ἄλλο⟩ νόησον, ὁ Τάτ, ἐνέργημα 15
τούτων, ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν σπερματίζουσιν [ἀς καλοῦσιν]
(ἐνέργειας) τινάς, τὰς μὲν σωτηρίους, τὰς δὲ ὀλεθριωτάτας,⟩⟩
- 10 ⟨ἀς⟩ ⟨καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ δαίμονας.⟩⟩—Τίς ⟨δ' ἀν⟩ αὐτοῖς
εἴη, ὁ πάτερ, ὁ τοῦ σώματος τύπος; [τούτους οὖν] [[καλοῦσιν
οἱ πολλοὶ δαίμονας.]]—[[Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἵδιόν τι ἐστὶ γένος τὸ τῶν 20
δαιμόνων.]] Οὔτε [ἄλλα] σώματα ἔχογειν ἐξ ἵδιας τινὸς
ὑλῆς, οὔτε ψυχῆς κινοῦνται ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς. ⟨οὐδὲ γὰρ ἵδιόν τι
ἐστι γένος τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων,⟩⟩ ἀλλὰ ἐνέργειαί εἰσι τῶν τριά-
κοντα ἕξ τούτων θεῶν.
- II ⟨ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις νόησον, ὁ Τάτ, ἐνέργημα τούτων, ὅτι 25
καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν σπερματίζουσιν ἀς καλοῦσι τάνας, τὰς μὲν
σωτηρίους, τὰς δὲ ὀλεθριωτάτας.⟩⟩
- 12 ἔτι καὶ ⟨ἄλλοι⟩ ἐν οὐρανῷ φερόμενοι ἀστέρες γεννώσιν
αὐτοῖς, ⟨οἱ καλούμενοι⟩ [ὑπο]λειτουργοί, οὓς καὶ ὑπηρέτας
καὶ στρατιώτας ἔχουσιν. οὐτοι δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνων γιγνύμενοι² 30
φέρονται ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι αἰωρούμενοι, τὸν τούτου τόπον ἀνα-

1 περιέχονται scripsi: περιέχονται Wachsm. (cod. ?)

6 Λ verbis οὕτως
ἀ τέκνον rursus incipit P; cuius in margine add. man. post. ἐκ τῶν τρισμεγίστου
7 ἡ ἐνέργεια ἀπὸ dubitanter Wachsmuth: τῇ ἐνέργειᾳ ἀπὸ codd.: τῇ ἐνέργη-
ματα Usener 8 βασιλεῶν Heeren: βασιλέων FP | μετατροπαὶ Canter:
μετὰ τροπάion F: μετατροπάion P: fortasse καταστροφαί | ἐπαναστάσεις
codd.: fortasse ἀναστάσεις Θ λιμοὶ λιμοὶ P | ἄμπωτις codd.: fortasse
πλημμυρίδες 10-11 ἔτι . . . νόησον seclusi. (vide §.11 init.) : lacunam
significavi. Fortasse ⟨τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔκαστον συμβαίνοντα διὰ μὲν τῶν πλανήτων
ἀποτελεῖται, ὃπλο δὲ τῶν δεκαών καὶ ταῦτα γίγνεται⟩ εἰ γὰρ 11 εἰ F: οὐ P
13 τὴν scripsi: τίταν codd. | ὦ Usener: νίεῖς F: ηεῖς P 15-17 § 11 (ἔτι
... δλεθριωτάτας) huc transposui 17 ἐνέργειας τινάς scripsi: τίταν codd.

seers of the universe, they go round it in the space of a night and a day.—

Tat. Tell me then, father, do the Decans act on us men ⁷ also?—*Hermes.* Yes, my son, they act on us most potently. If they act on the heavenly bodies, how could it be that they should not act on us also, both on individual men and on communities? The force which works in all events that befall men ⁸ collectively comes from the Decans; for instance, overthrows of kingdoms, revolts ² of cities, famines, pestilences, overflowings of the sea, earthquakes,—none of these things, my son, take place without the working of the Decans. . . . For if ³ the ⁹ Decans rule over the seven planets, and we are subject to the planets, do you not see that the force set in action by the Decans reaches us also, whether it is worked by the Decans themselves or by means of the planets?

And besides this, my son, you must know that there is yet ¹¹ another sort of work which the Decans do; they sow upon the earth the seed of certain forces, some salutary and others most pernicious, which the many call daemons.—*Tat.* And what is ¹⁰ the bodily form of these beings, ⁴ father?—*Hermes.* They do not possess bodies made of some special kind of matter, nor are they moved by soul, as we are; for there is no such thing as a race of daemons distinct from other beings; but they are forces put in action by these six and thirty gods.⁵

Moreover, there are other stars also which travel in heaven and obey the Decans, namely, the so-called Liturgi,⁶ whom the Decans have under their command as servants and private soldiers. The Liturgi, commanded by the Decans, are borne along floating in the aether, filling all the region of that element,

¹ I. e. 'Do the Decans act on men as well as on the planets and the other heavenly bodies?'

² Perhaps, 'destructions'.

³ Perhaps, '(And those things also which befall men individually result from the working of the Decans;) for if', &c.

⁴ I. e. of the so-called daemons.

⁵ I. e. by the Decans.

⁶ I. e. Attendants or Ministers.

18 δὲ ἀν add. Usener 19 οὐν F : οὐς P 21 ἔχοντις scripsi : ἔχοντες
codd. 22 οὐτε Meineke : οὐδὲ FP 21 | ψυχὴ Heeren : ψυχῆς FP
κινοῦνται scripsi : κινούμενοι codd. 28 γεννῶσιν codd. : aptius esset
ἀκολουθῶσιν 29 λειτουργοί, οὐς scripsi (ἐπολειτουργούς, οὐς Usener) :
ὑπολειτουργούς codd. 30 μαγνύμενοι codd. : fortasse ἀγάμενοι

πληροῦντες, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἢ τόπος ἄνω κενὸς ἀστέρων,
συγκοσμοῦντες τὸ πᾶν, ἐνέργειαν ἴδιαν ἔχοντες, ὑποτεταγ-
μένην δὲ *(τῇ)* τῶν τριάκοντα ἐξ ἐνέργειάς· ἐξ ὧν [*καὶ* κατὰ
τὰς χώρας φθορὰί γίνονται τῶν ἀλλων ἐμψύχων [*ζῷων*], καὶ
ἡ πληθὺς τῶν λυμαινομένων *ζῷων* τοὺς καρπούς.

13 [|[ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους ἔστιν ἡ καλουμένη ἀρκτος, κατὰ μέσον
τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, ἐξ ἀστέρων συγκειμένη ἐπτά, ἔχουσα ἀντίζυγον
ἔτεραν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς. ταύτης μὲν ἡ ἐνέργεια ἔστι καθάπερ
ἄξονος, μηδαμοῦ μὲν δυνούσης μηδὲ ἀνατελλούσης, μενούσης
δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ, τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν στρεφομένης, ἐνεργούσης 10
δὲ τὴν ζῳόδρου κυκλοῦ, παραδιδούσα τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ἀπὸ μὲν
τῆς νυκτὸς ἡμέρᾳ, ἀπὸ ἡμέρας νυκτί.]]

14 μετὰ δὲ τούτογς ἔστιν ἄλλος χορὸς ἀστέρων, οὓς ἡμεῖς
(μὲν) προσηγοριῶν οὐ κατηγιώσαμεν· οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἡμᾶς
[μιμησάμενοι] *(έσόμενοι)* [[μὲν]] καὶ *(τούτοις)* προσηγορίας 15
[τούτοις] θήσονται.

15 κάτωθεν δὲ τῆς σελήνης εἰσὶν ἔτεροι ἀστέρες φθαρτοί,
ἀργοί, πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον συνιστάμενοι, εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς
άέρα ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμάψενοι, οὓς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρῶμεν
διαλυομένους. *(οὗτοι)* τὴν φύσιν ὁμοίαν ἔχογι τοῖς ἀχρή- 20
στοις τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς *ζῷων*, *(ὅσα)* ἐπὶ ἔτερον [δὲ] οὐδὲν γίνεται ἡ
ἴνα μόνον φθαρτῆ, οἷον τὸ τῶν μνιῶν γένος καὶ τῶν ψυλλῶν
καὶ τῶν σκωλήκων καὶ τῶν ἀλλων τῶν ὁμοίων. καθ(άπερ)
γάρ ἐκεῖνα, ὡς Τάτ, οὔτε ἡμῖν οὔτε τῷ κόσμῳ χρήσιμά ἔστι,
τούναντίον δὲ λυπεῖ ἐνοχλοῦντα, παρακολουθήματα ὄντα τῆς 25
φύσεως, καὶ κατὰ τὸ περισσὸν τὴν γένεσιν ἔχοντα, τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμάψενοι ἀστέρες τὸν μὲν
ἄνω τόπον οὐ καταλαμβάνουσιν,—ἀδυνατοῦσι γάρ, ὡς
κάτωθεν ἀνιόντες,—πολὺ δὲ *(τὸ)* ἐμβριθὲς ἔχοντες, ἐλκόμενοι
κάτω ὑπὸ τῆς ἴδιας ὥλης διαχέονται ταχέως, καὶ διαλυθέντες 30
πίπτουσι πάλιν εἰς γῆν, μηδὲν ἐνεργήσαντες ἡ μόνον ὄχλή-
σαντες τῷ ὑπὲρ γῆν ἀέρι.

16 ἔτερόν ἔστι γένος, ὡς Τάτ, τὸ τῶν καλουμένων κομητῶν,
κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπιφαινομένων, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ χρόνον ὀλίγον
ἀφανῶν γινομένων, μήτε ἀνατελλόντων μήτε δυνόντων μήτε 35
διαλυομένων οἵτινες φανεροὶ ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκες καθολικῶν
ἀποτελεσμάτων γίνονται μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸν

1 μηδεὶς Heeren: μηδὲν FP 3 τῇ add. Wachsm. | ἐνεργείᾳ Wachsm.:
ἐνέργειαν FP | αἱ scripsi: καὶ codd. 8-12 § 13 (ὑπὸ . . . νυκτί) hinc

that there may be no place in heaven that is empty of stars; and they help to maintain the order of the universe, putting forth a force that is their own, but is subject to the force put forth by the six and thirty Decans. From the Liturgi come the destructions of other living beings¹ that take place in this or that region, and the swarming of creatures that spoil the crops.

And after the Liturgi comes another company of stars,² to 14 which we have not cared to give names; but the men that shall live after us will assign names to these also.

And below the moon are stars of another sort,³ perishable and 15 inert, which are so composed as to last but for a little time, rising as exhalations from the earth itself into the air above the earth; and we can see their dissolution with our own eyes. These are of like nature to the animals on earth that are good for nothing and are produced only to be destroyed, as for instance the races of flies and fleas and worms and the like. For as those creatures, my son, are in no way serviceable either to us or to the Kosmos, but on the contrary, vex and annoy us, being by-products of nature, and things the production of which is superfluous, even so the stars which rise as exhalations from the earth do not attain to the region of heaven,—for they are not able to do that, because they rise from below,—and, as they have in them much heavy stuff, they are dragged down by their own matter, and are quickly dissipated, and being broken up, they fall down again to earth, having effected nothing except a troubling of the air above the earth.

And there are stars of another kind, my son, which are called 16 comets. They appear at their appointed times, and disappear again after a little while. They neither rise nor set, nor do they suffer dissolution. They come as visible messengers and heralds to announce destined events that are about to befall mankind

¹ 'Living beings other (than men)'; i.e. beasts.

² Perhaps, 'comes a crowd of other stars'.

³ Viz. shooting stars or meteors.

transposui: vide post § 4 18 τούτους scripsi: ταύτην codd. | ἄλλος
χορὸς codd.: fortasse δάλλων ὅχλος 15 ἐσόμενοι scripsi: μυησάμενοι codd.
| τούτους (post καὶ) scripsi (ἀντοῦς Meineke): αὐτῷ codd. 16 τούτους (ante
θήσονται) del. Meineke 20 ἔχονται scripsi: ἔχοντας codd. 23 καθάπερ
scripsi: καὶ codd. 24 ἔκανται F 26 τὸ (post κατὰ) om. P 28-29 ὃς
καταθετεῖ ἀνίστρετο secludendum? 29 τὸ add. Usener 31-32 Fortasse
(ἐν)οχλήσαντες 32 δέρπι F: ἀνδρὶ P

τόπον ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ τὸν κύκλον τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου. ἐπὰν οὖν μέλλῃ τι τῷ κόσμῳ συμβαίνειν, οὗτοι φαίνονται, *(καὶ)* φανέντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, πάλιν ὑπὸ τὸν κύκλον ἐλθόντες τοῦ ἡλίου ἀφανεῖς μένουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἀπηλιώτῃ φανέντες *(ἄλλοι)*, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν τῷ βορρᾷ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν τῷ λιβί, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν τῷ νότῳ. μάντεις δὲ τούτους προσηγορεύσαμεν. [καὶ ἀστέρων Γῆδε¹ φύσις.]

17 [ἀστέρες δὲ ἀστρῶν διαφορὰν ἔχουσιν· ἀστέρες μὲν γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ αἰωρούμενοι, ἀστρα δὲ τὰ ἐγκείμενα ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, συμφερόμενα δὲ [*ἐν*] τῷ οὐρανῷ. ἐξ ιων διδόκεα γύρδια προσηγορεύσαμεν.]

* * * * *

18 ὁ ταῦτα μὴ ἀγνοήσας ἀκριβῶς δύναται νοῆσαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ δὲ καὶ τολμήσαντα δεῖ εἰπεῖν, καὶ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος θεάσασθαι, καὶ θεασάμενος μακάριος γενέσθαι.—Μακάριος ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὡς πάτερ, ὁ τοῦτον θεασάμενος.—Ἄλλ' ἀδύνατον,¹⁵ ὡς τέκνουν, τὸν ἐν σώματι τούτου εὔτυχησαι· δεῖ δὲ προγυμνάζειν αὐτοῦ τινα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνθάδε, ἵνα ἐκεῖ γενομένη, ὅπου 19 αὐτὸν ἔξεστι θεάσασθαι, ὅδοι μὴ σφαλῇ. δοσοὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποι φιλοσώματοί εἰσιν, οὗτοι οὐκ ἀν ποτε θεάσαιντο τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ὄψιν. οἶον γάρ ἔστι κάλλος, ὡς τέκνουν, τὸ²⁰ *τοῦ* μήτε σχῆμα μήτε χρῶμα [μήτε σῶμα] ἔχον(*τος*).—Εἴη δὲ ἀν τι, ὡς πάτερ, χωρὶς τούτων καλόν;—Μόνος ὁ θεός, ὡς τέκνουν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μεῖζόν τι δν *Γ*τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ δνομα².

EXCERPTUM VII

Stobaeus 1. 3. 52, vol. i, p. 62 Wachsmuth (*Ed.* I. 134 Heeren).

'Ερμῆς.

I δαιμῶν γάρ τις μεγίστη τέτακται, ὡς τέκνουν, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ²⁵ παντός [εἰλουμένη], πάντα περὶορῶσα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς γενόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καθάπερ (*γάρ*) ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τάξεως (*ἥ*) [*πρόνοια καὶ*] ἀνάγκη τέτακται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν

2 μέλλει F | καὶ add. Usener 3 φανέντας P 4 ἄλλοι (post φανέντες) add. Usener 5 ἄλλοι ter Heeren: ἄλλα ter codd. 8–11 ἀστέρες δὲ . . . προσηγορεύσαμεν seclusit Wachsmuth: 'antiquum glossema' Usener 10 ἐν del. Meineke 13–14 αὐτόπτης γενόμενος

in general. The comets have their abode below the circle of the sun.¹ When something is about to befall the world, they appear; and having appeared for a few days, they go back to their place below the circle of the sun, and abide invisible. Some of them appear in the East, some in the North, some in the West, and some in the South. We have named them 'prophet-stars'. []²

* * * * *

He who has not failed to get knowledge of these things is able 18 to form an exact conception of God; nay, if I am to speak boldly, he is able to see God with his own eyes, and having seen God, to be blest.—*Tat*. Blest indeed, father, is he who has seen God.—*Hermes*. But it is impossible, my son, for one who is yet in the body to attain to this happiness. A man must train his soul in this life, in order that, when it has entered the other world, where it is permitted to see God, it may not miss the way (which leads to Him). But men who love the body will never 19 see the vision of the Beautiful and Good. How glorious, my son, is the beauty of that which has neither shape nor colour!³ —*Tat*. But can there be anything, father, that is beautiful apart from shape and colour?—*Hermes*. God alone, my son, or rather, that which is too great to be called God.

EXCERPT VII

Hermes.

Hermes. For there is a mighty deity, my son, who is posted 1 in the midst of the universe, and watches over all things done on earth by men. For as Necessity has been set over the divine

¹ 'The circle of the sun' seems here to mean the sun-disk, i. e. the sun itself, and not the orbit or sphere of the sun.

² [§ 17. 'But *asteres* (stars) differ from *astra* (constellations). *Asteres* are those which float in heaven; but *astra* are those which are fixed in the body of heaven, and are borne along together with heaven; and twelve of the *astra* we have named Signs of the Zodiac'.]

³ I.e. of the incorporeal.

et θεασάμενος μακάριος Wachsmuth : αὐτόπτην γενόμενον et θεασάμενον μακάριον FP 14 μακάριος (ante ὡς) Gaisford : μακάριον FP 18 αὐτὸν scripsi : αἰτήν codd.

24 Lemma ἐρμῆς hic habet P²: ad ultima verba antecedentis ex Herodoto eclogae adscriptum habent FP¹ 26 περιορῶσα Meineke : περ ὄρῶσα codd. 27 γὰρ add. Meineke | ἢ add. Heeren

ἀνθρώπων τέτακται ἡ δίκη [ταῦτὰ ἔκεινοις ἐνεργοῦσα].
 2 ἔκεινη μὲν γάρ κρατεῖ τὴν τάξιν τῶν [[ὄντων]] <ἄνω>, ὡς θείων
 <<ὄντων>>, καὶ ἀμαρτεῖν μὴ θελόντων μηδὲ δυναμένων·
 ἀδύνατον γάρ τὸ θεῖον πλανηθῆναι [έξ οὖ καὶ τὸ ἀναμάρ-
 την συμβαίνει:] η δὲ δίκη τέτακται τιμωρὸς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς 5
 3 ἀμαρτανόντων. ἀνθρώπων γάρ γένος <ἀμαρτητικόν>, ἅτε
 θνητὸν δὲν καὶ ἐκ κακῆς ὅλης συνεστός· [καὶ μάλιστα ἔκεινοις
 συμβαίνει τὸ ὀλισθαίνειν, οὐσιοπικὴ δύναμις οὐ πρόσεστι·
 τούτων δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπικρατεῖ δίκη] καὶ τῇ <μὲν> εἰμαρ-
 μένη ὑπόκειται διὰ τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ἐνεργείας, τῇ δὲ δίκῃ 10
 διὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀμαρτίας.

EXCERPTUM VIII

Stobaeus 1. 4. 8, vol. i, p. 73 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 160 Heeren)

'Ερμοῦ πρὸς τὸν νιόν.

- 1 'Ορθῶς μοι πάντα εἴπας, ὃ πάτερ. ἀλλ' ἔτι με ἀνάμνησον
 τίνα ἔστι <τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσωμάτων> τὰ κατὰ πρόνοιαν, καὶ τίνα
 <τὰ> κατ' ἀνάγκην ὄμοίως, καὶ <τὰ> καθ' εἰμαρμένην.— 15
- 2 "Εφην εἶναι ἐν ἡμῖν, ὃ Τάτ, τρία εἰδη ἀσωμάτων. καὶ
 τὸ μέν τι ἔστι νοητὸν (...). τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀχρώματον,
 ἀσχημάτιστον, [ἀσώματον,] ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πρώτης [καὶ]
 νοητῆς οὐσίας (...).
- 3 ἔστι δὲ [[καὶ]] ἐν ἡμῖν <(καὶ)> <(ἔτερον εἶδος)> <ἀσωμάτων, 20
 ...>. [τούτῳ ἐναντίαι σχηματότητες] [τοῦτο ὑποδέχεται.]
 τὸ γοῦν <(ἄλογον>, κινούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς νοητῆς οὐσίας, πρός
 τινα λόγον <κινέται>, καὶ <ὑποδέχθεν> <(οὕτω κινηθὲν> εὐθέως
 μεταβάλλεται εἰς [[ἔτερον εἶδος]] [κινήσεως] [τοῦτο δὲ] εἰδωλόν
 [<ἔστι τι τοῦ νοήματος τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. 25]

1 ταῦτα P 2 ἔκεινη Heeren: ἔκεινα FP 4-5 ἀναμάρτητον scripsi:
 ἀμαρτεῖν codd. 6 ἀμαρτητικὸν addidi (ἀμαρτολόν add. Wachsm.)
 7 θνητῶν Pl | συνεστός F : συνεστός P 9 ἴπικρατή P 10 ὑπόκειται P:
 ὑπόκειται F 15 τὰ (ante κατ' ἀνάγκην) add. Wachsmuth 18 τὰ
 P²: τὰ FP¹ 17 Fortasse νοητὸν <ἀπλῶς> vel <κυρίως> 19 Fortasse
 οὐσίας <προβεβλημένον> 20 ἔστι scripsi: εἰσὶ codd. 20-21 Fortasse
 <ἀσωμάτων, ἀλογον μέν, κινήσεως δὲ λογικῆς ὑποδεκτικόν> 22-23 πρός
 τινα λόγον F: εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν P 25 τι scripsi: ἔστι codd.

order,¹ even so has Penal Justice been set over men. For ² Necessity holds in her grasp the order of those above,² inasmuch as they are divine, and do not wish to err, and cannot err ;—for it is impossible that that which is divine should go astray ;—but Penal Justice has been appointed to punish those who err on earth. ³ For the human race is apt to err, because it is mortal, and is composed of evil matter ; [³ and men are subject to Destiny by reason of the forces at work in their birth, but are subject to Penal Justice by reason of their errors in the conduct of life.

EXCERPT VIII

A discourse of Hermes to his son.

*Tat.*⁴ In all this, father, you have spoken rightly. But go on, ¹ and tell me again what are the incorporeal things in us that are according to Providence, and likewise what are those that are according to Necessity, and those that are according to Destiny.—

Hermes. I told you, my son Tat, that there are in us three ² kinds of incorporeals. The first of these⁵ is apprehensible by thought alone . . . This is a thing without colour and without shape ; it issues from nothing else than the primary intelligible substance.⁶

But there is also in us a second kind of incorporeal thing,⁷ . . .⁸ For when the irrational part is moved by the intelligible substance,⁹ it is moved rationally in some degree,¹⁰ and being so moved, is at once transformed into an image of the Maker's thought.

¹ I.e. has been appointed to rule over the ordered system of the heavenly bodies. The stars *must* move as they do ; they ‘cannot err’.

² I.e. the heavenly bodies.

³ [‘and the men most liable to slip are those who do not possess the power of seeing God ; and on those men above all does Penal Justice lay her hold’].

⁴ Excerpt VIII, as given in the manuscripts, is entirely meaningless. I have tried to make sense of it by freely altering the text.

⁵ Viz. the mind,—that part of the soul in which reason resides.

⁶ I.e. from God, or the divine Mind.

⁷ Viz. that part of the soul in which the passions reside.

⁸ Perhaps, ‘which is in itself irrational, but is capable of being moved rationally’. ⁹ I.e. by the mind.

¹⁰ Literally, ‘(it is moved) according to some reason’. And so again in § 6.

- 4 τρίτον δέ ἔστιν *(ἐν ήμῖν)* εἶδος ἀσωμάτων, ὁ περὶ τὰ σώματά ἔστι συμβεβηκός. [τόπος, χρόνος, κίνησις, σχῆμα, ἐπιφάνεια, μέγεθος, εἶδος.] καὶ τούτων εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ δύο· ἂ μὲν γάρ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἴδιας ποιά, ἂ δὲ τοῦ σώματος (...). τὰ μὲν ἴδιας ποιὰ *τὸ σχῆμα, ἡ χρόα, τὸ εἶδος, ὁ τόπος,*⁵ ὁ χρόνος, ἡ κίνησις⁷. τὰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος *ἴδια ἔστι τὸ ἐσχηματισμένον σχῆμα καὶ τὸ κεχρωσμένον χρῶμα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ μεμορφωμένη μορφὴ καὶ ἡ ἐπιφάνεια καὶ τὸ μέγεθος.* ταῦτα ἔστι τούτων ἀμέτοχα.⁷
- 5 ἡ μὲν οὖν νοητὴ οὐσία, πρὸς *(μὲν)* τῷ θεῷ γενομένη,¹⁰ ἔαντῆς ἔξουσίαν ἔχει, καὶ [τοῦ] σάζει[ν] *(τὸ)* ἔτερον αὐτὴν σώζονται. *Γέπειθη*⁷ αὐτὴ *[ἡ]* *(καθ' αὐτὴν)* οὖσα ὑπὸ ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἔστι[ν]. *«καὶ ἡ αἴρεσις αὐτῆς κατὰ πρόνοιαν»* *«γίνεται».* ὑπολειφθεῖσα δὲ *[ὑπὸ]* τοῦ θεοῦ, αἴρεται τὴν σωματικὴν φύσιν, *[[καὶ ἡ αἴρεσις αὐτῆς κατὰ πρόνοιαν]]* *[τοῦ] οὗτος δὲ *(τῇ)**¹⁵ τοῦ κόσμου *(ἀνάγκῃ ὑποπίπτει)* *[[γίνεται]]*.
- 6 *τὸ δὲ ἄλογον *(πᾶν)* (...)* κινεῖται πρὸς τινα λόγον (...)
- 7 (...)
- 7 καὶ ὁ μὲν λόγος κατὰ πρόνοιαν, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον κατ'*ἀνάγκην*, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ σῶμα συμβεβηκότα καθ' εἰμαρμένην. *[καὶ]* οὐτός ἔστιν ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ πρόνοιαν καὶ *(κατ')*²⁰ ἀνάγκην καὶ καθ' εἰμαρμένην.

EXCERPTUM IX

Stobaeus I. II. 2, vol. i, p. 131 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I.* 316 Heeren).

'Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ.

- I Καὶ γέγονεν, ὁ τέκνον, ἡ ὄλη καὶ *(άει)* ἦν. Ὅλη γάρ ἀγγείον γενέσεώς ἔστι γένεσις δὲ ἐνεργείας τρόπος τοῦ ἀγενῆ[ν]ήτου καὶ προόντος *[τοῦ]* θεοῦ. τὸ σπέρμα οὖν τῆς²⁵

1 ἀσώματον P 1-2 Fortasse ἀ περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔστι συμβεβηκότα
 3 διαφοραὶ Patr.: διάφορα FP 7 οὔστι δὲ codd.: ἐπι δὲ Usener
 9 τούτων P: τούτῳ F 11 σάζει scripsi: τοῦ σάζειν codd. 11-12 αὐτὴν
 σάζονται Pl 13 ἔπειθ' FP: ἔπει γ' Meineke 14 ὑποληφθεῖσα F
 | αἴρεται Meineke: αἴρεται P: αἴρεται F 15 οὖτοι scripsi: τούτοι codd.
 17 Fortasse τὸ δὲ ἄλογον *(τῇ μὲν νοητῇ οὐσίᾳ πειθόμενον)* κινεῖται πρὸς τινα
 λόγον. *(μητὶ πειθόμενον δὲ ...)* 20 καθ' add. Wachsmuth.
 23 ἡ ὄλη (ante γάρ) P 24 ἀγγείον codd.: fortasse ἐκμαγείον (cf. Pl.
 Tim. 50 C) | τρόπος Heeren: τρόπος FP 25 ἀγενήτου Wachsm.:
 ἀγενήτου FP | τοῦ FP: del. P²

And there is in us a third kind of incorporeals also, namely, 4 the attributes of our bodies. Of these there are two different classes. Those of the one class are qualities characteristic of the individual; those of the other class are . . . of the body.¹ The qualities characteristic of the individual are . . . ; the . . . of the body are . . .

Now the intelligible substance,² if it has drawn near to God, 5 has power over itself,³ and in saving itself, it also saves the other part.⁴ As long as it is by itself,⁵ it is not subject to Necessity, and its choice is in accordance with Providence.⁶ But if it falls away from God, it chooses the corporeal world, and in that way it becomes subject to Necessity, which rules over the Kosmos.

The irrational part of the soul⁷ . . . is moved rationally in 6 some degree, . . .⁸

. . .⁸ And reason is according to Providence; that which is 7 irrational is according to Necessity; and the attributes of the body are according to Destiny. This is my teaching concerning the things that are according to Providence, Necessity, and Destiny.

EXCERPT IX

An extract from the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.

Matter, my son, has come into being; but it also was always 1 in being. For matter is a receptacle⁹ in which the process of coming into being takes place; and that process is a mode of the working of God, who is without beginning, and was in being before the world began. Matter then has received from

¹ Perhaps, 'are (separable accidents) of the body'.

² I.e. the mind.

⁸ I.e. possesses free will.

⁴ I.e. that part of the soul in which the passions reside.

⁵ I.e. as long as it is not influenced or interfered with by the body and bodily things.

⁶ That is to say, the man's will is in harmony with God's will.

⁷ Perhaps, 'The irrational part of the soul, (if it is obedient to the intelligible substance (i. e. to the rational part of the soul),) is moved rationally in some degree, (and is thereby brought into accord with Providence; but if it is not obedient to the intelligible substance, it is subject to Necessity.)'

⁸ Between § 6 and § 7 there must have been a passage, now lost, in which 'the attributes of the body' were spoken of.

⁹ Perhaps, 'a plastic mass'.

2 γενέσεως (άπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ) λα[μ]β[αν]ούσα γέγονε. καὶ τρεπτὴ
έγένετο, καὶ ἴδεας ἔ[ι]χε^ι πολλάς, ποικίλως μορφοποιουμένη.
ἔφεστηκε γὰρ αὐτῇ τρεπομένη ἡ (τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια), τεχνι-
τεύουσα τὰς τῆς τροπῆς ἴδεας. ἀγεν[ν]ησία οὖν <η> τῆς
ὑλῆς ἀμορφία ἦν, [[η]] [[δὲ]] γένεσις <δὲ> τὸ ἐνεργεῖσθαι. 5

EXCERPTUM X

Stobaeus 1. 8. 41, vol. i, p. 104 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 254
Heeren).

'Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ.

- 1 . . . Γώς καὶ περὶ τῶν τριῶν χρόνων Γένεσιν¹. οὔτε γὰρ
καθ' ἑαυτούς εἰσιν οὔτε συνήνωνται· καὶ πάλιν, *(καὶ)* συν-
ήνωνται καὶ καθ' ἑαυτούς εἰσιν.
2 ἐὰν *(μὲν γὰρ)* χωρὶς εἶναι τοῦ παρεληλυθότος ὑπολάβῃς 10
τὸν ἐνεστῶτα *(καὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τὸν μέλλοντα, . . .)*.
ἀδύνατον *(γάρ)* ἐστι *(τὸν)* [σ]ὲνεστῶτα *(γενέσθαι)* εἰ μὴ καὶ
(ὅ) παρεληλυθὼς γένηται, *(καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὁ
ἐνεστῶτος)* ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ἀποιχομένου τὸ [σ]ὲνεστὸς γίνεται, καὶ
3 ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τὸ μέλλον *[ἔρχεται]*. [[εἰ δὲ δεῖ . . .]]
4 ἐστάναι δυνάμενος ;]] καὶ *[πάλιν]* ὁ παρεληλυθὼς συνάπτων
τῷ ἐνεστῶτι, καὶ ὁ ἐνεστὼς τῷ μέλλοντι, εἰς γίνεται *[[οὐ γὰρ
χωρὶς αὐτῶν εἰσι]]* *[τῇ ταυτότητι καὶ τῇ ἐνότητι καὶ]* τῇ
συνεχείᾳ. *<οὐκ ἄρ<α> χωρὶς <έ>αντῶν εἰσι<ν>.}}*
5 *(ἐὰν δὲ συνηρῶσθαι ὑπολάβῃς, . . .)* οὕτω *[καὶ συνεχῆς 20
καὶ]* διεστὼς γίνεται, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὁ αὐτός, *(ὅ)* χρόνος.
3 <*εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον βασανίσαι, οὕτω λογισώμεθα.*

1 λαβόντα scripsi: λαμβάνοντα codd. 2 ἔχει scripsi: εἶχε FP
3 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια addidi ('fortasse addendum εἰμαρένη' Wachsm.)
4 ἀγενησία Wachsm.: ἀγενησία FP 4-5 Fortasse ἀγενησία οὖν τῇ ὅλῃ ἡ
ἀμορφία ἦν

6 Haec tam distant ab Hermeticis scriptis, ut nullus dubitem inter-
cidisse Hermetis locum et lemma (fort. etiam initium) huius eclogae'
Wachsmuth 7 ὡς P: 's et antea spat. 5 litt. F | παρὰ F | ὡς
καὶ . . . εὔροις Usener 7-8 Fortasse οὔτε γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτούς εἰσιν, *(ἄλλα)*
[οὔτε] συνήνωνται, καὶ πάλιν, *(οὐ)* συνήνωνται, *(ἄλλα)* *[καὶ]* καθ' ἑαυτούς
εἰσιν 10 μὲν γὰρ addidi (γὰρ add. Heeren) 12 τὸν ἐνεστῶτα
γενέσθαι scripsi: συνιστάναι FP²: συνιστάναι P¹ 12-13 εἰ μὴ . . . γένεσιο
Wachsm.: fortasse ἐὰν μὴ . . . γένηται 13 παρεληλυθός F 14 ἐνεστὸς
scripsi (ἐνεστὼς Heeren): συνεστὸς F: συνεστὼς P 15 ἔρχεται codd.:
ἔρχεται Usener 15-16 § 3 (*εἰ . . . δυνάμενος*) hinc transposui: vide post

God the germ from which has sprung its coming-into-being,¹ and has thereby come into being. And it came into being as **2** a thing that is mutable; and it takes many forms, being fashioned into various shapes; for in passing through its changes it is governed by God's working, which fabricates the forms taken by it in the course of its mutation. In respect of its formlessness then, matter was without beginning; but in respect of God's working on it, it has come into being.

EXCERPT X

An extract from the Discourses of Hermes to Tat.

. . . concerning the three times² . . . For they are neither **1** independent of one another nor united with one another; and again, they are both united and independent.³

If you suppose the present time to be separate from the past **2** time (and the future from the present, you will find yourself in a difficulty. For) it is impossible for the present to come into being unless the past also has come into being, (and for the future to come into being unless the present has;) for the present issues from the past, and the future from the present. And **4** inasmuch as the past joins on to the present, and the present to the future, they are made one by their continuity. They are therefore not separate from one another.

(On the other hand, if you suppose them to be united with **5** one another, you will again find yourself in a difficulty . . .). Thus it appears that, though time is one and the same throughout, its parts are separate.

If we are to investigate the matter yet further, let us reason **3**

¹ Or, 'the germ from which spring all things that come into being'.

² I.e. past time, present time, and future time.

³ Perhaps, 'For they are not independent, but are united with one another; and again (in another sense) they are not united, but are independent'.

⁴ Here must have followed a passage, now lost, in which reasons were given for saying that the three times are not 'united'.

§ 5 18 τὴν (ante συνεχεία) om. P 19 οὐκ ὥπα scripsi : οὐ γὰρ codd.
| εἰστῶν scripsi (εἰστῶν Usener) : αὐτῶν FP

τὸν μὲν παρεληλυθότα χρόνον Γοίχεσθαι εἰς τὸ μηκέτι [οἴχεσθαι εἰς τὸ μηκέτι] εἶναι τοῦτον¹, τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα μὴ ὑπάρχειν, ἐν τῷ μηδέπω παρεῖναι ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα Γσυμπαρεῖναι², ἐν τῷ ⟨μὴ⟩ μένειν. ὃς γὰρ οὐχ ἔστηκε⟨ν⟩ [[βοπήν]], ἔχων οὐδὲ κέντρου μονῆν [χρόνον], πῶς ἐνεστῶς εἶναι λέγεται, ὁ μηδὲ ⟨βοπήν⟩ ἔσταναι δυνάμενος;³

EXCERPTUM XI

Stobaeus I. 41. 1 (b), vol. i, p. 274 Wachsmuth (*Ecl.* I. 702 Heeren).

I νῦν δέ, ὁ τέκνον, ⟨ἐν⟩ κεφαλαίοις [τὰ δύτα] ⟨πάντα⟩ διεξελεύσομαι· νοήσεις γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα, μεμνημένος ὅν κουςας.

2 (1) πάντα τὰ [δύτα] ⟨σώματα⟩ κινεῖται· μόνον τὸ [μὴ δν] ιο ⟨ἀσώματον⟩ ἀκίνητον.

(2) πᾶν σῶμα μεταβλητόν οὐ πᾶν σῶμα διαλυτόν. [ἔνια τῶν σωμάτων διαλυτά.]

(3) Γού πᾶν ζῷον θνητόν· οὐ πᾶν ζῷον ἀθάνατον⁴.

(4) τὸ διαλυτὸν φθαρτόν [[τὸ]] μόνον ⟨(τὸ)⟩ ἀδιάλγτον 15 ἀδίον.

(5) τὸ ἀεὶ γινόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ φθείρεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπαξ γενόμενον οὐδέποτε φθείρεται [οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι γίνεται].

(6) πρῶτον ὁ θεός, δεύτερον ὁ κόσμος, τρίτον ὁ ἀνθρωπος.

(7) Γού κόσμος διὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπον, ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπος διὰ 20 τὸν θεόν⁵.

[(8) ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν θνητόν, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ἀθάνατον.]

(9) [πᾶσα οὐσία ἀθάνατος·] πᾶσα οὐσία μεταβλητή· ⟨οὐ πᾶσα οὐσία φθαρτή.⟩

25

1-3 Fortasse τὸν μὲν παρεληλυθότα χρόνον ⟨⟨μὴ ὑπάρχειν⟩⟩ ⟨δῆλον ἐν τῷ> οἴχεσθαι ⟨καὶ⟩ [εἰς τὸ] μηκέτι ⟨παρεῖναι τοῦτον, τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα [[μὴ ὑπάρχειν]], ἐν τῷ μηδέπω παρεῖναι⁶ 2 οἴχεσθαι εἰς τὸ μηκέτι bis scriptum FP: corr. edd. | τοῦτον del. Usener | 4 συμπαρεῖναι codd.: fortasse ὑπάρχειν ἀπ⟨αρτιζόντως⟩ 5 χρόνου seclusit Wachsm.

7 Fortasse ⟨πρότερον μέν, ⟩ ⟨⟨ὁ τέκνον, ⟩⟩ διὰ πλειώνων λύγων ἔδιδαξά σε⁷ νῦν δὲ [[ὁ τέκνον]] | ἐν add. Usener 12-13 ἔνα... διαλυτά seclusit Wachsm. 14 Fortasse [οὐ] πᾶν ζῷον γενητόν, οὐ πᾶν ζῷον θνητόν 15 μόνον τὸ ἀδιάλυτον scripsi: τὸ μένον ἀμετάβλητον codd. | Post ἀμετά-

as follows. 'The past time has departed, so that it no longer is ; and the future is not in existence, in that it has not yet arrived.¹ And even the present is not . . .,² in that it does not abide. For seeing that the present does not stand fast, and does not abide even for an instant, how can it be said to be 'present', when it cannot stand fast for one moment?³

EXCERPT XI

Hermet. (Hitherto, I have given you instruction by means **1** of numerous discourses;) but now, my son, I will sum up in brief sentences all that I have taught you. You will understand what I say, if you bear in mind what you have been told before.

- (1) All bodies are moved ; only that which is incorporeal is **2** motionless.
- (2) All bodies are subject to change ; but not all bodies are dissoluble.
- (3) . . .⁴
- (4) That which is dissoluble is destructible ; only that which is indissoluble is everlasting.
- (5) That which is ever coming into being is ever being destroyed, but that which has come into being once for all is never destroyed.
- (6) God is first ; the Kosmos is second ; Man is third.
- (7) . . .⁵
- (8) Everything that exists⁶ is subject to change ; (but not everything that exists is destructible.)

¹ Perhaps, 'That the past time is not in existence, is shown by the fact that it has departed and is no longer here ; and that the future is not in existence, is shown by the fact that it has not yet arrived'.

² Perhaps, 'is not exactly in existence', i. e. cannot, strictly speaking, be said to be in existence.

³ Literally, 'how is it said to be "standing in", when it cannot stand even for a moment?'

⁴ Perhaps, 'Every living being has come into being ; but not every living being is mortal'.

⁵ Perhaps, 'The Kosmos has been made by God, and Man has been made by means of the Kosmos'.

⁶ I.e. every *material* thing, or body.

βλητον add. τὸ ἀμετάβλητον P² 17-18 γενόμενον scripsi : γενέμενον codd. 20-21 Fortasse δὲ κόσμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, δὲ ἀνθρώπος διὰ τοῦ κόσμου 22-23 Sententiam (8) hinc transposui : vide post sententiam (11)

- (10) πᾶν τὸ δν κινητόν· οὐδὲ^(ν) τῶν ὄντων ἔστηκεν.
 (11) οὐ πάντα [ψυχῆ] κινεῖται, πᾶν δὲ (τὸ κινούμενον) ψυχῆ κινεῖται.
- «(8) ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν αἰσθητόν τον θυητόν, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ἀθάνατον.»
 (12) [πᾶν τὸ πάσχον αἴσθεται] πᾶν τὸ αἴσθητον⁵ όμενον πάσχει· *μόνος* «(ὁ νοῦς ἀπαθής.)»
 (13) πᾶν τὸ λυπούμενον καὶ ἡδεται [*ξῶν θυητόν*] οὐ πᾶν τὸ ἡδόμενον λυπεῖται [*ξῶν ἀίδιον*].
 (14) οὐ πᾶν σῶμα νοσεῖ· πᾶν σῶμα νοσοῦν διαλυτόν.
 (15) ὁ νοῦς ἐν τῷ θεῷ· [ὁ λογισμὸς ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ]¹⁰ ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ νοῖ. [[ὁ νοῦς ἀπαθής.]]
 (16) οὐδὲ^[ε]ν σωματικὸν ἀληθές· *μόνον* «(τὸ)» ἀσώματον [[τὸ]] [πᾶν] ἀψεύδες.
 (17) πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον μεταβλητόν· οὐ πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον¹⁵ φθαρτόν.
 (18) οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.
 (19) ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθός· ὁ ἀνθρώπος κακός.
 (20) τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἑκούσιον· τὸ κακὸν ἑκούσιον.
 (21) οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ αἰροῦνται· *οἱ ἀνθρώποι τὰ κακὰ²⁰ αἰροῦνται* ὡς ἀγαθά.
 (22) Γὴ εὐνομία μεγάλη εὐνομία ή εὐνομία οὐ νόμος.⁷
 (23) Γθεὸς χρόνος νόμος ἀνθρώπινος.⁷
 (24) Γκακία κόσμου τρυφὴ χρόνος ἀνθρώπου φθορά.⁷
 (25) πᾶν *τὸ* ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀμετάθετον· πᾶν τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς²⁵ μεταθετόν.
 (26) οὐδὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ δοῦλον· οὐδὲν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐλεύθερον.

1 τὸ δν . . . τῶν ὄντων codd.: fortasse σῶμα . . . τῶν σωμάτων | κινητόν
 scripsi : διτόν codd. | οὐδὲν P³ : οὐδὲ FP¹ | 2 ψυχῆ Cantor : ψυχῆ FP
 | τὸ κινούμενον scripsi : δν codd. | 2-3 Fortasse : [οὐ . . . κινεῖται] πᾶν
 [δὲ] τὸ κινούμενον ψυχῆ κινεῖται | 3 ψυχῆ κινεῖται Cantor : ψυχῆ
 κινεῖ codd. | 4 αἰσθητικὸν Meineke : αἰσθητὸν codd. | 6 αἰσθανό-
 μενον scripsi : αἰσθέμενον codd. | 7 ὁ νοῦς ἀπαθής huc a sententia
 (15) transposui | 8-9 ξῶν θυητόν ει ξῶν ἀίδιον seclusit Wachsm.
 | Fortasse [οὐ] πᾶν τὸ ἡδόμενον *καὶ* λυπεῖται | 8-10 Sententiae (13) et
 (14): fortasse πᾶν τὸ λυπούμενον [] νοσεῖ πᾶν σῶμα (vel πᾶν τὸ) νοοῦν
 διαλυτόν | 13 οὐδὲν σωματικὸν scripsi : οὐδὲ ἐν σώματι FP¹: οὐδὲν ἐν σώματι
 P³ | μόνον τὸ ἀσώματον scripsi : ἐν δασμάτῳ τὸ πᾶν codd. | 15 μετα-
 βλητόν . . . γενόμενον om. P | 18 ὁ δὲ θεὸς F | 19 ἑκούσιον (post
 κακὸν) P¹ | 20-21 ‘post ὡς ἀγαθὰ Meinekeio addendum videtur οἱ ἀνθρώποι
 τὰ κακὰ αἰροῦνται ὡς ἀγαθά’, Wachsm. | 22-24 Fortasse (22) ἡ εὐνομία μετὰ
 θεοῦ ὅμινοις ή ὅμινα *πρὸς θεὸν ἔρις*. (23) νόμος θεὸς ἀρετῆς νόμος ἀνθρώ-
 πιος κακία (vel νόμος θεὸς εὐνομίας νόμος ἀνθρώπινος ὅμινα). (24) ὁ χρόνος
 κόσμου στροφής ὁ χρόνος ἀνθρώπου φθορά | 22 μεγάλη F : μεγάλον P : μετὰ
 θεοῦ Meineke | εὐνομία (post μεγάλη) codd. : ὅμινοια Usener | ἡ εὐνομία

(10) Everything that is, is movable ; nothing that is stands fast.¹

(11) Not all things are moved ; but² everything that is moved is moved by soul.

(8) The sensitive part of the soul is mortal ; but the rational part of the soul is immortal.

(12) Everything that has sensation is passively affected ;³ mind alone is free from passive affections.⁴

(13) Everything that feels pain feels pleasure also ; but not everything that feels pleasure feels pain.⁵

(14) Not all bodies are diseased ; but all bodies that are diseased are dissoluble.⁶

(15) Mind is in God ; and reason⁷ is in mind.

(16) Nothing that is corporeal is real ; only that which is incorporeal is devoid of illusion.

(17) Everything that has come into being is subject to change ; but not everything that has come into being is destructible.

(18) There is nothing good on earth ; there is nothing bad in heaven.

(19) God is good ; man is bad.

(20) The good is voluntary ; the bad is involuntary.

(21) The gods choose the things that are good ; men choose the things that are bad, thinking them to be good.

(22) . . .

(23) . . .

(24) . . .⁸

(25) Everything in heaven is unalterable ; everything on earth is alterable.

(26) Nothing in heaven is in bondage ; nothing on earth is free.

¹ Perhaps, 'All bodies are movable ; no bodies stand fast'.

² Possibly 'Not all . . . but' ought to be struck out.

³ Or 'is disturbed by passion'.

⁴ Or 'disturbing passions'.

⁵ Perhaps, 'and everything that feels pleasure feels pain also'.

⁶ Possibly (13) and (14) have grown out of a single aphorism, which might be restored thus : 'Everything that feels pain is diseased ; and everything that is diseased is dissoluble'.

⁷ Or 'speech'.

⁸ Perhaps, (22) 'Obedience to law is unanimity with God ; lawlessness (is strife against God)' . (23) 'God's law is virtue ; man's law is vice'. (24) 'For the Kosmos, time is revolving movement ; for man, time is destruction.'

(27) οὐδὲν ἄγνωστον ἐν οὐρανῷ· οὐδὲν γνώριμον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

(28) οὐ κοινωνεῖ (τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς κοινωνεῖ) τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς τοῖς ἐν οὐρανῷ.

(29) πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀμωμα· πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπίμωμα.

(30) Γὰρ ἀθάνατον οὐ θυητόν· τὸ θυητὸν οὐκ ἀθάνατον.¹

(31) τὸ σπαρὲν οὐ πάντως [γ]θυητόν, τὸ δὲ [γ]θυητὸν πάντως καὶ σπαρέν.

(32) διαλυτοῦ σώματος δύο χρόνοι, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς σπορᾶς ¹⁰ μέχρι τῆς γενέσεως¹ καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου¹. [τοῦ] ἀιδίου σώματος χρόνος Γένη τῆς γενέσεως¹ μόνος.

(33) τὰ διαλυτὰ σώματα αὔξεται καὶ μειοῦται· (τὰ ἀιδία σώματα . . .).

(34) ή διαλυτὴ γύλη¹ εἰς τὰ ἐναντία ἐναλλοιοῦται [φθορὰν καὶ γένεσιν], ή δὲ ἀιδίος [ή εἰς αὐτὴν ή] εἰς τὰ ὄμοια.

(35) γένεσις [ἀνθρώπου] φθορᾶ¹, φθορὰ [ἀνθρώπου] γενέσεως ἀρχή.

(36) τὸ ἀπογιγνόμενον (καὶ ἐπιγίγνεται· τὸ ἐπιγιγνόμενον) ¹⁵ καὶ ἀπογίγνεται.

(37) τῶν δυνων τὰ μὲν [ἐν] σώματά ἔστι, τὰ δὲ [ἐν] ἰδέαις¹, τὰ δὲ ἐνέργειαις¹: [σῶμα δὲ] [ἐν ἰδέαις] ἰδέα δὲ καὶ ἐνέργεια, (ἀσώματα δυντα,) ἐν σώματι ἔστι.

(38) τὸ ἀθάνατον οὐ μετέχει τοῦ θυητοῦ, τὸ δὲ θυητὸν ²⁵ τοῦ ἀθανάτου μετέχει.

(39) τὸ μὲν θυητὸν εἰς ἀθάνατον σῶμα οὐκ ἔρχεται, τὸ δὲ ἀθάνατον εἰς θυητὸν (σῶμα) παραγίνεται.

8 τὰ ἐν . . . κοινωνεῖ add. Wachsm. 7 οὐ θυητόν codd.: fortasse οὐ παθητόν
 8 θυητόν . . . θυητόν scripsi: γενητόν . . . γενητόν codd. 10-15 Fortasse, inverso sententiarum ordine: (33) τὰ διαλυτὰ σώματα αὔξεται καὶ μειοῦται· (τὰ ἀιδία σώματα οὔτε αὔξεται οὔτε μειοῦται (vel τὰ ἀ. σ. τὴν ταυτότητα σώζει)). (32) διαλυτοῦ σώματος δύο χρόνοι, δημος αὔξεσσις καὶ δῆμος μειώσεως¹ ἀιδίος σώματος χρόνος ὁ τῆς ταγότητος μόνος. Post δὲ τῆς αὔξεσσος additum puta glossema δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς σπορᾶς (ἥτοι γενέσεως) μέχρι τῆς τελειότητος: post δὲ τῆς μειώσεως additum glossema δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τελειότητος μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου 11-12 μέχρι τοῦ ἀθανάτου P¹ 16 γύλη codd.: fortasse οὐσία 16-17 φθορὰν καὶ γένεσιν seclusit Wachsm. 17 αὐτὴν FP: αὐτὴν Wachsm. 18 φθορᾶς (ante φθορὰ) 'sic ut vid. P corr.' Wachsm.: φθορᾶ FP 20 καὶ . . . ἐπιγιγνόμενον add. Heeren 22 σώματά ἔστι scripsi: ἐν σώμασιν εἰσι codd. | ἰδέαι scripsi: ἐν ἰδέαις Canter: ἐν ἰδέαις FP 23 ἐνέργειαι scripsi: ἐνέργειαιas codd. | ἰδέα Heeren: ἰδέα FP 23-24 Fortasse ἰδέαι δὲ καὶ ἐνέργειαι, (ἀσώματοι οὖσαι,) ἐν σώμασιν εἰσι 27 μὲν (ante θυητόν) F: δὲ P

(27) Nothing is unknown¹ in heaven ; nothing is known² on earth.

(28) The things in heaven have no communion with the things on earth ; but the things on earth have communion with the things in heaven.

(29) All things in heaven are without blemish ; all things on earth are marred by blemishes.

(30) . . .³

(31) That which has been generated is not in all cases mortal ; but that which is mortal is in all cases a thing that has been generated.

(32) A dissoluble body has two times, namely, . . . and . . . ; an everlasting body has only one time, namely, . . .

(33) Dissoluble bodies increase and diminish ; (everlasting bodies . . .).⁴

(34) . . .⁵

(35) Coming into being is the beginning of destruction, and destruction is the beginning of coming into being.

(36) That which goes out of being also comes into being ; and that which comes into being also goes out of being.

(37) Of the things that are, some are bodies, some are forms, and some are forces. Forms and forces are incorporeal things, but are in bodies.

(38) That which is immortal has no part in that which is mortal ; but that which is mortal has part in that which is immortal.

(39) That which is mortal does not go into an immortal body ; but that which is immortal enters into a mortal body.

¹ Or 'unknowable'.

² Or 'knowable'.

³ Perhaps, 'That which is immortal is not subject to passive affections (or disturbing passions); only that which is mortal is passively affected (or is disturbed by passion)'.

⁴ Perhaps, (33) 'Dissoluble bodies increase and diminish ; everlasting bodies neither increase nor diminish'. (32) 'A dissoluble body has two times, namely, the time during which it is increasing, and the time during which it is diminishing ; an everlasting body has only one time, namely, the time of its uniform existence'.

⁵ Possibly, 'Dissoluble things are changed into their opposites' (i. e. into indissoluble things, viz. the elements) ; 'everlasting things are changed into things like themselves' (i. e. into other everlasting things). The latter statement might be taken to mean that each of the elements is, part by part, transmuted into other elements.

(40) αἱ ἐνέργειαι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀνωφερεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατωφερεῖς.

(41) οὐδὲν ὡφελεῖτα^(ι) [[ἐπὶ γῆς]] τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ (ἀπὸ τῶν) ⟨ἐπὶ γῆς⟩· πάντα ὡφελεῖται τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς (ἀπὸ) τῶν νέον οὐρανῷ.

(42) ὁ οὐρανὸς σωμάτων ἀιδίων δεκτικός· ἡ γῆ σωμάτων φθαρτῶν δεκτική.

(43) ἡ γῆ ἀλογος· ὁ οὐρανὸς λογικός.

(44) τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὑπόκειται· τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς τῇ γῇ ἐπικείται.

(45) ὁ οὐρανὸς πρῶτον (τῶν) στοιχείων· ἡ γῆ ὕστατον τοῦ (τῶν) στοιχείων.

(46) πρόνοια θεία τάξις· ἀνάγκη προνοίᾳ ὑπηρέτις.

(47) τύχη φορὰ ⟨ἄτακτος⟩· [ἄτακτου ἐνέργειας (προσηγορία)] ⟨...⟩. [Γειδωλον δόξα ψευδῆς⁷.]

(48) τί θεός; ἀτρεπτον, ἀγαθόν. τί ἀνθρωπος; [ἀ]τρεπτόν, κακόν.

3 τούτων τῶν κεφαλαίων μεμνημένος, καὶ ὧν σοι διὰ πλειόνων λόγων διεξῆλθον εὐκόλως ἀναμνησθήσῃ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔκείνων εἰσὶν περιοχαί.

4 τὰς μέντοι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄμιλίας παραιτοῦ· φθονεῖν τοὺς μὲν γάρ σε οὐ βούλομαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξεις καταγέλαστος εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον παραλαμβάνεται, ἀνόμοιος δὲ ἀνομοίῳ οὐδέποτε φίλος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι ὀλίγους παντελῶς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἔζουσιν (ἀξίους), ἡ

5 τάχα οὐδὲ τοὺς δλίγους [ἔξουσιν]. ἔχουσι δέ τι καὶ ἴδιον ἐν τούτοις· τοὺς κακοὺς μᾶλλον παροξύνοντες πρὸς τὴν κακίαν. [διὸ χρὴ τοὺς πολλοὺς φυλάττεσθαι, ⟨ώς⟩ μὴ νοοῦντας τῶν λεγομένων τὴν ἀρετήν.]—Πῶς ἐπας, ὡς πάτερ;—Οὕτως, ὡς τέκνον. [πᾶν] τὸ ζῷον (τὸ) τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιρρεπέστερόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν κακίαν· καὶ (γὰρ) ταῦτη σύντροφον γίγνεται, διὸ καὶ ἥδεται αὐτῇ. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ζῷον ἐὰν μάθῃ ὅτι γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ (ὅτι) πάντα κατὰ [πρόνοιαν καὶ] ἀνάγκην

2 ὡφελεῖται scripsi: ὡφελεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς codd.

ἀφελεῖ codd.

| ἀπὸ τῶν scripsi: τὰ codd.

7 λογικός P²: λοξός FP¹

8-9 γῆ ὑπόκειται P¹

| Fortasse τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ

⟨προνοίᾳ⟩ ὑπόκειται· τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς [τῇ γῇ] ⟨ἀνάγκη⟩ ὑπόκειται (vide sententiam (46))

10-11 τῶν στοιχείων bis scripsi: στοιχεῖον bis codd.

15-16 τρεπτὸν Usener: ἀτρεπτον codd.

18 εὐκόλως P: εὐθέως F

21 τοῖς (ante πολλοῖς) P: om. F

24 οὐδίγονος P

| έξουσιν scripsi: ἔχουσιν codd.

25 οὐδὲ om. P

29 τῶν

3 ὡφελεῖται scripsi:

φθαρτέν P: φθαρτικῶν F

6 φθαρτέν P: φθαρτικῶν F

7 λογικός P²: λοξός FP¹

8-9 γῆ ὑπόκειται P¹

| Fortasse τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ

⟨προνοίᾳ⟩ ὑπόκειται· τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς [τῇ γῇ] ⟨ἀνάγκη⟩ ὑπόκειται (vide sententiam (46))

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15-16 τρεπτὸν Usener: ἀτρεπτον codd.

18 εὐκόλως P: εὐθέως F

21 τοῖς (ante πολλοῖς) P: om. F

24 οὐδίγονος P

| έξουσιν scripsi: ἔχουσιν codd.

25 οὐδὲ om. P

29 τῶν

(40) The forces¹ do not work upward from below, but downward from above.

(41) The things in heaven receive no benefit from the things on earth; but the things on earth receive all benefits from the things in heaven.

(42) Heaven is receptive of everlasting bodies; earth is receptive of destructible bodies.

(43) Earth is irrational; heaven is rational.

(44) . . .²

(45) Heaven is the first of the elements; earth is the last of the elements.

(46) Providence is God's ordering; Necessity is subservient to Providence.

(47) Chance is a movement without order; . . .³

(48) What is God? A thing immutable and good. What is man? A thing mutable and bad.

If you keep in mind these aphorisms, you will easily recall the 3 fuller explanations I have given you in numerous discourses; for my previous teaching is summed up in these brief sentences.

But avoid converse with the many. Not that I wish you to 4 grudge a benefit to others; my reason for this warning is rather that the many will think you one to be laughed at (if you speak to them as I have spoken to you). Like welcomes like; but men that are unlike are never friends. And these discourses⁴ will find few indeed that are worthy to hear them; nay, perhaps not even the few will be worthy. Moreover, my teaching has a certain 5 property which is peculiar to it; it urges on bad men to worse wickedness.—*Tat*. What do you mean, father?—*Hermes*. This is what I mean, my son. The living being called man is inclined to evil; he is brought up amidst evil, and therefore he takes pleasure in it. If then this being is told that the Kosmos has had a beginning, and that all things take place by necessity,

¹ I.e. the cosmic forces by which all things (or at least all things on earth) are moved and vivified.

² Perhaps, 'The things in heaven are subject (to Providence); the things on earth are subject (to Necessity)'.

³ Perhaps, '(skill is a force which works in good order)'.

⁴ I.e. the 'Discourses of Hermes to Tat'.

γίνεται, είμαρμένης πάντων ἀρχούσης, οὐκτω πολλῷ ἔαυτοῦ
χείρον ἔσται, καταφρονῆσαν μὲν τοῦ παντὸς ὡς γενητοῦ, τὰς
δὲ αἰτίας τοῦ κακοῦ τῇ είμαρμένῃ ἀναφέρον, οὐδ' ἀφέξεται
ποτε παντὸς ἔργου κακοῦ. διὸ φυλακτέον αὐτούς, ὅπως ἐν
ἀγνοίᾳ δύτες ἔλαττον ὅσι κακοὶ [φόβῳ τοῦ ἀδήλου].

5

EXCERPTUM XII

Stobaeus 1. 5. 20, vol. i, p. 82 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 188
Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀμμωνα.

1 πάντα δὲ γίνεται Γφύσει καὶ είμαρμένῃ¹, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
τόπος ἔρημος προνοίας. πρόνοια δέ ἔστιν αὐτοτελὴς λόγος
τοῦ ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ δύο δὲ τούτου Γαύτοφνεῖς² δυνάμεις,
ἀνάγκη καὶ είμαρμένη. (καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνάγκη . . .) ἡ δὲ 10
2 είμαρμένη ὑπηρετεῖ προνοίᾳ Γκαὶ ἀνάγκῃ.³ τῇ δὲ είμαρμένῃ
ὑπηρετοῦσιν οἱ ἀστέρες. [οὕτε γὰρ είμαρμένη φυγεῖν τε
δύναται, οὔτε φυλάξαι ἔαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τούτων δεινότητος.]
ὅπλον γὰρ είμαρμένης οἱ ἀστέρες· κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην πάντα⁴
ἀποτελοῦσι τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

15

EXCERPTUM XIII

Stobaeus 1. 4. 7 b, vol. i, p. 72 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 158
Heeren).

«Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν [Πλάτωνος] πρὸς Ἀμμωνα.»

ἀνάγκη ἔστι κρίσις βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος [δύναμις]
προνοίας.

1 οὗτοι Usener: οὐ FP 2 καταφρονῆσαι Heeren: καταφρονῆσαι FP
3 ἀναφέρον Heeren: ἀναφέρων FP | οὐδὲ Wachsm.: οὐδὲ FP
6 ἀμονα P 7 Fortasse πάντα δὲ (κατὰ πρόνοιαν) γίνεται (τὰ) φύσει
(γνόμενα) | καὶ είμαρμένη secludendum? 10 Fortasse (καὶ ἡ
μὲν ἀνάγκη ἔστι κρίσις βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος προνοίας) (vide Exc. XIII)
11 καὶ ἀνάγκη codd.: fortasse καὶ ἀνάγκην

inasmuch as Destiny governs all,—if he is told that, he will be far worse than he was before; for he will despise the Kosmos, as a thing that has had a beginning, and he will put off on Destiny the responsibility for evil, and so he will never refrain from any evil deed. You must therefore beware of talking to them, in order that, being in ignorance, they may be less wicked.

EXCERPT XII

From the teachings of Hermes to Ammon.

But all things come to pass . . .¹ and there is no place destitute **1** of Providence. Now Providence is the sovereign design of the God who rules over the heavens; and that sovereign design has under it two subordinate powers, namely, Necessity and Destiny. (Necessity is . . .)² and Destiny is subservient to Providence . . .³ And the stars are subservient to Destiny. []⁴ For the stars are **2** the instrument of Destiny; it is in accordance with Destiny that they bring all things to pass for the world of nature and for men.

EXCERPT XIII

From the teachings of Hermes to Ammon.

Necessity is a firm and unalterable decision of Providence.

¹ Perhaps, ‘all things that come to pass by nature (that is, all events in the physical world) come to pass according to Providence’.

² Perhaps, ‘(Necessity is a firm and unalterable decision of Providence)’.

³ Perhaps, ‘in accordance with Necessity’.

⁴ [‘For no man can either escape from Destiny, or guard himself from the terribleness of the stars.’]

16 Nullum hic lemma est in codd. Stob.: sed ante eclogam praecedentem 7 a (Θαλῆς ἐπονηθεῖς κ.τ.λ.) habent codices in unum locum congregata quinque lemmata, quae videntur pertinere ad eclogas 4, 5, 6, 7 b, 7 c. Ex his quartum est Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πλάτωνος (add. marg. Ἀκμωννα) F: ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πλάτωνος. ἀκμωννα P. Inde colligit Wachsmuth eclogae 7 b (ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ κ.τ.λ.) lemma fuisse Ερμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀκμωννα

EXCERPTUM XIV

Stobaeus 1. 5. 16, vol. i, p. 79 Wachsmuth (*Ed. I.* 182 Heeren).

[περὶ τῆς ὄλης οἰκονομίας.] Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀμοῦν.

- 1 καὶ ἡ μὲν διακρατοῦσα τὸν ὄλον κόσμον πρόνοιά ἔστιν· ἡ δὲ γε συνέχουσα καὶ περιέχουσα ἀνάγκη ἔστιν. εἰμαρμένη δὲ ἄγει καὶ περιάγει πάντα, κατ' ἀνάγκην (ἐνεργοῦσα· φύσις γάρ ἔστιν αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναγκάζειν. [αἵτια γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς βίου].)
- 2 ὁ μὲν οὖν κόσμος πρῶτος ἔχει τὴν πρόνοιαν πρῶτος γὰρ αὐτῆς τυγχάνει¹. ἡ δὲ πρόνοια ἐξήπλωται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. [διότι καὶ] *{οἱ}* θεοὶ περὶ αὐτὸν στρέφονται [καὶ κινοῦνται] ¹⁰ ἀκάματον καὶ ἀπαυστον κίνησιν ἔχοντες. εἰμαρμένη δὲ [διότι καὶ ἀνάγκη]². καὶ ἡ μὲν πρόνοια (. . .) προνοεῖ, εἰμαρμένη δὲ αἵτια ἔστι τῆς τῶν ἀστρων διαθέσεως.³
[οὗτος] νόμος ἀφυκτος καθ' ὅν πάντα τέτακται.

EXCERPTUM XV

Stobaeus 1. 41. 7, vol. i, p. 289 Wachsmuth (*Ed. I.* 740 Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀμμωνα.

15

- 1 κινεῖται δὲ τὸ κινούμενον κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς [κινήσεως] (φύσεως), τῆς κινούσης τὸ πᾶν (καὶ διὰ πάντων πεφοιτηκίας). ἡ (μὲν) γὰρ φύσις [τοῦ παντὸς] τῷ παντὶ παρέχει κινήσεις [μίαν μὲν τὴν κατὰ δύναμιν ταῦτης⁴, ἐπέραν δὲ τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν]. (ἡ δὲ νοερὰ οὐσία . . .) καὶ ἡ μὲν ²⁰

1 ὄλης οἰκουμένης P 3-4 Fortasse ἡ μὲν τὸν ὄλον διακρατοῦσα κόσμον πρόνοιά ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ (τὰ καθ' ἔκαστον) συνέχουσα ἀνάγκη ἔστιν 5 κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐνεργοῦσα scripsi : καταναγκάζουσα codd. 8-9 Fortasse δὲ μὲν οὖν κόσμος ὄλος ἔχεται τῆς προνοίας: [[]]⁵ ἡ δὲ (τῆς) προνοίας ἐνέργεια πρῶτον⁶ ἐξήπλωται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. (τὸ πρῶτος γὰρ αὐτῇ ἐντυγχάνει) ⁷ (δὲ οὐρανός) 10 Fortasse διὸ[τι] καὶ 11-12 Fortasse εἰμαρμένη δὲ (πάντα) διοικεῖ κατ' ἀνάγκην 12 διότι codd.: διατίθεται Usener; διοικεῖ vel διατάττει malim⁸ Wachsmuth 12-13 Fortasse ἡ μὲν πρόνοια (συμπάντων ὅμοι) προνοεῖ, εἰμαρμένη δὲ, (ὑπηρετοῦσα τῇ προνοίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἀστρα στρέψει ἀμεταβλήτως, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιγείους γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς) αἵτια ἔστι (διὰ) τῆς τῶν ἀστρων διαθέσεως 15 δύμαν P⁹ 16 κατὰ τὴν scripsi : κατ' codd. 18 πεφοιτηκύιας

EXCERPT XIV

From the teachings of Hermes to Amun.

And the power which holds the whole Kosmos in its grasp ¹ is Providence; but that which . . . is Necessity.¹ And Destiny makes all things move with a cyclic movement, working in accordance with Necessity; for it is the nature of Destiny to compel.²

. . . (The working of) Providence is spread out³ in heaven; ² . . . the star-gods circle in heaven with a movement which continues without failing and without cease. But Destiny . . . And Providence takes thought for . . . ; but Destiny is the cause of . . .⁴

(Providence is the) inevitable law according to which all things have been ordered.⁵

EXCERPT XV

From the teachings of Hermes to Ammon.

And that which is moved is moved in accordance with the ¹ force exerted by Nature, which moves the universe, and permeates all things. For Nature gives movements to the universe; (but the Mental Substance⁶ . . .). And Nature pervades the whole

¹ Perhaps, 'the power which grasps the Kosmos as a whole is Providence; but that which puts constraint on (particular things within the Kosmos) is Necessity'.

² Or 'to subject things to necessity'.

³ I.e. is extended in time and space. Providence, regarded as a function of the incorporeal and eternal God, is one and indivisible; but its effects in the Kosmos are 'spread out'.

⁴ The author's meaning might perhaps be expressed by rewriting this paragraph as follows: 'The Kosmos as a whole, then, is dependent on Providence; but the working of Providence is first spread out in heaven, for heaven is the first thing that encounters it (*i.e.* God's Providence acts on heaven more immediately than on the rest of the universe); and hence it is that the circling movement of the star-gods in heaven continues without failing and without cease . . . Providence takes thought for (all things together); but Destiny, (operating in subservience to Providence, works the unvarying movement of the stars, and) causes (the birth and destruction of things on earth by means of) the arrangement of the stars.'

⁵ This sentence appears to be wrongly placed.

⁶ The 'Mental Substance' (or 'Mental Being') means the divine and supracosmic Mind. Perhaps, '(but the Mental Substance supplies to Nature the force which Nature exerts)'.

διήκει διὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου καὶ ἐντὸς συνέχει, ἡ δὲ
「παρήκει」 καὶ ἔκτὸς περιέχει. [[καὶ διὰ πάντων πεφοιτήκασι
κοινῆ.]]

- 2 καὶ ἡ φύσις, πάντα φύουσα τὰ γιγνόμενα, [φυὴν] *(μορφὴν)*
παρέχει τοῖς φυομένοις, σπείρουσα μὲν *(εἰς ὄλην)* τὰ ἑαυτῆς 5
σπέρματα *[γένεσις]*, ἔχουσα δὲ *(τὴν)* ὄλην κινητήν. κινου-
μένη δὲ θερμαίνεται *(καὶ ψύχεται ἡ)* *(ὄλη)*, καὶ γίγνεται
[[ὄλη]] πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ, τὸ μὲν σθεναρὸν καὶ ἴσχυρόν, *(τὸ δὲ*
ἀσθενές, καὶ τὸ μὲν ποιοῦν,) τὸ δὲ πάσχον. τὸ δὲ πῦρ,
ἐναντιούμενον τῷ ὕδατι, ἔξηρανε τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ ἐγένετο 10
(ἡ γῆ) [[όχουμένη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος]]. περιέχραινομένων δὲ
(τούτων), ἀτμὸς ἐγένετο ἐκ [τῶν τριῶν] τοῦ τε ὕδατος *(καὶ)*
(τῆς γῆς [καὶ τοῦ πυρός]), καὶ ἐγένετο ἀήρ, *(όχούμενος ἐπὶ*
3 *(τῆς γῆς καὶ) τοῦ ὕδατος.*» ταῦτα *(δὲ)* συνῆλθε κατὰ τὸν
τῆς ἀρμονίας λόγον, θερμὸν ψυχρῷ, ξηρὸν ὑγρῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς 15
συμπνοίας τούτων ἐγένετο *(. . .).*

* * * * *

- 4 *(. . .)* πνεῦμα [καὶ σπέρμα] ἀνάλογον τῷ περιέχοντι πνεύ-
ματι. τοῦτο δέ, ἐσ τὴν μήτραν ἐμπεσόν, οὐκ ἡρεμεῖ [ἐν τῷ
σπέρματι]: οὐκ ἡρεμοῦν δέ, μεταβάλλει τὸ σπέρμα¹. μετα-
βαλλόμενον δὲ *(τοῦτο)* αὔξην ἴσχει καὶ μέγεθος ἐπὶ τῷ 20
μεγέθει δὲ [εἴδωλον] ἐπισπάται σχῆμα[τος], καὶ σχηματί-
ζεται. [όχειτα[ι]] δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι *(προσδέχεται)* τὸ εἶδος,
δι’ οὐ καὶ εἰδ[ωλο]ποιεῖται τὸ [εἰδωλοποιούμενον] *(γινόμενον)*.
*(Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ νηδύι ἀριθμοῖς λοχεύει καὶ μαιοῦται *(ἡ φύσις),**
- καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔξω δέρα ἄγει.)
- 5 ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὸ πνεῦμα οὐκ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ νηδύι τὴν ἁωτικὴν
κίνησιν, τὴν δὲ βλαστικὴν *(μόνην)*, καὶ *[ταύτην]* *(ψυχὴν*
προσ)ήρμοσεν *(ἡ φύσις τῇ)* ἀρμονίᾳ, ὑποδοχὴν οὖσαν τῆς

1 ἐντὸς σέχει P. 2 παρήκει codd.: fortasse ὑπερέχει 4 πάντα
scripsi: πάντων codd. | μορφὴν scripsi: φυὴν codd. (Poterat scribi κινηταν)
5–6 Fortasse τὰ *[ἑαυτῆς]* σπέρματα *(τῆς)* γενέσεως 6 Fortasse *(δυνάμει)*
κινητῆν 11 ἡ γῆ addidit Patrius 11–12 περιέχραινομένων δὲ τούτων
scripsi: περιέχραινομένου δὲ codd. 12 καὶ add. Wachsm. 13 ὄχοι-
μενος scripsi: ὄχουμένη codd. 16 Fortasse ἐγένετο *(τὰ σύνθετα σώματα)*
17 Fortasse, *(. . . ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἔχον σπέρματι)* 18 Fortasse ἐμπε-
σόν² *(τοῦ σπέρματος)* 19 τὸ σπέρμα codd.: fortasse τὸ τοῦ θήλεος
περίτομα (cf. Ar. *De gen. an.* 2, 3) vel simile aliquid 20 αὔξειν ἴσχει F
| Fortasse μέγεθος *(προσλαμβάνει)* 21 ἐπισπάται σχῆμα scripsi: εἴδωλον
ἐπισπάται σχῆματος codd. 22 εἴτα scripsi: ὄχειται codd. 23 εἰδο-
ποιεῖται τὸ γινόμενον scripsi (εἰδοποιεῖται τὸ εἰδοποιούμενον Usener): εἴδωλο-
ποιεῖται τὸ εἰδωλοποιούμενον codd. 24–25 τὸ δ' . . . ἄγει huc a § 5 fin.

Kosmos, and holds it together within ; but the <Mental Substance> transcends the Kosmos, and encompasses it without.

And Nature, producing all things that come into being, gives **2** form¹ to the things that are produced. She sows in matter her own seeds² ; and the matter which she has at her disposal is capable of being moved. And matter, being moved by her, is made hot and cold ; and so there come into being fire and water. The fire is strong and powerful, the water is feeble ; the fire is active, the water is passive. And the fire, being opposed to the water, dried some of the water, and thereby the earth came into being. And when the water and the earth were being dried round about by the fire, there arose from them a vapour ; and so the air came into being, borne up on earth and water. And these four elements entered into combination according to the plan of the cosmic structure, hot combining with cold, and dry with fluid ; and from their co-operation came into being. . . .³

* * * * *

. . .⁴ a life-breath⁵ analogous to the atmospheric life-breath **4** of the Kosmos. This life-breath, when it has been injected⁶ into the womb, is not inactive ; and inasmuch as it is not inactive, it works change in the . . .⁷ And this, through the change worked in it, grows, and acquires bulk ; and thereupon, it assumes a definite shape, and is shaped ; and thereafter, it takes to itself the species-form, whereby the thing that is coming into being is fashioned according to its species. And after a measured interval of time, <Nature> brings the foetus to its birth, and acts as midwife, and draws it forth into the external air.

Now the life-breath, as long as it was in the womb, had not **5** the movement of animal life, but only that of vegetable growth ; and so <Nature, at the time of the birth,> joined on (a soul) also to the bodily structure, as a receptacle for the force which works

¹ Or possibly, ‘gives movement’.

² Perhaps, ‘She sows in matter the seeds of coming-into-being’.

³ Perhaps, ‘came into being (all composite bodies)’, i.e. living organisms (plants, beasts, and men).

⁴ Perhaps, ‘(There is in the *semen genitale* of men and beasts)’.

⁵ Or ‘vital spirit’.

⁶ Perhaps, ‘when (the *semen*) has been injected’.

⁷ Perhaps, ‘in the matter supplied by secretion in the womb’.

[διανοητικῆς] ζω^{τικής} (ένεργείας). «παρεισέρπει γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι (ἢ ψυχῇ), καὶ κινεῖ ζωτικῶς.» [[έστι δὲ αὕτη ἀμερῆς καὶ ἀμετάβλητος, οὐδέποτε ἐξισταμένη τῆς ἀμετάβληστας.]] [[τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ νηδύι ἀριθμοῖς λοχεύει καὶ μαιοῦται, 6 καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔξω ἀέρα ἀγει.]] καὶ (ἢ) ἐγγυτάτῳ «(παρ)οὖσα»⁵ ψυχὴ [[οὖσα]] (προσ)οικειοῦται, οὐ κατά τιν^α συγγενικὴν δομοιότητα (παραγενομένη), ἀλλὰ [τὴν] καθ' εἰμαρμένην οὐ γὰρ ἔρω^{τις} [των] ἔστιν αὐτῇ (τοῦ) μετὰ σώματος εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο καθ' εἰμαρμένην (...).

7 . . . παρέχει τῷ γενομένῳ διανοητικὴν κίνησιν. ¹⁰

. . . καὶ νοερὰν [ζωῆς αὐτῆς] οὐσίαν. «έστι δὲ αὕτη ἀμερῆς καὶ ἀμετάβλητος, οὐδέποτε ἐξισταμένη τῆς ἀμετάβληστας.»

[[παρεισέρπει γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι καὶ κινεῖ ζωτικῶς.]]

EXCERPTUM XVI

Stobaeus I. 41. 4, vol. i, p. 281 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 718 Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀμμωνα. ¹⁵

I. (ἢ) ψυχὴ τοίνυν οὐσίᾳ ἔστιν ἀσώματος· καὶ ἐν σώματι δὲ οὐσα οὐκ ἐκβαίνει τῆς ἴδιας οὐσιότητος. τυγχάνει γὰρ οὐσα Γάεικίνητος κατ' οὐσίαν κατὰ νόησιν αὐτοκίνητος¹, οὐκ ἐν τινι Γκινουμένῃ², οὐ πρός τι, οὐχ^χ ἔνεκέν τινος. προτερεῖ γὰρ τῇ δυνάμει, τὸ δὲ πρότερον οὐ δεῖ τῶν ὑστέρων.

²⁰

1 τῆς ζωτικῆς ἐνεργείας scripsi: τῆς διανοητικῆς ζωῆς codd. 1-2 παρεισέρπει . . . ζωτικῶς huc a § 7 fin. transposui 1 γὰρ P: δὲ F 2-4 ἔστι . . . ἀμετάβληστας hinc ad § 7 transposui 5-6 παροὖσα ψυχὴ προσοικειοῦται scripsi: ψυχὴ οὖσα οἰκειοῦται codd. 6 τινα scripsi: τὴν codd. 7 δομοιότητα scripsi: οὐσιότητα F: ιδιότητα P: οἰκειότητα Meineke e cod. Vatic. 8 ἔρως ἔστιν αὐτῇ Patrit.: ἔρωτον ἔστιν αὐτῇ FP 10 Fortasse (ἢ δὲ φύσις ζωτικᾶς ἡδη κινούμενφ) παρέχει | γενομένφ scripsi: γιγνομένφ codd. 11 Fortasse (δὲ θεὸς ὀλίγος τιοὶ παρέχει) vel eiusmodi aliquid 12-13 Fortasse τῆς (τοῦ θεοῦ) ἀμετάβληστας

in animal life ; for *(the soul)* insinuates itself into the life-breath, and makes it move with the movement of animal life. And 6 it is the soul which is nearest at hand that is assigned to¹ the organism ; and this soul comes to it, not because of any congenital likeness, but according to destiny ; for the soul is not impelled by a desire to be combined with a body. For this reason, it is according to destiny that . . .

. . . gives the man that has been born the movement of 7 rational thought.²

. . . also Mental Substance.³ And Mental Substance is indivisible and changeless, never departing from its changelessness.⁴

EXCERPT XVI

From the teachings of Hermes to Ammon.

The soul then is an incorporeal substance ; and even when 1 it is in a body, it does not depart from its own substantiality.⁵ For it is found to be . . . self-moved,⁶ not in something, nor in relation to something, nor for the sake of something. For it is prior⁷ in its power, and that which is prior is not in need of the things which are posterior.

¹ Or 'is appropriated by'.

² Perhaps, 'And after a man has been born, *(and when he already possesses the movement of animal life, Nature)* gives him *(in addition)* the movement of rational thought'.

³ Perhaps, '*(And to some men God gives) Mental Substance also*'. The 'mind' which enters into the elect among men is consubstantial with the divine Mind, or with God himself.

⁴ Perhaps, 'from the changelessness *(of God)*'.

⁵ This means that the soul, when embodied, is still a 'substance' (i.e. an independently existing thing), not a mere attribute of the body.

⁶ Perhaps, 'For it is self-moved, being moved in the manner of an intelligible substance' (i.e. of an incorporeal thing). That is, the movement of the soul is of a different kind from that of bodies. The movement of bodies is called by this writer 'physical movement'.

⁷ I.e. prior to body and attributes of body.

15 ἀμάρτα P 16 'ἢ om. pro rubr. FP' Wachsm. 17-18 Fortasse
τυγχάνει γὰρ οὐσία αἱ(το)κίνητος, κατ' οὐσίαν [κατὰ] νοητὸν [αὐτοκίνητος]
⟨⟨κινουμένη⟩⟩ | οὐσία ἀκίνητος P 18 καὶ οὐσίαν καὶ κατὰ P 19 οὐχ
ἐνεκεν Meincke : οὐ ἐνεκεν FP

2 Γτὸ ἐν τινι τοίνυν ἔστιν ὁ τόπος καὶ ὁ χρόνος ταῖς φύσις.¹ Γτὸ δὲ πρός τι ἔστιν ἀρμονία καὶ εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα.²
 3 τὸ δὲ οὐ ἔνεκα (ταῦτα), τὸ σῶμα. ἔνεκα γὰρ σώματος καὶ χρόνος καὶ τόπος καὶ φυσικὴ κίνησις.³ [ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ συγγενικὴν οἰκείωτητα κοινωνεῖ ἄλληλοις.] [έπει τοίνυν τὸ σῶμα ἐδεῖτο τόπου] ἀμήχανον γὰρ [ἥν] συστῆναι σῶμα ἀνευ τόπου, [καὶ μεταβάλλεται φυσικῇ (κίνησει),] ἀδύνατον δὲ μεταβολὴν (σώματος) εἶναι ἀνευ χρόνου καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν κίνησεως. [οὕτε σώματος οὖν τε σύστασιν εἶναι ἀνευ ἀρμονίας].⁴

4 ἔνεκα τοίνυν⁵ τοῦ σώματος ἔστιν ὁ τόπος· παραδεχόμενος γὰρ τὰς τοῦ σώματος μεταβολὰς οὐκ ἐἼ απόλλυσθαι τὸ μεταβάλλομενον. μεταβαλλόμενον δὲ (τὸ σῶμα) ἀπὸ ἑτέρου εἰς ἑτέρον μεταπίπτει, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἔξεως στερίσκεται, τοῦ δὲ εἶναι σῶμα οὐχί [συστατόν]. μεταβληθὲν δὲ εἰς ἑτέρον, τὴν τοῦ ἑτέρου ἔξιν ἔχει. (τὸ σῶμα τοίνυν κατὰ διάθεσιν μεταβάλλεται;) τὸ γὰρ σῶμα, οὐ σῶμα, μένει [σῶμα], οὐ δὲ ποιὰ διάθεσις οὐ μένει. [[τὸ σῶμα τοίνυν κατὰ διάθεσιν μεταβάλλεται.]]

* * * * *

5 (ἔνεκ)α σώματος τοίνυν ὁ τόπος καὶ ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἡ φυσικὴ κίνησις.

6 τυγχάνει δὲ ἔκαστον τούτων τῆς ἴδιας ἴδιότητος· ἴδιότης δὲ [τοῦ] τόπου παραδοχή, χρόνου δὲ διάστημα καὶ ἀριθμός, Γφύσεως δὲ κίνησις, [ἀρμονίας δὲ φιλία,] σώματος δὲ μεταβολὴ.¹ ἴδιότης δὲ ψυχῆς η κατ' οὐσίαν νοητὴν κίνησις.²

EXCERPTUM XVII

Stobaeus I. 49. 4, vol. i, p. 321 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 802 Heeren).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ἐρμοῦ).

I ψυχὴ τοίνυν ἔστιν, ὁ Ἀρμων, οὐσία αὐτοτελῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ· ἐλομένη (δὲ) βίον τὸν καθ' είμαρμένην, (.. .) καὶ ἐπεσπάσατο ἐαυτῇ (δὲ) λογόν (τι) δμοιον τῇ ὅλῃ.

1 Fortasse τὸ ἐν τίνι (= τὸ ἐν φ) 2 τὸ δὲ πρός τι . . . καὶ σχῆμα secludendum? 4 φυσικὴ κίνησις scripsi (vide § 5): φύσις codd. 7 φυσικὴ

. . . place and time . . .;¹ and that for the sake of² which 2 these things exist is body. It is for the sake of body that time 3 and place and physical movement exist; for bodies could not be constructed if there were no place for them, and bodies could not change if there were not time and physical movement.

Place exists for the sake of body; for it receives into itself 4 the changes of the body, and so prevents the thing which is changing from being destroyed. The body, when it changes, is transformed into something different, and ceases to be in the state in which it was before, but it does not cease to be a body; and when it has changed into something different, it is in the state which belongs to that different thing. The body then changes merely in condition; for the body, *qua* body, persists, but the particular condition in which it was before does not persist.

* * * *

It is for the sake of body then that place and time and physical 5 movement exist.

And to each of these things is assigned its own peculiar 6 property. The peculiar property of place is receptiveness; that of time is interval and number;⁴ . . . But the peculiar property of soul is that sort of movement which belongs to intelligible substance.

EXCERPT XVII

From the teachings of Hermes.

Soul then, Ammon, is a substance which is self-determining 1 in the beginning; but when it has chosen that course of life which is dependent on Destiny, . . . and it takes on⁵ as an appendage something irrational, which is similar to matter.

¹ Perhaps, 'That in which things are is place and time; (for it is in place and time that) physical movement goes on'.

² Or 'because of'.

³ We may suppose that here followed two paragraphs, similar to § 4, in one of which it was shown that *time* 'exists for the sake of body', and in the other, that *physical movement* 'exists for the sake of body'.

⁴ Perhaps, 'that of time is numbered (i.e. measured) interval'.

⁵ Perhaps, '(it is embodied), and it then takes on', &c.

FP: φυσικῶς vel φυσικῆς κινήσει Meineke 20 ἐνεκα σώματος scripsi
(vide § 3 *init.*): ἀσώματος codd. 23 παραδοχὴ F: παρασχὴ P | καὶ
ἀριθμός secludendum? An scribendum κατ' ἀριθμὸν? 25 νοητὴν κίνησις
scripsi: νόησις codd. 29 ἀλογόνη τι scripsi: λόγον codd.

2. <...> Γέχοντα¹ θυμὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν θυμός [ὑπάρχει ὑλη. οὖτος], ἐὰν ἔξιν ποιήσῃ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς νόημα, γίνεται ἀνδρεῖα, καὶ οὐ παράγεται ὑπὸ δειλίας· ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία [παρέχεται. αὐτῇ], ἐὰν ἔξιν ποιήσῃται πρὸς τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς λογισμὸν, γίνεται σωφροσύνη, καὶ οὐ κινεῖται ὑπὸ 3 δηδονῆς. [ἀναπληροὶ γάρ ὁ λογισμὸς τὸ ἐνδέον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας.] ὅταν δὲ ἀμφότερα δμονοήσῃ καὶ ἵσην ἔξιν ποιήσῃ, καὶ ἔχηται ἀμφότερα τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς λογισμοῦ, γίνεται δικαιοσύνη· ἡ γάρ ἵση ἔξις αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖ μὲν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν 4 τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἐπανισοῖ δὲ τὸ ἐνδέον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. [ἀρχὴ δὲ 10 τούτων ἡ διανοητικὴ οὐσία] [καθ' αὐτὴν ἔαυτὴν οὐσία ἐν τῷ αὐτῆς περινοητικῷ λόγῳ] [κράτος ἔχουσα τὸν ἔαυτῆς λόγον.] 5 ἄρχει δὲ <τούτων> [[καὶ ἡγεμονεύει]] ἡ <νοητικὴ> οὐσία, <καὶ ἡγεμονεύει> ὥσπερ ἄρχων, δὲ λόγος <συνακολουθεῖ> αὐτῆς[5] ὥσπερ σύμβουλος.¹⁵

6. ὁ [περὶ] [[νοητικὸς]] λόγος τοίνυν τῆς <<νοητικῆς>> οὐσίας ἐστί· Γνῶσις τῶν λογισμῶν τῶν παρεχόντων¹ <...> (ἀπ')εἰκασμα λογισμοῦ [τῷ ἀλλγῷ], ἀμυδρὸν μὲν ὡς πρὸς λογισμὸν, [λογισμὸν] [[δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀλογον.]] καθάπερ ἡχὴ πρὸς φωνὴν, καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης λαμπρὸν πρὸς <τὸ τοῦ> ἡλίογ, <σαφὲς>²⁰ <<δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀλογον.>>

7. [ἡρμοσται δὲ θυμὸς καὶ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τινα λογισμὸν] [καὶ ἀνθέλκει ἀλληλα] [καὶ ἐπίσταται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κυκλικὴν διάνοιαν.]

EXCERPTUM XVIII

Stobaeus 2. 8. 31, vol. ii, p. 160 Wachsmuth (Ed. II. 358 Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ.

25

1. Γέστι τοίνυν οὐσία καὶ λόγος καὶ νόημα καὶ διάνοια. φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν. φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ δόξα καὶ αἰσθησις. ἔται δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν. τὸ δὲ νόημα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔται. ἐπιπλέκεται δὲ τὸ νόημα τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἔλθοντα δὲ δὲ ἀλλήλων μία ἰδέα ἐγένοντο. αὗτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ 30 τῆς ψυχῆς. φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῆς διάνοιαν δόξα καὶ αἰσθησις. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐ μένει.¹

2-3 τὸ . . . νόημα codd.: fortasse τὸν . . . λογισμὸν 3 δειλίας codd.: fortasse δειματος vel τῶν δεινῶν 4 ποιήσῃται FP: ποιήσῃ Heeren

. . . repugnance and desire. And repugnance, if it has formed 2 a habit of will according to the thought¹ of the soul, becomes courage, and is not led astray by cowardice.² And desire, if it has formed a habit of will according to the reasoning of the soul, becomes temperance, and is not moved by pleasure. And when 3 repugnance and desire have agreed together, and have formed a habit of will that is well-balanced, and both of them cleave to the reasoning of the soul, then justice comes into being; for their well-balanced habit of will³ takes from repugnance its excess, and raises to equality that which is lacking in desire. And repugnance and desire are commanded by the (intelligent) 5 substance;⁴ this takes the lead, like a commander, and the reason accompanies it, like a counsellor.

The reason then belongs to the intelligent substance; . . . a 6 copy⁵ of reasoning, dim in comparison with reasoning, as is an echo in comparison with a voice, and the brightness of the moon in comparison with that of the sun, but clear in comparison with the irrational.

EXCERPT XVIII

From the teachings of Hermes.

* * * * *

¹ Perhaps, 'according to the reasoning'.² Perhaps, 'by fear', or 'by dangers'. ³ Perhaps, 'their unanimity'.⁴ 'The intelligent substance' means the 'Mind', i.e. the highest and divine part of the soul. The 'reason' here spoken of is the faculty of discursive reasoning, which this writer regards as a thing distinct from and subordinate to the 'Mind'.⁵ Perhaps, '(and opinion is) a copy', &c.⁶ § 1, as given in the manuscripts, is meaningless. It may be conjectured that the author wrote something to this effect: 'There are in the soul then intelligent substance (= mind) and reason. Thought is the function of the intelligent substance; discursive-thought is the function of the reason. With thought and discursive-thought are intertwined opinion and sensation (which are functions of the irrational part of the soul). These things intermingle, and together make up a single whole. Thus is the soul composed.'

7 καὶ ἵστη τὸν ποιῆσαι δελδυμό? 8 ἔχηται FP²: ἔχη τὰ P¹ 10-11 Fortasse ἄρχει δὲ τούτων ἡ νοητικὴ οὐσία (cf. § 5 *init.*) 11 ἔαυτή F: ἔαυτή P
 11-12 Fortasse αὐτή καθ' αὐτήν οὐσία ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κέντρῳ (cf. *Exc. XIX. 1*)
 14 αὐτή scripsi: αὐτῆς P: αὐτῶν F 17 Fortasse οὐνυπάρχει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ
 ἡ γρῖψις (cf. *Exc. XIX. 6*) 17-18 ἀπεικασμα scripsi: εἰκασμὸν codd.
 | Fortasse ἡ δὲ δόξα³ ἀπεικασμα λογισμοῦ 20 τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου scripsi:
 ἡλίου codd. 23 ἐπισταται FP: ἐπισπάται (τὴν) Wachsm. | αυκλικὴν
 FP: ὑλικὴν Usener 27 φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν F: om. P 28-29
 ἴεται (bis) FP: ἴεται (bis) Canter

2. *(. . .)* ἔνθεν καὶ ὑπερβάλλει καὶ ἐλλείπει, καὶ ἑαυτῷ διαφέρεται. χεῖρον μὲν γίνεται ὅταν ἀποσπασθῇ τῆς διανοίας· ὅταν δὲ ἀκολουθῇ καὶ πείθηται, κοινωνεῖ τῷ [νοηματικῷ] λόγῳ Γδὶα τῶν μαθημάτων¹.
3. *(. . .)* τὸ δὲ αἱρεῖσθαι ἔχομεν· τὸ γὰρ αἱρεῖσθαι τὸ κρείττον⁵ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον. *(. . .)* ἀκούσιως· ἔχομένη γὰρ [αἱρεσις] *(ἢ ψυχὴ)* τῶν κακῶν πλησιάζει τῇ σωματικῇ φύσει, *(καὶ)* διὰ τοῦτο τῷ *(τὸ χεῖρον)* ἐλομένῳ εἰμαρμένῃ δυναστεύει.
4. *Γέπει τοίνυν*¹⁰ ἡ ἐν ἡμῖν [σωματικῇ] *(νοητική)* οὐσίᾳ αὐτεξουσίος ἔστιν. [ὁ περὶ νοηματικὸς λόγος.] αὕτη δ' ἀεὶ κατὰ ταύτα καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχει, *((ἀμέτοχος οὖσα τῆς τῶν γινομένων φύσεως,))* *(καὶ)* διὰ τοῦτο εἰμαρμένη ταύτης οὐχ ἀπτεται.
5. *Γ*παραθείσα δὲ τὸν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ διανοητικὸν λόγον προίησι καὶ δλον τὸν λόγον.¹ *(. . .)* *Γον*¹⁵ συνέταξεν *(ἢ)* φύσις τοῖς γιγνομένοις· τούτοις *(δὲ ἢ)* ψυχὴ κοινωνήσασα κοινωνεῖ καὶ τῆς τούτων εἰμαρμένης. *[[ἀμέτοχος οὖσα τῆς τῶν γινομένων φύσεως.]]*

EXCERPTUM XIX

Stobaeus I. 49. 6, vol. i, p. 324 Wachsmuth (*Ed. I.* 808 Heeren).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ἐρμοῦ)

1. *(ἢ)* ψυχὴ τοίνυν ἔστιν Γάλδιος νοητικὴ οὖσα νόημα ἔχοντα ²⁰ τὸν ἑαυτῆς λόγον. συννοοῦσα δὲ διάνοιαν τῆς ἀρμονίας ἐπισπάται.¹ ἀπαλλαγεῖσα δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ σώματος, αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτὴν μένει [αὐτὴ ἑαυτῆς οὖσα] ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ. Γάρχει δὲ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς λόγου φέρουσα δόμοίαν κίνησιν ἐν τῷ

- 1 ἐλλείπει Meineke : ἐκλέίπει FP 3-4 Fortasse κοινωνεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν διανοημάτων 3 νοηματικῷ F: νοητικῷ P 6 'Num ἀλλ' ἀκούσιος?' Wachsm.: fortasse *(τὸ δὲ κακὸν)* ἀκούσιον 8 δά *(τε)* τοῦτο Usener 10-11 Fortasse *[ἐπεὶ]* *(μόνη)* τοίνυν *[[ἢ]]* *(τῶν)* ἐν ἡμῖν *((ἢ))* νοητικὴ οὐσία αὐτεξουσίου ἔστιν 10 νοητικὴ scripsi (νοηματικὴ Patriit.): σωματικὴ FP 11 Fortasse *(. . .)* δ περὶ *(αὐτῆν)* (διανοητικός?); λόγος 12-13 ἀμέτοχος . . . φύσεως huc a § 5 transposui 13 ταύτης Wachsm.: τούτου codd. 14-15 Fortasse προθείσα δὲ (sc. ἡ νοητικὴ οὐσία) τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ, προίησι καὶ τὸν λόγον 15 δὲ codd.: fortasse *(τὸ δὲ ἀλογὸν* (sc. τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος) *vel* *(τὸ δὲ αἰσθητικὸν* 17 κοινωνεῖ καὶ τῆς τούτων εἰμαρμένης scripsi (posset scribi κ. κ. τῆς τούτων *(κρατούσης)* εἰμαρμένης): κοινωνεῖται τάς τούτων εἰμαρμέναις codd. 20-22 Fortasse *(ἢ)* ψυχὴ τοίνυν *((αὐτὴ *(καθ'*) ἑαυτῆς οὖσα))* ἔστιν οὐαί *((ἀλίδιον)* νοητική, νόημα (αὶ κίνημα?) *(ἴδιον)* ἔχοντα τὸν ἑαυτῆς λόγον, συννοοῦσα δὲ *(τῇ)* θείᾳ *(πρὸ)* νοίᾳ (?). *(καὶ σώματι μὲν συνούσια, ἀλογὸν τι ἄπου)* τῆς *(φυσικῆς)* ἀρμονίας ἐπισπάται¹ ἀπαλλαγεῖσα δὲ κ.τ.λ. 20 οὖσα FP¹: οὐσία ¹²

. . . Whence it¹ both exceeds and falls short, and is at ² variance with itself. It becomes worse when it is separated from the discursive thought; but when it follows and obeys the discursive thought, it shares with the reason . . .²

. . . But we have power to choose; for it is in our power ³ to choose the better, and likewise to choose the worse. . . . involuntarily;³ for the soul, when it cleaves to evil things,⁴ draws near to corporeal nature, and for this reason the man who has chosen the worse is under the dominion of Destiny.

. . . The intelligent substance in us is self-determining.⁵ The ⁴ intelligent substance remains ever in the same state without change, not partaking of the nature of the things which come into being, and therefore Destiny has no hold on it.

. . .⁶ Nature has thus co-ordinated . . . with the things that ⁵ come into being;⁷ and the soul, when it has taken part with these things, takes part also in the Destiny by which they are governed.⁸

EXCERPT XIX

From the teachings of Hermes.

The soul then is . . .; but when⁹ it has been released from ^I the physical body, it abides by itself in the intelligible world . . .

¹ 'It' probably means 'the irrational part of the soul'.

² Perhaps, 'it shares with the reason in its (i.e. the reason's) discursive thoughts'.

³ Perhaps, 'Yet men's evil actions are involuntary'.

⁴ I.e. bodily or material things.

⁵ Perhaps, 'The intelligent substance then is the only thing in us that is self-determining'.

⁶ Perhaps, 'The intelligent substance has been emitted in the beginning from the primal God, and emits from itself the reason'.

⁷ Perhaps, 'But Nature has co-ordinated (the irrational part of the soul) with the things that come into being'.

⁸ I.e. is governed by Destiny, as they are.

⁹ Perhaps the meaning of the original text may have been, 'The soul then, when it is by itself, is intelligent substance (i.e. pure mind). . . . When it is joined to a body, it draws to itself from the structure of the body something which is irrational; but when', &c.

21 συννοῦσα F : συνοῦσα I 24-1 *infra*: fortasse ἄρχει δὲ τοῦ (μεθ') ἔαντης (ά)λγου, φέροντα (εἰς αὐτὸν) [] κίνησιν (όδοιαν) τῷ ιαυτῆς νοήματι [όνθματι], (καὶ παρέχοντα) ζωὴν (αὐτῷ) 24 ἐν om. P

Exc. XIX init. iteratur Stob. I. 49. 1 c, vol. i, p. 320 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I.* 798 Heeren), ubi legitur:

'Ερμοῦ. Ψυχὴ τούνν όστιν ούσια ἀίδιος νοητική νόημα ἔχουσα τὸν ἔαντης λόγον.

- 2 ἔαυτῆς νοήματι ὀνόματι ζωὴν τῷ εἰς ζωὴν ἐρχομένῳ.¹ τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον ψυχῆς, τὸ παρέχειν ἑτέροις ὅμοιόν τι τῇ ἴδιότητὶ αὐτῆς.
- 3 δύο τοίνυν εἰσὶ ζωαὶ καὶ δύο κινήσεις, μία μὲν ἡ κατ' οὐσίαν, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν [σώματος]. καὶ ἡ μὲν [γενι- 5 κωτέρα καὶ ἡ] κατ' οὐσίαν αὐτεξόυσιος, ἡ δὲ ἀναγκαστ[ική]· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ κινούμενον τῇ τοῦ κινοῦντος ἀνάγκῃ ὑποτέτακται.
- 4 Γῇ δὲ κινοῦσα κίνησις τῷ τῆς νοητικῆς οὐσίας ἔρωτι φέκεσται. εἴη γὰρ ἀν ψυχὴ ἀσώματος¹ ἀμέτοχος οὖσ[ι]α τοῦ φυσικοῦ σώματος. εἰ γὰρ ἔχει σῶμα¹, οὔτε λόγον ἔχει οὔτε νόησιν. 10 πᾶν γὰρ σῶμα ἀνόητον· μεταλαβὸν δὲ οὐσίας, τὸ εἶναι ζῶον ἔμπνουν ἔσχε.
- 5 καὶ τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα τοῦ σώματός (<ἐστι τὸ αἰσθητικόν>), ὁ δὲ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας (<ἐστὶ τὸ φρονοῦν. συνυπάρχει δὲ τῷ (μὲν) λόγῳ ἡ τῶν τιμών¹ γνῶσις, τῷ δὲ πνεύματι ἡ δόξα>) (<ὁ μὲν 15 γὰρ>) τοῦ καλοῦ¹ θεωρητικός ἐστι, τὸ δὲ [αἰσθητικὸν πνεῦμα] τῶν φαινομένων κριτικόν ἐστι. διέρηται δὲ <(τὸ πνεῦμα) εἰς τὰς ὄργανικὰς αἰσθήσεις, καὶ ἔστι [τι] μέρος αὐτοῦ [πνευματικὴ] ὄρατικ(ὸν) καὶ ἀκουστικὸν καὶ ὄσφρητικὸν καὶ γευστικὸν καὶ ἀπτικόν. τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνάγον γενόμενον διανοίας¹ 20 κρίνει τὸ αἰσθητικόν¹. εἰ δὲ μή, φαντάζεται μόνον.
- 6 [τοῦ γὰρ σώματός ἐστι καὶ δεκτικὸν πάντων, ὁ δὲ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας] [<ἐστὶ τὸ φρονοῦν. συνυπάρχει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἡ τῶν τιμών γνῶσις, τῷ δὲ πνεύματι ἡ δόξα.]]
- 7 <. . .> τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος κόσμου τὴν ἐνέρ- 25 γειαν ἔχει, ἡ δὲ ἀφ' ἔαυτῆς.

2–3 Fortasse τῇ οὐγιάτητι αὐτῆς 8–10 Fortasse ἡ δὲ (τὴν) κατ' οὐσίαν¹ αὐτῆς (κινούμενή η ψυχή) τῷ τῆς νοητοῦ οὐσίας ἔρωτι κινέται, [] ἀμέτοχος οὖσ[ι]α τοῦ φυσικοῦ σώματος. εἰ γὰρ *(μετέχει σώματος)* (an εἰ γάρ ἔχει τοῦ σώματος ἔρωτι¹!), οὔτε λόγον ἔχει οὔτε νόησιν οὐσία Usener: οὐσία codd. 11 δὲ om. P 14 τῆς *(νοητικῆς)* οὐσίας! 14–15 ἐστι τὸ φρονοῦν . . . ἡ δόξα huc a § 6 transposui 16 καλοῦ F: καθόλου corr. in καλοῦ P. Aptius esset ὄντος 17–18 εἰς τὰ ὄργανα τῆς αἰσθήσεως! 19 ὄρατικὸν scripsi: ὄρασις codd. 20 ἀνάγον F: ἀνάλογον P | Fortasse ἀναγόμενον (*μὲν εἰς μετοχὴν*) διανοίας 21 κρίνει (*κατ' ἀλήθειαν*)? 22 Fortasse (τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα) τοῦ σώματός ἐστι τὸ αἰσθητικόν (vide § 5 init.) 25 κόσμου secludendum?

. . . For it is¹ a peculiar property of soul, that it gives to **2** other things something similar to its own . . .²

There are then two kinds of life and two kinds of movement, **3** one that is according to true being, and another that is according to nature.³ And the life which is according to true being is self-determining, but the other is under compulsion ; for everything that is moved is subject to the compulsion applied to it by that which moves it.

. . . not partaking of the physical body. For if . . ., it has **4** neither reason nor intelligence.⁴ For all bodies are devoid of intelligence ; but when a body has received a portion of true being, it becomes a living creature that has in it the breath of life.

The vital spirit⁵ is that part of the body to which belongs **5** sensation ; the reason is that part of the intelligent substance which has understanding. With the reason coexists knowledge of . . . ; with the vital spirit coexists opinion. The reason contemplates the . . .,⁶ but the vital spirit discerns appearances. The vital spirit is parcelled out among the organs of sense ; there is a part of it that sees, a part that hears, a part that smells, a part that tastes, and a part that feels by touch. This vital spirit if . . .,⁷ discerns things rightly ; but if not, it merely receives illusory impressions.

. . . For the vital spirit gets the force with which it works **7** from the Kosmos by which it is environed ;⁸ but the soul gets from itself the force with which it works.

¹ Perhaps, 'The soul rules over the irrational thing which is joined to it, bringing into that thing a movement similar to the soul's own thought, and giving life to it when it comes into life ; for it is', &c.

² Perhaps, 'similar to its own substantive existence (or reality of being)'.

³ I. e. that belongs to the physical or corporeal world.

⁴ Perhaps, 'When the soul's movement is the kind of movement which corresponds to true being, the soul is moved by love of "intelligible substance" (i. e. by desire for that which truly is,—the incorporeal and divine), and has no part in (i. e. is not affected by) the physical body. If it takes part in the body' (or 'is mastered by love of the body'), 'it is unable to think rationally or intelligently'.

⁵ Or 'life-breath'.

⁶ It ought to be 'the real', or 'that which truly is'.

⁷ Perhaps, 'if it is brought into connexion with discursive thought' (which is the function of the 'reason').

⁸ Perhaps, 'from the atmosphere'.

EXCERPTUM XX

Stobaeus I. 49. 3, vol. i, p. 320 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I.* 798 Heeren).

'Ερμοῦ.

- 1 ἔστι τοίνυν ἡ ψυχὴ ἀσώματος οὐσία· <...>. εἰ γὰρ *(μὴ ψυχῆν)* ἔχει *(τὸ)* σῶμα, οὐκέτι ἔσται [*έαυτῆς σωστικῆς*]. πᾶν γὰρ σῶμα [δεῖται] *(πρὸς)* τὸ[ν] εἶναι δεῖται [*καὶ*] ὥσης, τῆς ἐν [*τάξει*] *(ψυχῆς)* κειμένης. 5
- 2 παντὶ γὰρ τῷ γένεσιν ἔχοντι καὶ [*μεταβολὴν*] *(φθορὰν)* δεῖ ἐπακολουθεῖν, τὸ γὰρ γινόμενον Γίνεται ἐν μεγέθει, γινόμενον¹ αὖτην ἔχει· παντὶ [*γὰρ*] *(δὲ)* τῷ αὐξανομένῳ ἐπακολουθεῖ μείωσις, μειώσει *(δὲ)* φθορά. 10
- 3 μετειληφὸς δὲ [*εἴδους*] *(ζωῆς)* *(ψυχῆς)*, ἔη, καὶ κοινωνεῖ τοῦ εἶναι τῇ ψυχῇ. ἡ δὲ αἵτια ἐτέρῳ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῇ πρώτως ιο [*δὸν*] ἔστι. τὸ δὲ εἶναι νῦν λέγω τὸ [*ἐν λόγῳ γενέσθαι καὶ*] μετέχειν ὥσης [*νοερᾶς*]. [[*παρέχει* δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ὥσην νοεράν.]] 15
- 4 καλεῖται δὲ *(ὁ ἀνθρωπος)* ὥσον μὲν διὰ τὴν ὥσην, λογικὸν δὲ διὰ τὸ νοερόν, θυητὸν δὲ διὰ τὸ σῶμα. *(ἡ)* ψυχὴ ἄρα [*ἀσώματος*], ἀμετάπτωτον ἔχουσα τὴν δύναμιν *(τοῦ ὥσην παρέχειν, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ)* *((παρέχει [δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ] ὥσην νοεράν.))* πῶς γὰρ οἶν τέ ἔστι λέγειν ὥσον [*νοερὸν*] *(τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν)*, μὴ οὕσης οὐσίας τῆς καὶ παρεχούσης ὥσην; ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ λογικὸν οἶν τέ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, μὴ οὕσης [*τῆς διανοητικῆς*] οὐσίας τῆς καὶ παρεχούσης νοεράν ὥσην. 20
- 5 *((οὐκ))* ἐν πᾶσι δὲ [*οὐκ*] *(ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος)* ἀφικνεῖται τὸ νοερόν, διὰ *(τὸ ἐν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἡρμόσθαι)* τὴν τοῦ σώματος σύστασιν [*πρὸς τὴν ἀρμονίαν*]. ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπερέχῃ ἐν τῇ συστάσει τὸ θερμόν, κοῦφος καὶ ἐνθερμός γίνεται *(ὁ ἀνθρωπος)*. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ψυχρόν, βαρὺς καὶ νωχελής γίνεται. 25 *(ἡ μὲν) ((γὰρ))* φύσις [*γὰρ*] ἀρμόζει τὴν τοῦ σώματος σύστα-

2 ἔστι . . . οὐσία codd.: fortasse ἔστι τοίνυν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἡ τοῦ σώματος οὐσία | *ἡ om.* F 3 έαυτῆς σωστική F: μετ' αὐτῆς σωματική P 4 δεῖται ante τοῦ εἶναι deleverim' Wachsm. | πρὸς τὸ εἶναι scripsi: τοῦ εἶναι codd. 7 Fortasse γίνεται ἐν μεγέθει *(τοῖς)*, γενόμενον *(δὲ)* αὖτην ἔχει 8 παντὶ γὰρ FP: παντὶ δὲ Heeren Θ μετειληφὼς F 10 τῇ ψυχῇ scripsi *((διὰ τὴν ψυχήν Wachsm.)*: τὴν ψυχήν codd. | πρώτος scripsi *(προτοῦ Wachsm.)*: πρώτη FP 11 ἐν λόγῳ codd.: fortasse ἐλλογον 12 παρέχει . . . νοεράν hinc ad § 4 transposui 17 νοερὸν seclusit Wachsm. 22 τὸ ἐν τοῖς

EXCERPT XX

From the teachings of Hermes.

The soul then is an incorporeal substance ; . . .¹ For if the body has not soul, it will no longer be real. For all bodies need life to make them real, and life resides in soul.

For² in the case of everything which comes into being, the coming-to-be **2** must be followed by destruction. For that which comes into being . . .³ increases ; and in the case of everything which increases, the increase is followed by diminution, and the diminution by destruction.

But if a body has a portion of soul, then it is alive, and shares **3** with the soul in the possession of reality. And that which is the cause of reality to another thing must itself be real in the highest degree. By 'reality' I here mean participation in life.

Now man is called 'a living being' because he is alive, and **4** 'rational' because he has intelligence, and 'mortal' because of his body.⁴ The soul then, retaining unchanged its power of conferring life, confers on man *intelligent* life. For how could one say that man is a living being, if there were not a really⁵ existing thing that confers life on him? Nor could one say that man is rational, if there were not a really existing thing that confers on him *intelligent* life.

But the intellect is not fully developed in all men, because **5** in some men the composition of the body (is not so contempered as to hit the mean.) For if there is an excess of the hot element in the composition of the body, the man is rendered light-minded and fervid ; if there is an excess of the cold element, he is rendered dull and sluggish. For nature contemps the com-

¹ 'Perhaps, "The soul then is a real (or substantively existent) thing that is incorporeal ; (and it confers reality on the body also)". Or possibly, "The reality of the body then is in the soul (i. e. depends on the presence of soul in it) ; for if the body has not soul", &c.'

² § 2 has nothing to do with the context ; it appears to be a fragment placed here by mistake.

³ Perhaps, 'For that which comes into being is of a certain size when it first comes to be, and having come to be, it increases'.

⁴ The writer assumes the definition of man to be 'Man is a rational and mortal animal'.

⁵ Or 'substantively'.

μὴ κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἡρμόσθαι addidi : vide § 6
γίνεται add. ἀνθρώπων Wachsm.)

25 δὲ ἀνθρώπος addidi (ante

σιν Γπρὸς τὴν ἀρμονίαν¹. «παραλαβοῦσα δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ (τὸ σῶμα) καθὼς εἴργασται, [τούτῳ παρέχει ζωὴν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἔργῳ.)»

- 6 εἰδη δὲ τῆς (τοῦ σώματος) ἀρμονίας τρία, τὸ κατὰ τὸ θερμόν, καὶ τὸ κατὰ (τὸ) ψυχρόν, καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸ μέσον⁵ ἀρμόζει δὲ (ἡ φύσις) κατὰ τὸν ἐπικρατήσαντα ἀστέρα τῆς συγκράτησεως [τῶν ἀστέρων]. [[παραλαβοῦσα δὲ ψυχὴ καθὼς εἴργασται τούτῳ παρέχει ζωὴν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἔργῳ.]]
- 7 ἡ φύσις τοίνυν δομοῖ τὴν ἀρμονίαν τοῦ σώματος τῇ τῶν ἀστέρων [συγκράσει], καὶ ἐνοῖ τὰ πολυμιγῆ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀστρων ἀρμονίαν¹ ὥστε ἔχειν πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπάθειαν. Γέλος γάρ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀρμονίας τὸ γεννᾶν συμπάθειαν καθ' είμαρμένην αὐτῶν.⁷

EXCERPTUM XXI

Stobaeus I. 41. II, vol. i, p. 293 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 750 Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ.

- 1 ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ πρὸδον ἐπ[ι]κέκεινα πάντων τῶν ὄντων, καὶ¹⁵ τῶν ὄντων ὄντων προδόν. Γὸν γάρ ἔστι δι' οὗ¹ ἡ οὐσιότης, [ἥ] καθόλου λεγομένη, κοινή (ἔστι τῶν) νοητῶν (καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν). (. . .) τῶν ὄντων ὄντων καὶ [τῶν ὄντων τῶν] καθ' ἔαυτὰ νοούμενων. τὰ δὲ (αἰσθητά), ἐνάντια (ὄντα) τούτοις, κατὰ τὸ ἔτερον πάλιν (ἔστιν οὐ γάρ) αὐτὰ καθ' ἔαυτὰ ἔστι. 20 (. . . ἡ δὲ) φύσις οὐσία αἰσθητή, ἔχουσα ἐν ἔαυτῃ (τὰ) αἰσθητὰ πάντα. μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων [νοη[μα]τ[ικ]οὶ καὶ αἰσθητοὶ θεοὶ] (τὰ δοξαστά), τὰ μὲν μετέχοντα τῶν νοητῶν, τὰ δὲ (οὐ). [δοξαστὰ τὰ κοινωνοῦντα τῶν νοη[μα]τ[ικ]ῶν.]

1-3 παραλαβοῦσα . . . ἔργῳ huc a § 6 fin. transposui
 (σῶμα add. Usener) 2 οὕτῳ scripsi: τούτῳ codd. 1-2 τὸ σῶμα addidi
 πατὰ φύσεως P 2-3 τῆς φύσεως F: τῆς
 5 τὸ (ante ψυχρόν) add. Patr. 6 'Num ἀστέρα
 delendum?' Wachsm. 7 συγκράσεως Patr.: συγκρατήσεως FP 10-11
 Fortasse καὶ (γάρ) ἤνωται τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων ἀρμονίαν¹
 11 ἀστρων FP: ἀστέρων Wachsm. 12-13 Fortasse [τέλος] (ἔργον) γάρ
 [τῆς] τῶν ἀστέρων [ἀρμονίας] τὸ γεννᾶν [συμπάθειαν] (σώματα) καθ' είμαρμένην
 [αὐτῶν]

15 ἐπέκεινα scripsi: ἐπὶ codd. 16 Fortasse ὄντος γάρ (τοῦ) "ἔστι"
 δι(ττ)οῦ, ἡ οὐσιότης κ.τ.λ.: vel τὸ γάρ "ἔστι" δίττως (λέγεται, καὶ) ἡ οὐσιότης
 19 νοούμενων P¹ 21 Fortasse (καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄνω κάσμος ἔστιν οὐδα νοητή, ἔχων
 ἐν ἔαυτῷ τὰ νοητὰ πάντα: ἡ δὲ) φύσις 22 νοητοὶ scripsi: νοηματικοὶ codd.
 23 τῶν (ante νοητῶν) Canter: τὸν P: om. F 24 νοητῶν scripsi: νοημα-
 τικῶν codd.

position of the body according to . . .;¹ and the soul, taking over the body as made by nature, thereupon confers life on the body which nature has made.

The contemplation of bodies is of three kinds, namely, that 6 in which the hot element preponderates, that in which the cold element preponderates, and that which is in the mean; and nature contemps them according to the star² which has got control over the mixing of these elements.

Nature then makes the contemplation of the body resemble 7 the . . . of the stars; . . . so that they are mutually affected.³ . . .⁴

EXCERPT XXI

From the teachings of Hermes.

The Pre-existent⁵ then is beyond all existent things, being prior 1 even to the things which *really* exist.⁶ For . . . the term ‘substantive existence’,⁷ employed as all-inclusive, is applicable both to the objects of thought and to the objects of sense. . . . the things which really exist, and which are regarded by thought as existing of themselves. But the objects of sense are contrary to the objects of thought, and exist in the other way; for they are not existent of themselves. . . . The world of nature⁸ is an existent object of sense, and contains within itself all objects of sense.

Intermediate between the objects of thought and the objects of sense are the objects of opinion;⁹ and of these, some partake of the objects of thought, but others do not.¹⁰

¹ Perhaps, ‘according to the influence of the stars’. ² Or ‘planet’.

³ Perhaps, ‘for the things on earth are united to the (system?) of the stars, so that the things on earth and the movements of the stars are mutually affected’.

⁴ Perhaps, ‘For it is the function of the stars to generate bodies in accordance with Destiny’.

⁵ The restoration of § 1 that is here proposed is very doubtful; but it probably does not differ widely in meaning from what the author wrote.

⁶ ‘The things which *really* exist’ are ‘the objects of thought’, i.e. the things apprehensible by thought alone, and not by sense.

⁷ Perhaps, ‘For the word “exist” is used in two different ways, and the term “substantive existence”, &c.

⁸ Perhaps, ‘(The higher world is an existent object of thought, and contains within itself all the objects of thought; but the world of nature (i.e. the corporeal or material world)’, &c.

⁹ More literally, ‘the things opined’.

¹⁰ Opinions may be true or false. When an opinion is true, then, and then only, the ‘thing opined’ partakes of the reality which belongs primarily to the ‘objects of thought’.

2 *<... τῶν αἰσθητῶν>* θεῶν· οὗτοι δὲ εἰκόνες εἰσὶ *(τῶν)* νοη[μα]τῶν *(θεῶν)*. οἶον ἥλιος εἰκών ἐστι τοῦ ἐπουρανίου δημιουργοῦ *[θεοῦ]*. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τὸ δόλον ἐδημιούργησε^v, οὐτω^v) καὶ ὁ ἥλιος δημιουργεῖ τὰ σῶα καὶ [γεννᾷ] *(τὰ)* φυτά *[καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων πρυτανεύει]*.

EXCERPTUM XXII

Stobaeus 1. 42. 7, vol. i, p. 295 Wachsmuth (*Ed.* I. 754 Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης.

παρὰ τί τὰ βρέφη ὅμοια τοῖς γονεῦσι γίνεται ^{Γή} συγ-
γενεῖαις ἀποδίδοται¹ ἐκθῆσω λόγον. ὅταν νοστίμου αἴματος
ἔξαφ[εδ]ρούμενον ^{Γή} γένεσις¹ ἀποθησαυρίζῃ γόνον, συμβαίνει
πως ἔκπιν[ε]εῖν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ὅλου [μελῶν] οὐσίαν τινὰ ¹⁰
(...) κατὰ θείαν ἐνέργειαν, ως [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] ἀνθρώπου γινο-
μένου. τὸ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικὸς εἰκὸς γίγνεσθαι.
ὅταν ^(οὖν) καθυπερτερήσῃ τὸ ρύεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ
ἄτηκτον γένηται, τῷ πατρὶ ὅμοι[ουμεν]ον τὸ βρέφος ἀπο-
δειχθῆσται, ως τὸ ἀνάπαλιν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῇ μητρί. ¹⁵
ἐὰν ^(δὲ ἐπὶ) τίνος μέρους ^(ἢ) καθυπερτέ^(ρη)σις γένηται, πρὸς
ἔκεινο τὸ μέρος ἀφομοιοῦται. (...) ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ εἰς
μακρὰς γενεάς. (...) παραβάλλειν τὸ βρέφος τῇ μορφῇ
τοῦ γεννήσαντος. (...) ^{Γέκεινον¹} ^(τοῦ) δεκανοῦ ^(τοῦ) λόγον
ἔχοντος πρὸς τὴν ὥραν ἐν ^ἡ ^ἡ γυνὴ ἐπαιδοποίει.

1 οὗτοι scripsi : ἀνταὶ codd. 1-2 τῶν νοητῶν θεῶν scripsi : νοημάτων codd.
2 ἐπουρανίον codd. : fortasse ὑπερουρανίον 3 δημουργοῦ θεοῦ F : θεοῦ
δημουργοῦ P | ἐκέινα P 4 τὰ (ante φυτά) add. Patriit. 5 καὶ τῶν
πνευμάτων πρωτανεύει om. F

7 τί τὰ F: τί δὲ τὰ P 7-8 Fortasse παρὰ τὶ δὲ τὰ βρέφη ὅμοια τοῖς γονεῦσι γίνεται ή συγγενέας τους, ἀποδώσω [ἐκτήση] λόγου. 9 ἔξαφρούμενον scripsi (ἔξαφρουμένους Usener): ἔξαφροδρομένου FP | ή γένεσις FP: fortasse ή φύσις ἀπόθησαν ρίχη (ultima η in ras). P: ἀπόθησαντις εἰς P 10 ἐκπνεύει Meineke: ἐκπνεύεις F: εἰσπνέων P 11-12 ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνθράκου γνομένου ut glossemad. Meineke: an delendum κατὰ θείαν . . . γνομένου? 12 εἰκὸς Canter: εἰς τὰ FP 13 οὖν add. Heeren | καθυπερτερήση Wachsm.: καθυπερτερίσης FP 14 ἄτηκτον Patrik; : ἄθικτον codd. | ὅμοιον scripsi: δημοιόν μενον codd. 16 δὲ ἐπὶ addidi (δὲ add. Wachsm.) | καθυπερτερήσης Meineke: καθυπέρθεσις FP

. . . of the gods apprehensible by sense ; and these gods are ² images of the gods apprehensible only by thought. The Sun, for instance, is an image of the Maker who is above the heavens ; for even as that supreme Maker made the whole universe, so the Sun makes the animals and the plants.

EXCERPT XXII

From the discourse of Hermes which is entitled APHRODITE.

How does it come about that children resemble their parents . . . ?¹ I will explain this. When . . . stores up ² semen that is foamed forth from productive blood, it comes to pass that there is exhaled from the whole body a certain substance³ . . . by ⁴ the working of a divine force, inasmuch as it is a human being that is being brought into existence.⁵ And it is to be presumed that the same thing takes place in the case of the woman also. When then the efflux from the man is prepotent, and its vigour is not impaired, the child that is produced will be like its father ; and in the same way, if the conditions are reversed, the child will be like its mother. And if there is such a prepotency in respect of some part of the body, the child comes to resemble the father or the mother in that part. . . . and sometimes even to remote generations. . . . to compare the child with the form of its father. . . . of that Decanus who had to do with the hour in which the woman was bearing⁶ the child.

¹ Perhaps, 'or (resemble) certain others of their kin'.

² Perhaps, 'When nature (operating in the father's body) stores up', &c.

³ Viz. the 'vital spirit' which is the living and active ingredient in the semen.

⁴ Perhaps, 'and this substance is vitalized by', &c.

⁵ This seems to imply that in the case of the lower animals there is no such intervention of a divine force. ⁶ Or 'conceiving'?

EXCERPTUM XXIII

Stobaeus 1. 49. 44, vol. i, p. 385 Wachsmuth (Ed. I. 926 Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ τρισμεγίστου ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς βίβλου <τῆς>
ἐπικαλουμένης Κόρης κόσμου.

- 32 «Πρόσεχε, τέκνον Ὁρε· κρυπτῆς γὰρ ἐπακούεις θεωρίας,
ἥς ὁ μὲν προπάτωρ Καμῆφις <ἢν ἀρχηγέτης, Ἐρμῆς δὲ>
«(παρὰ τοῦ πάντων προγενεστέρου Καμήφεως)» ἔτυχεν
ἐπακούσας, <ἔγὼ δὲ> παρὰ Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ [πάντων ἔργων]
ὑπομνηματογράφου [[παρὰ τοῦ πάντων προγενεστέρου Καμή-
φεως]], δόπτ' ἐμὲ καὶ τῷ τελείῳ μέλανι ἐτίμησε¹, νῦν δὲ
αὐτὸς σὺ παρ' ἐμοῦ.—»
- 1 ταῦτα εἰπούσα Ἰσις ἐγχεῖ πρῶτον "Ὀρφ γλυκὺν] τι προτὸν ἀμβροσίας, δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ λαμβάνειν ζῆσος ἔχουσιν
θεῶν], καὶ οὕτως τοῦ ιερωτάτου λόγου ἄρχεται [Ἰσις].
- 2 Ἐπικειμένου, τέκνον Ὁρε, τῇ τῶν ὑποκάτω [κειμένων]
φύσει πάσῃ τοῦ πολυστέφους οὐρανοῦ, καὶ κατ' οὐδένα
τόπον στερουμένου τινὸς ὃν νῦν δὲ σύμπας ἔχει κόσμος²,
ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων συγκεκοσμῆσθαι καὶ
πεπληρώσθαι φύσιν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑποκειμένην οὐ γὰρ δῆποι
δύναται [[τὰ κάτω]] κοσμῆσαι [[τὰ κάτω]] τὸν ὑπερθεν
[δια]κόσμον. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν τοῖς κρείττοσι μυστηρίοις εἴκειν
τὰ ἐλάσσονα· κρείσσων δὲ τῶν ὑποκειμένων η τῶν μετεώρων
ἐστὶ [δια]τάξις, καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἀσφαλής [τε], καὶ θυητῶν οὐχ
ὑποπίπτουσα διανοίᾳ.

* * * * *

1 τῆς (post βίβλου) add. Gaisford
ἐμοῦ) hoc transposui 3 Fortasse ἐπακούεις 3-9 § 32 (Πρόσεχε, τέκνον . . . παρ'
addidit (ἔγω δὲ ante παρὰ τοῦ . . . Καμῆφεως add. Canter) 6 ἐγό δὲ ante παρὰ Ἐρμοῦ
τέλει <τῷ> μέλανι (μεγάλῳ?) ἐτέλεσε, vel τῷ τελετῷ τῷ μελανῷ (μεγάλῳ?)
τέτελεσε 10 Ἰσις om. P. 10-11 ἐγχεῖ πρῶτον Ὀρφ γλυκύ τι ποτὸν scripsi:
ἔγχει ποτὸν Ὀρφ γλυκὺν (γλυκὺν Heeren) τὸ πρώτον codd. 11 δὲ codd.: fortasse
οἷον | Fortasse αἱ (μακάραις) ψυχαὶ 12 θεῶν codd.: <ἀπὸ> θεῶν Patriit.:
delendum? An scribendum <μετὰ τῶν> θεῶν <διάγονοι> vel simile aliquid? |
| Ἰσις del. Heeren 13 ὑποκάτω scripsi: ὑποκειμένων codd. 14-15 Fortasse
καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου κατ' οὐδένα τόπον στερουμένου τινὸς ἀντιχρείαν ἔχει vel
simile quid 15 στερομένου P 18 Fortasse <συγκοσμῆσαι> | τὸν
ὑπερθεν F: τῶν ὑπερθεν P 19 κόσμον scripsi: διάκοσμον codd. | μυστη-
ρίους delendum? 20 δὲ Patriit.: δὴ F: δεῖ P 21 τάξις scripsi: διάταξις
codd. 21-22 Fortasse [καὶ] τῷ παντὶ ἀσφαλής [τε] <οὖσα>, καὶ θανάτῳ οὐχ
ὑποπίπτουσα [διανοίᾳ]

EXCERPT XXIII

*From the holy book of Hermes Trismegistus
which is entitled KORE KOSMU.¹*

Isis. Give heed, my son Horus; for you shall hear secret doctrine, of which our forefather Kamephis was the first teacher. It so befell that Hermes heard this teaching from Kamephis, the eldest of all our race; I heard it from Hermes the writer of records, at the time when he . . .;² and you shall hear it now from me.—

Having thus spoken, Isis first poured forth for Horus a sweet draught of ambrosia, such a draught as the souls are wont to receive . . .;³ and thereupon she thus began her most holy discourse:

Inasmuch as heaven with its many circles, my son Horus,² is placed above all the world of things below, . . .,⁴ it must be that all the world which lies below has been set in order and filled with contents by the things which are placed above;⁵ for the things below have not power to set in order the world above. The weaker mysteries⁶ then must yield to the stronger; and the system of things on high is stronger than the things below, and is wholly steadfast, and cannot be apprehended by the thoughts of mortal men.⁷

* * * * *

¹ I. e. 'the Eye-pupil of the Universe'.

² Perhaps, 'when he initiated me in the Black (?) Rites' (or possibly, 'in the great rites').

³ Perhaps, 'such as are the draughts which souls in bliss are wont to receive when they dwell among the gods'.

⁴ Perhaps, 'and the whole universe is not in any of its regions deprived of (i. e. left unprovided with) any of the things it needs'.

⁵ I. e. we see that the terrestrial world is organized, and filled with living beings; and this must have been done by the celestial gods.

⁶ 'Mysteries' seems here to mean supernatural powers or forces. But it might perhaps be better to write 'the weaker things'.

⁷ Perhaps, 'is stronger than the things below, inasmuch as it is secure from disturbance and not subject to death'.

3 ἔνθεν ἐστέναζον τὰ κάτω φόβον ἔχοντες, . . . τὴν περικαλλῆ
 (. . .) καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαμονὴν τῶν ἐπικειμένων. Γῆγαρ ἀξιού θεωρίας ὅμοι
 καὶ ἀγνωσίας ὁρᾶν οὐρανοῦ κάλλος [[θεῷ]] ⟨ἡλίῳ⟩ καταφωτίζομένογ [[τῷ
 ἔτι ἀγνώστῳ]], ⟨παρα⟩πλησίαν τε νυκτὸς σεμνότητα, ἐλάττον μὲν ἡλίου
 ὀξεῖ δὲ πυρφορούμενής φωτί, τῶν [τε] ἀλλων κατὰ μέρος κινούμενων ἐν
 οὐρανῷ μυστηρίων τακταῖς [[χρόνων]] κινήσεσι καὶ ⟨⟨χρόνων⟩⟩ περιόδοις,
 διά τέ τινων κρυπτῶν ἀπορροιῶν τὰ κάτω συγκοσμούντων καὶ συν-
 αυξόντων, καὶ οὕτως ⟨έγένοντο⟩ φόβοι μὲν ἐπαλληλοι, ζητήσεις δὲ
 ἀληκτοί.

4 καὶ ἔως ⟨μὲν⟩ ὁ τῶν συμπάντων οὐκ ἐβούλετο τεχνίτης ⟨γυνωσθῆναι⟩, 10
 ἀγνωσία κατέχει τὰ ξύμπαντα· ὅτε δὲ ἔκρινεν αὐτὸν ὅστις ἐστὶ
 δηλῶσαι, ἔρωτα[s] ἐνεφούσθησε θεὶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ αὐτὴν
 ἡ(s) εἶχον ἐν στέρνοις πλείονα ταῖς τούτων ἔχαριστο διανοίας, ἵνα
 ⟨⟨θεόν⟩⟩ ⟨⟨τὸν ἔτι ἀγνωστὸν⟩⟩ πρῶτον μὲν ζητείν θελήσωσιν, εἴτα ⟨δὲ
 5 καὶ⟩ [ἐπιθυμήσωσιν] εύρειν [εἴτα καὶ κατορθώσαι] δυνηθῶσι. τοῦτο δ' 15
 [ἄν], δέ τέκνον ἀξιοθάμαστον Ὡρε, οὐκ ἀν ⟨ἥν⟩ ἐπὶ θυητῆ σπορᾶ, ⟨εἰ μὴ⟩
 ἐγεγόνει [οὐδὲ γάρ ἡν οὐδέπω] ψυχὴ[ς δὲ τὴν] συμπάθειαν ἔχουσα[s]
 τοῖς οὐρανοῦ μυστηρίοις. τοῖς δὲ τούτοις δὲ ἦν ὁ πάντα ⟨γ>νοὺς 'Ερμῆς'
 ὃς καὶ εἶδε τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ ἴδων κατενόησε, καὶ κατανοήσας ἴσχυσε
 δηλῶσαι [τε καὶ δεῖξαι]. (. . .) καὶ γάρ ἡ ἐνόησεν ἐχάραξε, καὶ 20
 χαράξας ἔκρυψεν ⟨⟨ἀσφαλῶς⟩⟩, τὰ πλεῖστα σιγήσας [[ἀσφαλῶς]] [ἢ
 λαλήσας], ἵνα ζητῇ ταῦτα πᾶς αἰών ὁ μεταγενέστερος κάσμοι.

6 καὶ οὗτος ⟨μέν⟩, τοὺς συγγενεῖς θεοὺς δορυφορεῖν ⟨προσταχθεῖς⟩,
 ἀνέβαινεν εἰς ἄστρα· ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ διάδοχος ὁ Τάτ, νιός ὅμοι ⟨⟨τούτοις⟩⟩
 καὶ παραλήπτωρ τῶν μαθημάτων [[τούτων]], οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ καὶ 25
 'Ασκληπιός δ (καὶ) 'Ιμούθης, οἱ Π(τ)ανὸς ⟨τοῦ⟩ καὶ 'Ηφαίστου [Βουλαίς],
 ἀλλοι τε ὅσοι τὰ οὐρανίου θεωρίας πλεύσι ἀκριβείᾳ ἔμελλον

1 Fortasse ⟨καὶ ἀγνωστα [μὲν] ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς πάντα πᾶσι ⟨τοῖς ἀνθρώποις⟩⟩.
 ἔνθεν ἐστέναζον κ.τ.λ. (vide § 53 ἱππ.) | ἐστέναζον . . . φόβον ἔχοντες
 scripsi: ἐστέναξε . . . φόβον ἔχοντες codd. 1-3 Fortasse ⟨Ἄμα δ' ἐθαύμαζον
 τὴν περικαλλῆ τάξιν (vel ἀρμονίαν) ⟩ [] τῶν ἐπικειμένων,—ἥν γάρ ἀξιού
 θεωρίας [],—ὅρῶντες οὐρανοῦ κάλλος κ.τ.λ. 3-4 θεῷ ετῷ ἐπὶ ἀγνωστῷ
 hinc ad § 4 transposui 3 καταφωτίζομένον scripsi: καταφανταζόμενον codd.
 4 παραπλησίαν scripsi: πλουσίαν codd. 5 πυρφορούμενής scripsi: προσφορο-
 μένην codd. 7 ἀπορῶν P | κοσμούντων P 8 οὗτος ἐγένοντο φόβοι
 μὲν ἐπάλληλοι scripsi: οὗτος φόβοι μὲν ἐπάλληλος codd. | δὲ scripsi: τε
 codd. 9 ἀληκτοὶ P²: ἀδεκτοὶ FP¹ 13 ἔρωτα scripsi: ἔρωτας codd.
 Fortasse ἔρωτα σφίας scripsi: posset scribi etiam ἐνέπνευσε: θεοῖς codd. | αὐγῆς
 ἐνεθουσίας codd. | θεοῖς τισιν ἀνθρώποις scripsi: θεοῖς codd. | αὐγῆς
 Canter: αὐτὴν FP 13 ἡς εἶχον scripsi: ἡ εἶχεν codd. 14 θεὸν τὸν ἔτι
 ἀγνωστὸν addidi (vide § 3) 18 ἀν (ante δὲ) om. Patit. 16-17 οὐκ ἀν ἥν
 ἐπὶ θυητῆ σπορᾶ, εἰ μὴ ἐγεγόνει scripsi: οὐκ ἀν ἐπὶ θυητῆς σπορᾶς ἐγεγόνει codd.
 17 ψυχὴ συμπάθειαν ἔχουσα scripsi: ψυχῆς δὲ τὴν συμπάθειαν ἰχούσης codd.

Thereupon¹ men moaned, being afraid, . . . the beautiful . . . and everlasting duration of the things above. For it was . . . to see the beauty of the sky² when it was flooded with light by the Sun, and the well-nigh equal majesty of the night, torch-lit with light less than the Sun's, yet bright, when in their turn the other holy Powers³ moved along their paths in heaven with ordered movements in fixed periods of time, and by certain secret effluences wrought order and growth in the things below. And thus arose fears upon fears, and ceaseless questionings.

And as long as the Craftsman who made the universe willed not to be known, all was wrapped in ignorance. But when he determined to reveal himself, he breathed into certain godlike men a passionate desire to know him, and bestowed on their minds a radiance ampler than that which they already had within their breasts, that so they might first will to seek the yet unknown God, and then have power to find him. But this, Horus my wondrous son, it would not have been possible for men of mortal breed to do, if there had not arisen one whose soul was responsive to the influence of the holy Powers of heaven. And such a man was Hermes, he who won knowledge of all. Hermes saw all things, and understood what he saw, and had power to explain to others what he understood. . . .⁴ for what he had discovered he inscribed on tablets, and hid securely what he had inscribed, leaving the larger part untold, that all later ages of the world might seek it.

And Hermes, having been bidden to attend on the gods to whom he was akin,⁵ was about to ascend to the stars; but to him succeeded Tat, who was his son, and therewith inheritor of the knowledge which Hermes had acquired; and not long after, Asclepius, also named Imuthes, the son of Ptah, who is also named Hephaistos, and all those other men who, by the will of that Providence which reigns over all, were destined to search out with the utmost

¹ This passage (§§ 3-8) is inconsistent both with the introductory passage which precedes it (§§ 32, 1, 2) and with the narrative which follows (§§ 9-70), and must have originally belonged to a different document.

There is reason to suspect that the preceding passage also (§§ 32, 1, 2) did not form part of the *libellus* which contained §§ 9-70, but was the beginning of another *libellus*, all the rest of which is lost.

² Perhaps, '(In the beginning, all was unknown to all men;) wherefore they moaned in fear. But at the same time they marvelled at the beauteous order of the things above (for it was a sight well worth their contemplation), when they saw the beauty of the sky', &c.

³ I. e. the moon and stars.

⁴ Perhaps, '(Yet he did not make the truth known without reserve)'.

⁵ I. e. having been told by the gods that he must now die and go to heaven.

18 τοιοῦτος scripsi: τοῦτο codd. | γρῦς P¹; νῦν FP¹ 20 τε om. P
| Fortasse οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐδεῖτε vel simile quid 22 κόσμον
secludendum? 23 οὗτος scripsi: οὗτος codd. 24 ἀνέβετεν P¹
25 τούτων FP: τούτου Meineke 25-26 καὶ δ' Ἀσκληπιὸς P 26 ὁ Πτανός
τοῦ scripsi (Πτανός vel Πτανὸς (τοῦ) Reitzenstein): σπανὸς FP¹: πανὸς P²
27 πλεῖστη δερβεῖα scripsi: πιστὴν ἀκρίβειαν codd.

7 θυνδομένης τῆς πάντων βασιλίδος ίστορήσαι προνοίας. Ἐρμῆς μὲν οὐν
 Γ' ἀπελογεῖτο τῷ περιέχοντι ὡς¹ οὐδὲ τῷ παιδὶ παρέδωκεν ὄλοτελὴ (τὴν)
 θεωρίαν, διὰ τὸ ἔτι τῆς ἡλικίας νεοειδές. *(εἶπε δὲ οὔτως)* “Ἐγὼ δη
 [τῆς ἀνατολῆς γενόμενος] τοῖς πάντα βλέπουσιν ὁφθαλμοῖς (τοῦ νοῦ) τὰ
 τῆς ἀνατολῆς² (ἔθεωρησα[ι τι] ἀειδή· καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντί *(μοι)* βραδέως 5
 μέν, ἀλλ' οὐν ἥλθεν ἡ ἀκριβῆς [δια]γνῶσις. (. . . χρή με) πλησίον τῶν
 Ὀσίριδος κρυφίων ἀποθέτθαι τὰ ιερὰ τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων σύμβολα,
 ἐπικατευξάμενον δὲ [καὶ τοὺς λόγους τούσδε εἰπόντα[ς]] εἰς οὐρανὸν
 ἀπελθε(ῖ)ν.”

8 ἀλλ' οὐν καθῆκον ἀτελὴ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, ὡς τέκνουν, ταύτην με[ν] 10
 καταλεῖψαι, εἰπεῖν δὲ ὅσα τὰς βίβλους κατατίθεμενος ἔξειπε[ν] ‘Ἐρμῆς.
 [έξ]ειπε γάρ οὔτως’ “Ω iεραὶ βίβλοι, τῶν [α]φθαρτῶν ἀτετεύχαται³
 μον χειρῶν, ἀς τῷ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας φαρμάκῳ χορείας ἐπικρατῷ, ἀσπατεῖς
 πάντας αἰώνας [καὶ ἀφθαρτοι] διαμείνατε [χρόνους], ἀθεώρητοι καὶ
 ἀνεύρετοι γιγνόμεναι παντὶ τῷ τὰς ταύτης περὶ(ε)οδεύειν μέλοντι πεδίᾳ, 15
 ἄχρις οὐν γέρων οὐρανὸς συστήματα ὑμῶν ἀξία τεκνώσηται [ἄς ψυχὰς
 δὲ δημιουργὸς προστηρόντε]. τοσαῦτα [εἰπὼν τὰς βίβλους καὶ] τοῖς
 ἐποτοῦ κατευξάμενος ἔργοις, *(ταῖς ἀ)ιδίοις (έν)τεμενίζεται ζώνται.*

* * * * *

50 (. . .) *(πάλιν)* ὁ μόναρχος σύγκλητον τῶν θεῶν ἐποίησε
 συνέδριον. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ παρῆσαν· καὶ *[πάλιν]* αὐτὸς *[ταῦτα]* 20
 οὔτως ἐφώνησε, “Θεοί” λέγων, “ὅσοι τῆς κορυφαίας”, ὅσοι
 καὶ ἀφθάρτου φύσεως τετεύχατε, οἱ τὸν μέγαν αἰώνα διέπειν
 ἐς ἀεὶ κεκλήρωσθε, οἱ [εἰς αὐτὰ] ἔαντοις ἀντιπαραδιδόντε^(ς)
 οὐδέποτε κοπιάστε^(ε) τὰ σύμπαντα, μέχρι πότε *[[τῆς]]* ἀνεπί-
 γνωστοι ταύτης δεσπόσομεν *(τῆς)* ήγεμονίας; μέχρι πότε 25
 [ἀθεώρητα γενήσεται ταῦτα ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ] *[[έκαστος ήμῶν
 ἐφ' ἔαντῳ γενννάτῳ]]* *(άργην)* *(καταλείψομεν τῷ δύνασθαι]*
 τὴν *[έτι] [[άργην]]* σύστασιν ταύτην; ἀπιστος τοῖς μεταγενε-
 στέροις μῆθος δὴ δοξάτῳ *(τῷ)* χάος εἶναι. ἔργων ἀπτεσθε

2 ἀπελογεῖτο τῷ περιέχοντι ὡς codd.: fortasse *(⟨ώς⟩)* ἀπελύετο τοῦ (*σκήνους!*)
 3 τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς P | νεοειδὲς Patriit.: θεοειδὲς FP | δὴ scripsi: δὲ codd.
 4 γενόμερος FP: γενομένης Patriit. 5 ἀθεώρησος ἀειδή scripsi: θεωρῆσαι τι
 ἀειδέει FP¹: θεωρῆσαι τῷ ἀειδεῖ P² | ἐπισκοποῦντί *μοι* scripsi (*ἐπισκοποῦντί*
 Patriit.): ἐπισκοποῦντι FP 6 γνῶσις scripsi: διαγνῶσις codd.: an (!)δίᾳ
 γνῶσις! 8 ἐπικατευξάμενον F: ἐπικατατευξάμενον P | εἰπόντα scripsi:
 εἰπόντας FP 9 ἀπελθεῖν scripsi: ἀπῆλθεν codd. 10 με Meinecke: μὲν FP
 11 ἔξειπεν (ante Ἐρμῆς) Patriit.: ἔξειπεν FP 12 εἴπε (ante γάρ) scripsi:
 ἔξειπτε codd. 12-13 Fortasse “Ω iεραὶ βίβλοι, ἀς διὰ τῶν φθαρτῶν
 τετευγμένας μον χειρῶν τῷ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας φαρμάκῳ ἔχρισεν δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι κρατῶν
 12 φθαρτῶν scripsi: ἀφθάρτων codd. | τετεύχαται F: τετεύχατέ P
 13 χειρῶν ἀς Meinecke: χείρονας FP | χορείας FP: χρίσας Meinecke

exactness the truths of the heavenly doctrine. But Hermes . . .¹ did not 7 transmit the doctrine in its full completeness even to his own son, because Tat was still in his early youth. And thus did Hermes speak: 'I, even I, have beheld with the all-seeing eyes of mind the unseen things of . . . ; and as I examined them, there came to me by slow degrees, but came in very deed, accurate knowledge of the truth. < . . . And now, I must>² deposit hard by the secret things of Osiris these holy symbols of the cosmic elements,³ and after speaking over them a prayer, depart to heaven.'

It is not fitting, my son, that I should leave this report unfinished; I must 8 tell you all that Hermes said when he was depositing his books. Thus did he speak: 'Ye holy books, which have been written by my perishable hands, but have been anointed with the drug of imperishability by Him who is master over all, remain ye undecaying through all ages, and be ye unseen and undiscovered by all men who shall go to and fro on the plains of this land, until the time when Heaven, grown old, shall beget organisms⁴ worthy of you.' Having spoken this prayer over the works of his hands,⁵ Hermes was received into the sanctuary of the everlasting zones.⁶

* * * * *

. . . the Sole Ruler summoned a council of the gods. The gods 50 came, and He spoke, and said: 'Ye gods, all ye . . . whose being⁷ has been made imperishable, ye whose lot it is to bear sway over the great world for ever, and who will never grow weary of transmitting the universe from hand to hand among you; how long shall this our sovereign rule remain unrecognized? How long shall we leave this conglomerate mass inert? Let it seem to those of after times an incredible tale that there has been a Chaos. Set your hands to mighty works. Let each of you for

¹ Perhaps, 'when he was about to be released from the body'.

² Perhaps, '(That knowledge I have set down in writing; and now I must)', &c.

³ I. e. the books of Hermes, written in hieroglyphs.

⁴ Literally 'composite things'; that is, men, composed of soul and body. After long ages, there will be born men that are worthy to read the books of Hermes.

⁵ I. e. over his books.

⁶ I. e. he died, and went to dwell in heaven.

⁷ Perhaps, 'all ye who are stationed on the topmost height, and whose being', &c.

14 πάντας αἰώνας scripsi: παντὸς αἰώνος codd. | περιοδεύειν scripsi: παροδεύειν codd.

15 γῆ Meineke: τῆς codd. | τεκνώσηται FP: τεκνώσεται Meineke et Wachsm. 16 Fortasse γέρων (*γενόμενος*)

| ἀδίοις ἐντεμενίζεται scripsi: ἰδίαι τε μενίζεται FP 19-3 *infra*: § 50 (πάλιν δέ μόναρχος . . . διάστασις ἐγένετο καὶ) huc transposuit 21-22 Fortasse ὅσοι τῆς

(πάντων) κορυφῆς (ἐπιβήσασθε), [ὅσοι] καὶ 23-24 οἱ ἔντονοι ἀντιπαραδιδόντες οὐδέποτε κοπιάσατε scripsi: οἰς αὐτὰ τάντος ἀντιπαραδιδόντα οὐδέποτε κοπιάσει codd. 24-25 ἀνεπίγνωστοι scripsi: ἀνεπίγνωστον codd. | τῆς transposuit

Userer 27 καταλείψομεν scripsi: ἀπαλείψομεν codd. 28 ἐπι FP^a: aliax P¹ 29 δῇ Wachsm.; δὲ FP

μεγάλων. «*έκαστος ήμῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τι γεννάτω·*» ἔγὼ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀρξομαι πρῶτος.” εἶπε, καὶ εὐθέως [κοσμικῶς] τῆς ἔτι γμελαίνης¹ ἐνώσεως διάστασις ἐγένετο· καὶ» <...>

11 «*καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτι εἰς τὸ περιέχον ἀτενίσας ἐφώνησεν* “*Ἐστω πεπληρώμενος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄστρας τρασιν* <...> *[ἀήρ τε καὶ αἰθήρ].*” εἶπεν δὲ θεός, καὶ ἦν.» <...>

9 ἵκανὸν δὲ τὸν μέσον ἥργει χρόνον [έκέκρυπτο] [[καὶ]] ἡ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φύσις, ὃ τέκνον, «*καὶ*» ἐτύγχανε στεῖρα, ἔως αὐτοὶ οἱ ἡδη περιπολεῖν τὸν οὐρανὸν κελευσθέντες «*θεοί*», τῷ πάντων [[θεῷ]] βασιλεῖ προσελθόντες, τὴν τῶν κάτω¹⁰ δύντων ἡσυχίαν ἀπήγγειλαν, καὶ ὅτι δέον ἐστὶ συγκοσμηθῆναι (καὶ ταῦτα σύμπαντα) [[καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἐτέρου τινός ἐστιν ἔργον ἢ αὐτοῦ]]. καὶ “*Δεδμέθα σου*” ἐλεγον “*τὰ νῦν δυτα καὶ [ῶν] ὑστερον ἐσόμενα τίνος*” ἔχει χρείαν διασκέψασθαι. «*καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο οὐχ ἐτέρου τινός ἐστιν ἔργον ἢ αὐτοῦ*»¹⁵ (σοῦ).»

10 ταῦτα εἰπόντων ἐμειδίασεν δὲ θεός, καὶ εἶπε Φύσιν εἶναι, καὶ θῆλυ πάγκαλον χρῆμα ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ προῆλθεν, δὲ καὶ θεωρήσαντες οἱ θεοὶ κατεπλάγησαν· καὶ ταῦτην Φύσεως (δέ)νοματι ἐτίμησεν δὲ θεὸς δὲ προπάτωρ. «*καὶ τῇ [Εὐρέσει]*²⁰ *[Φύσει] τὸν [τὸ] κάτω πάντων ἔχαρίσατο ἡγεμονικόν,*» καὶ ταῦτην προσέταξεν εἶναι <... σπερμάτων> γεννητικήν.

11 [[καὶ ταῦτα ἔτι εἰς τὸ περιέχον ἀτενίσας φώνησεν “*Ἐστω πεπληρώμενος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄπασιν ἀήρ τε καὶ αἰθήρ.*” εἶπεν δὲ θεός καὶ ἦν.]]²⁵

12 η δὲ Φύσις ἔαυτῇ λαλήσασα ἔγνω ὡς μὴ δέον αὐτήν ἐστι παρακούσαι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολῆς· καὶ <...>.

13 [καλὴν Πόνῳ συνελθοῦσα[ν] θυγατέρα ἐποίησεν, ἦν Εὔρεσιν ἐκάλεσε.]

[τῇ δὲ δὲ θεὸς ἔχαρίσατο “εἶναι”, καὶ χαρισάμενος.]³⁰

[διέκρινε τὰ ἡδη γεγονότα, καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν αὐτὰ μυστηρίων.]

[[[καὶ τῇ Εὐρέσει τούτων τὸ κατὰ τούτων ἔχαρίσατο ἡγεμονικόν.]]]

52 «*πληρώσας δὲ τὰς [ι] σε(βα)στὰς [ιας] χεῖρας τῷ περι-*³⁵ *έχοντι¹ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Φύσεως ὑπαρχόντων (σπερμάτων), καὶ τὰς*

1 ὑμῶν Patr.: ἡμῶν codd. 3 μελαίνης om. P: fortasse ἀκοσμήτον (ex quo ortum puta κοσμικῶς) 4-8 § 11 (καὶ ταῦτα . . . καὶ ἦν) huc transposui 4-5 ἐφάνησεν 1²: φώνησεν FP¹ 5 ἀστρασιν scripsi: ἀπασιν codd.

his own part bring something into being; and I myself will be the first to begin.' He spoke, and forthwith the hitherto . . . homogeneous mass¹ was separated into two parts²; and . . .

And thereafter, He gazed into the space around, and spoke II again, saying 'Let heaven be filled with stars . . .'. God spoke, and it was so. . . .

But during no small interval of time the world below, my son, 9 was inert, and remained barren; until those very gods who had already been bidden to go their rounds in heaven³ approached him who is King of all, and told him of the stillness of the things below, and said that these things also ought to be set in order. 'We pray thee then', said they, 'to look into this, and find out what is lacking to the things that now are and shall be hereafter; for this is no one's task save thine alone.'

When they had thus spoken, God smiled, and bade Nature⁴ 10 be; and there came forth from his voice a Being in woman's form, right lovely, at the sight of whom the gods were smitten with amazement; and God the Forefather bestowed on her the name of Nature. And he conferred on Nature the government of all things in the world below, and bade her be productive of all manner of seeds. And Nature communed with herself, 12 and saw that she must not disobey her Father's bidding; and . . .⁵ And God filled his august hands with the abundance of seeds 52 which Nature supplied, and gripping the handfuls firmly, said

¹ Perhaps, 'the homogeneous mass, hitherto unorganized (or formless)'.

² The 'two parts' are heaven and earth. ³ I.e. the star-gods.

⁴ 'Nature' means the force which manifests itself in the production and growth of living things on earth. That force is here personified. But in this passage, the only function that 'Nature' is called on to discharge is that of producing plants.

⁵ Perhaps, 'and (so she brought into being the seeds of all kinds of plants)'.

7 Ικανὸς δὲ τὸν μέσον ἡργει χρόνον scripsi: ικανὸς δὲ ὁ μέσος ἡργει χρόνος codd.
 9 οἱ ἡση F | κελευθέρντας F | θεοὶ (post κελευθέρντες) add. Wachsm.
 10 τῷ (ante πάντων) Patrit.: τῶν FP | 12 καὶ ταῦτα scripsi: τὰ codd.
 | τοῦτο οὐχ P: τοῦτο οὖτι οὐχ F | 14 διασκέψαθαι scripsi (διάσκεψαι Meineke): διασκέψας FP | 19 ταύτην om. P | 20 ὀνόματι Meineke: πόματι FP
 20–21 καὶ . . . ἡγεμονικὸν hinc ad § 13 transposui | 21 Φύσει scripsi: εἰρέσει codd.
 | τὸ τῶν κάτω πάντων scripsi: τούτων τὸ κατὰ τούτων codd.
 22 καὶ ταῦτη . . . γεννητικὴ Meineke | ταύτην Patrit.: ταύτης FP
 | Fortasse (παντοῖων σπερμάτων) | 23–25 § 11 (καὶ ταῦτα . . . καὶ ἄλλα): vide ante § 9 | 28 συνελθοῦσα Patrit.: συνελθούσαν FP | 33–34 καὶ τῷ . . . ἡγεμονικὸν hinc ad § 10 transposui | 35–5 infra: § 52 (πληρώσας . . . συστάσει) huc transposui | 35 σεβαστὰς scripsi: ιεροστασίας FP: διας Usener
 35–36 περιέχοντι codd.: fortasse περιουσίᾳ vel πλήθει

δράκας καρτερῶς σφίγξας, “Λάβε” ἐπεν, “ὦ οἱρὰ γῆ, λάβε,
πάντιμε, [καὶ] ἡ εἶναι γεννῆτειρα μέλλουσα πάντων, καὶ
μηδενὸς ἐντεῦθεν λείπεσθαι δόκει.” ἐπεν ὁ θεός, καὶ τὰς
χεῖρας [οἵας δὴ θεὸν (εἰκός) ἔχειν] ἀπλώσας πάντα ἀφῆκεν
[ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄντων συστάσει].» 5

51 *οὕτω δὴ»* *«έφάνη μὲν οὐρανὸς ἀνω συγκεκοσμημένος τοῖς
έαυτοῦ μυστηρίοις πᾶσι, [κραδαινομένη ἔτι γῇ ἡλίου λάμ-
ψαντος ἐπάγη καὶ] ἔφάνη δὲ καὶ γῇ πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν
συγκεκοσμημένοις καλοῖς. καλὰ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ
θυητοῖς εἶναι νομίζομενα φαῦλα, δτὶ δὴ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ νόμοις 10
δουλεύειν ἐποιήθη. ἔχαιρε δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὅρῶν ἥδη ἑαυτοῦ τὰ
ἔργα κινούμενα.»*

14 *«. . .»* *αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκέτι βουλόμενος ἀργὸν τὸν ὑπο<υ>ράνιο<υ>
κόσμον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ *πνευμάτων* πληρῶσαι δοκιμάσας *(καὶ)*
τοῦτον, ως μὴ τὰ κατὰ μέσον ἀκίνητα *[καὶ ἀργὰ]* μένη, οὕτως 15
εἰς ταῦτα ἤρξατο τεχνιτεῖαις, οὐσίαις πρὸς τὴν τοῦ *[ἰδίου]*
ἔργου *(ἀπό)τέλεσιν* χρησάμενος *(ἐπιτη)δείαις.* πνεῦμα γὰρ
ὅσον ἀρκετὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴδιου λαβών, καὶ νοερῷ τοῦτο πυρὶ
μίξας, ἀγνώστοις τισὶν ἐτέραις ὕλαις ἐκέρασε· καὶ ταῦτα
[έκατερον ἐκατέρῳ] μετά τινων ἐπιφωνήσεων κρυπτῶν ἐνώσας, 20
τὸ πᾶν οὕτως εὖ μάλα διεκίρησε^ν *[κράμα],* ἔως ἐπεγέλασέ
τις ὕλη τῷ μίγματι λεπτοτέρα τε καὶ καθαρωτέρα μᾶλλον
[καὶ διαφανεστέρα] ἢ ἔξ ὧν ἐγίνετο· διειδῆς δὲ ἦν αὐτῇ, ἢν
15 δὴ καὶ μόνος ὁ τεχνίτης ἔώρα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ *«τελεσιουργηθεῖστα»*
οὔτε *[ώς ἔκ πυρὸς]* καιομένη διετήκετο, οὔτε μὴν *[ώς ἔκ 25
πνεύματος]* *[[τελεσιουργηθεῖστα]]* *[ε]* *ψύχει* *(ἐπήγυντο),* ἀλλά
τινα ἴδιογενῆ *[καὶ οἰκείαν]* εἶχε *[τὴν τοῦ κράματος]* σύστασιν
[ἴδιότυπόν τε καὶ ἴδιοσύγκριτον], *«ταῦτην δὴ [καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
εὐφημοτέρου ὄνόματος καὶ τῆς καθ' ὅμοιότητα ἐνεργείας]
ψύχωσιν ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσε<υ>* *[τὴν σύστασιν].* ἔξ οὐ δὴ 30
ἐπιπάγον μυριάδας ψυχῶν ἰκανὰς ἐγενεσιούργησε, τὸ *[παρ'
αὐτοῦ]* τοῦ κράματος ἐπάνθουν πρὸς δὲ θέλει πλάσσων εὐτάκτως*

1 σφίγξας F: σφίξας P 1-2 λάβε πάντιμε om. P 3 μηδενὸς scripsi:
μηδενὶ codd. Fortasse μηδενὸς *«τῶν»* *«ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄντων συστάσει»* 4 δὴ
scripsi: δεῖ codd. 8-12 § 51 *«έφάνη μὲν . . . κινούμενα»* huc transposui
8 δούρανὸς P | συγκεκοσμημένος codd.: fortasse πεπληρωμένος 9 συγ-
κεκοσμημένη Patriit.: συγκεκοσμημένος FP | καλοῖς om. P 9-11 καλὰ
γὰρ . . . ἐποιήθη secludendum? 13 ὑπουράνιον scripsi: ὑπεράνω
codd. 15 μέσον scripsi: μέρος codd. 16 τεχνιτεῖας, οὐσίαις Usener:
τεχνιτεῖας οὖσαις codd. 17 ἀποτέλεσιν scripsi: γένεσιν codd. | ἐπιτη-
δεῖας scripsi: τεραῖς codd. 18 νοερῷ Meineke: νοερῶς FP | τούτῳ P²

'Take them, thou holy Earth, take them, all-honoured one, thou that art destined to be mother of all things; and henceforward be not thou thought to come short of anything'.¹ And saying this, God opened his hands, and flung forth all that was in them. . . .²

Thus it was that heaven came to be seen above, equipped with all its holy Powers,³ and the earth below, equipped with all the goodly things that appertain to it. For even those things which mortals deem foul are goodly in God's sight, because they have been made subject to God's laws. And God was glad when he beheld his works⁴ and saw that they were now in motion.⁵

. . . And God was no longer willing that the region next below heaven⁶ should be inert, but thought good to fill this region also with living beings, that the intermediate space⁷ might not remain devoid of movement; and so he began to ply handicraft for this purpose, using substances suitable for the accomplishment of the work. He took of his own life-breath as much as would suffice, and blended it with intelligent fire, and mingled the blend with certain other materials unknown to men; and having fused together these ingredients, with utterance of certain secret spells, thereon he thoroughly stirred the whole mixture, until there bubbled up upon the surface of the mass a substance finer and purer than the things of which it was composed. This substance was transparent; none but the Craftsman himself could see it. And when it was wrought up to completion, and was neither liquefied by burning heat nor solidified by cold, but had a certain consistency peculiar to itself, God named it 'soul-stuff'. And out of this scum he wrought into existence many myriads of souls, moulding to his purpose in right order and due measure

¹ Perhaps, 'to lag behind any of the contents of the composite universe', i.e. any other part or region of the universe.

² Here probably followed a sentence in which it was said that plants sprang up on the earth.

³ I. e. filled with stars, or peopled with star-gods.

⁴ I. e. heaven and earth and all things in them.

⁵ Or 'in action'; i. e. that they were no longer inert and lifeless.

⁶ I. e. the atmosphere.

⁷ I. e. the space between heaven and earth.

| πῦρ P 19 ἀγνώστοις Πατριτ.: δγνώστως FP 21 διεκίρυγσεν scripsi: διεκίνησεν codd. 28 ψύχει ἐπήγνυτο scripsi: ἐψυχεν codd. 28 ἦν δῆ FP: "ἔθετεν δῆ scripsi . . . ; poteris etiam ταῦτην δῆ" Wachsm. 31 ἐπὶ πάγου FP² 32 τὸν (ante κράματος) om. P | πρὸς δ F: πρ σδ P¹: πρσ, δ P²

τε καὶ συμμέτρως μετ(ἀ) [έμπειρίας καὶ] λόγου τοῦ καθήκοντος, ὡς μηδέ τι (...).

- 16 (. .) διαφέρειν [ε]αύτὰς ἐπιτῶν ἦν ἀγαγκαῖον, ἐπειδή περ τὸ ἐκ τῆς κι〈ρ〉ήσεως [τοῦ θεοῦ] ἔξατμιζόμενον ἄνθος οὐκ ἦν ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον, ἀλλὰ [μεῖζον καὶ] ⟨όλος⟩κληρότερον ἦν τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ πρώτον καὶ τῷ παντὶ καθαρότερον, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ ικανῶς μὲν [ἡσσον] ἦν τοῦ πρώτου [τὸ δεύτερον], πολλῷ δὲ [κρείσσον] τοῦ τρίτου [τὸ μεῖζον], καὶ οὕτως ἕχρι βαθμῶν ἔξηκοντα ὃ πᾶς ἀπήρτιστο ἀριθμός· πλὴν ὅτι γε πάσας ⟨ὅμοιας⟩ ἀιδίους εἶναι νομοθετήσας ἔταξεν, ὡς ἀν ἐκ μᾶς 10 ⟨γενομένας⟩ οὔσιας, ἵνα μόνος αὐτὸς ἥδη Γ τελειῶ!. ⟨ταῦταις δὲ καὶ τμήματα [καὶ τ(α)μ(ι)έῖα] ἐν μεταρσίῳ διέταξε [τῆς ἄνω φύσεως] [οὐρανοῦ], ὅπως τόν τε κύλινδρον περιστροβᾶσι τάξει τινὶ καὶ οἰκονομίᾳ καθηκούσῃ, καὶ τὸν πατέρα τέρπωσιν.
- 17 οὕτως δὴ [καὶ] ἐν τῇ περικαλλεῖ τοῦ αἰθέρος στὰς Γε¹, 15 καὶ τὰς τῶν ἥδη οὖσῶν ⟨ψυχῶν⟩ μεταπεμψάμενος φυλάς, “²Ω[ς] ⟨ψυχαῖ⟩”, φησ(τ), “[πνεύματος ἐμοῦ καὶ] μερίμνης ἐμῆς [[ψυχαῖ]] καλὰ τέκνα, ἀ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ μαιωσάμενος χερσὶν ἥδη ⟨ἐν⟩ τῷ μέσῳ καθιδρψ(ύ)ω κεσμῷ, [Λόγων ἐμῶν ὡς] νόμων τούτων ἐπακούσατε, καὶ τόπου μηδενὸς ἀλλού 20 θίγητε πλὴν τοῦ διαταγέντος ὑμίν υπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης. εὐσταθησάσαις μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν οὐρανὸς [τε καὶ μένει πάλιν] ὁ μισθός, καὶ [ὁ διαταγεῖς] (κατ)αστερισμός, θρόνοι τε ἀρετῆς πεπληρωμένοι· εἰ δέ τι νεώτερον παρὰ τάμα πράξητε βουλεύματα, ιερὸν [ὑμῶν] ὀμνύω [πνεῦμα καὶ] κράμα τοῦτ' ἀφ' οὐπερ 25 ὑμᾶς ἐγένηντα, ψυχοποιούς τε ταύτας μου τὰς χεῖρας, ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δεσμοὺς καὶ κολάσεις ὑμῖν τεχνιτεύσω.”
- 18 τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ θεὸς [ὁ κάμοῦ κύριος] τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν στοιχείων [συγγενῆ] μίξας, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν, ⟨⟨καὶ ζωοποιὸν

1 μετὰ scripsi : μετ' ἔμπειρίας καὶ codd.

3 αὐτὰς Meineke : ξαντὰς FP

4 κιρήσεως scripsi (κρήσεως Heeren) : κινήσεως codd. 5 ὀλοκληρότερον scripsi : πληρότερον codd. 7 τὸ δεύτερον seclusi (τὸ del. Heeren)

8 τὸ μεῖζον seclusi (τὸ del. Heeren) 11 ἥδη Usener : ἥδη FP | τελειῶ FP : τελείωμα Usener : fortasse ⟨τὴν σύστασιν τελειῶ(σα)⟩ | ταύταις scripsi : ταῦς codd. 12 ταμεῖα Wachsm. (vide § 24) : ταμεῖα Patriit. : τμέα FP | Fortasse διέταξεν ⟨⟨οἰκονομίᾳ τινὶ καθηκούσῃ⟩⟩ 13 οὐρανὸν del. Heeren | τὸν τε κύλινδρον περιστροβᾶσι obsecutum : nescio an omissum sit aliquid 14 τάξει . . . καθηκούσῃ transponendum? | An τέρπωσιν ὑμνοῦς?

15 στάσει codd. : στὰς βάσει Usener : fortasse στὰς ἀμφὶ 16 οὐσῶν ψυχῶν scripsi : ὄντων codd. | φυλάς scripsi : φύσεις codd.

17 “Ω ψυχαῖ”, φησὶ scripsi : ὡς φῆς FP¹ : ὡς φῆσὶ P² : “ῶ”, φῆσὶ Wachsm.

18 ‘απ ψυχαῖ secludendum’! Wachsm. 19 ἐν τῷ μέσῳ scripsi : τῷ μῷ FP : τῷ ἐμῷ Meineke | καθιδρώα scripsi : καθιερώ codd. | κούσμῳ codd.:

the stuff which formed on the surface of the mixture, and therewith speaking the fitting spell, that nothing might

But the souls necessarily differed one from another, because 16 the froth which exhaled from the mass when it was stirred together was not all of one quality. The first portion of it was more perfect than the second, and altogether purer; and the second portion was much inferior to the first, but far superior to the third; and so it went on, until the whole number of the different grades amounted to sixty. But God made a law by which he ordained that all the souls alike should be everlasting, inasmuch as they were all made of one substance, the composition of which was known to him alone. And he assigned to the souls divisions of space on high,¹ one to each grade of souls; . . . ² that they might make the cylinder revolve³ according to a fixed order and a fitting arrangement, and might give joy to their Father.⁴

Thereupon God took his stand in the beauteous vault of the 17 aether,⁵ and summoned to him the tribes of souls that were now in being, and said, 'Ye souls, fair children of my anxious thought, whom I have brought to birth with my own hands, and whom I now station in the intermediate region of the universe, hearken to these my laws, and meddle with no place save that which is assigned to you by my decree. If you are steadfast in obedience, heaven shall be your reward; you shall be placed among the stars, and shall sit on thrones that are charged with potent forces. But if by any rash deed you transgress my ordinances, then, by this holy mixture out of which I brought you into being, and by these my soul-making hands, I swear that full soon will I construct bonds for your chastisement.'⁶

Having thus spoken, God mixed together the two remaining 18 elements, water and earth,⁷ and breathed into them a certain

¹ I. e. distinct strata of the atmosphere.

² Perhaps, 'and he placed the souls in those divisions, and bade them dwell there', or something of the sort.

³ I do not know what is meant by 'the cylinder'.

⁴ Perhaps, 'give joy to their Father (by hymns of praise)'.

⁵ I. e. in the highest part of the atmosphere, or on the upper surface of it.

⁶ I. e. I will make bodies for you, and you shall be punished by incarnation.

⁷ Fire and air had been used in making the first mixture.

fortasse τόνῳ vel τοῦ κόσμου τόνῳ | λέγων P² 20 τόπον secludendum?
 22 εὐσταθησάσαι P¹ 23 ὁ μισθός scripsi: δύοις codd. | καταστερ-
 σμός scripsi: διστερισμὸς codd. 24 πράξητε P: πράξηται F: πράξετε Patriit,
 Wachsm. 24-25 βουλεύματα om. P 27 δεσμὸς P: δεσμὸν F

- έμφυστήσας» *(τινὰ οὐσίαν)*, καὶ τινας [όμοίως] κρυπτοὺς ἐπειπὼν λόγους, δυνατὸν μέν, οὐ τοῖς πρώτοις δ' ὁμοίους, εὖ τε κιρικήσας [[καὶ χωποιὸν ἐνθουσιάσας]], *(τὸν) τῷ κράματι ἐπιπλέοντα [όμοίως] ἐπίπαγον* [εὐβαφῇ τε καὶ] εὐ[π]αγῆ γειρόμενον ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ [ἀνθρωποειδῆ] *(πνεύματα)* 5
 19 τῶν ζώων διέπλασε· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μίγματος λείψανον ταῖς ἥδη προκοψάσαις ψυχαῖς ἔδωκε, [Ψυχαῖς δὲ ταύταις] ταῖς εἰς [χωρία θεῶν καὶ] τοὺς ἐγγὺς ἀστρων τόπους *(ἀναβάσας)*, καὶ ἵεροῖς δάιμοσι μετακεκλημέναις, [πλάσσετε] λέγων “Ω τέκνα, τῆς ἐμῆς Γύνεως¹ γεννήματα, δέχεσθε τῆς ἐμῆς¹⁰ τεχνι²τελάς τὰ λείψανα, καὶ ἐκάστη τῇ ἑαυτῆς φύσει *(πεποιθυῖα)* πλασσέτω τι [παραπλήσιον]. παραθήσομαι δ' ἐγὼ [καὶ] ταῦθ' ὑμῖν παραδείγματα.” καὶ λαβὼν εὖ καὶ καλῶς (...)
 20 [[τὸν ζῳδιακὸν συμφώνως ταῖς ψυχικαῖς κινήσεσι διέταξε¹⁵ κόσμον, πρὸς τοῖς ἀνθρωποειδέσι τῶν ζῳδιακῶν τὰ ἔξῆς ἀπαρτίσας οἷον ζῳδίοις, καὶ τὰς πανούργους ἔχαρισμάην δυνάμεις καὶ πάντεχνον πνεῦμα γεννητικὸν τῶν εἰς ἀεὶ μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι καθολικῶς πάντων.]]
 21 <...> καὶ ἀπέστη, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς ὄρατοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν²⁰ τὰ *(ά)όρατα* πνεύμα³τα ἐπιζεῦξαι, *(έξ)ουσίαν* τε ὁμοιογονίας *(δοῦναι)* ἐκάστῳ, δῆπος [αὐτῷ [αὐτοῖς] ἐτερα γεννᾶ ὅμοια,] αὐταὶ⁴ *[τε]* μηκέτι ἀνάγκην ἔχωσιν ἀλλο τι ποιεῖν *(παρ')* ἀ ἔφθησαν ἐργάσασθαι.
 22 —Τί οὖν, ω̄ τεκούσα, ἐποίησαν αἱ ψυχαί;—καὶ εἶπεν²⁵ Ιοῖς. Τὸ κεκερασμένον, ω̄ τέκνον Ωρε, [τῆς ὄλης] λαβοῦται κατενόουν πρῶτον [καὶ τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προσεκύνουν κράμα], καὶ ὅπόθεν ἡ⁵ν συμπεπλεγμένον ἐπεζήτουν· τὸ δὲ ἦν αὐταῖς οὐκ εὔπορον ἐπιγιῶναι. ἔνθεν δὴ καὶ ὅτι ἐπεζήτησαν ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποπέσωσι χόλῳ· καὶ³⁰

3 εὖ τε κιρικήσας scripsi: εὐτεκεῖν ἵσας FP (κιρικήσας man. 2 marg. P): εὖ τε κιρικήσας Wachsm. 3-4 Fortasse κράματι ἐπιπλάσοντα 4 εναγῇ scripsi: εὐβαφῇ τε καὶ εὐπαγῇ codd. 5 ἀνθρωποειδῆ (num ἀρρεοειδῆ;) seclusi: πνεύματα addidi (vide § 21 init.) 7 ψυχαῖς (ante ἔδωκε) om. P 9 ἱεροῖς δάιμοσι scripsi: ἱερὸν δάιμονας codd. | μετακεκλημέναις Patrit.: μετακεκλημέναις FP | ‘πλάσσετε (πλάσσε τε F) suspectum; fort. λάβετε, nisi πλ. delendum’ Wachsm. 10 φύσεως codd.: fortasse οὐσίας | δέχεσθαι P 11 τεχνιτέας scripsi: τέχνης codd. 12-13 δὲ⁶ ἔγω scripsi: δέ τι FP 13-20 Fortasse λαβὼν εὖ καὶ καλῶς (ἥδη ἀπηρισμένα τὰ πνεύματα ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρίθηκε.) καὶ ἀπέστη, ὑποσχόμενος κ.τ.λ. 15-19 § 20 (τὸν ζῳδιακὸν . . καθολικῶς πάντων) hinc transposui: vide post § 23 21 τὰ ἀόρατα

life-giving substance, and spoke over them certain secret spells, potent indeed, but not so potent as those which he had uttered before. These things he stirred well together; and when the scum which floated on the surface of the mixture had become translucent, he took this scum, and out of it he fashioned the vital spirits of the animals.¹ But the residue of the mixture ¹⁹ he handed over to the souls that had by this time made progress, those souls that had ascended to the places near the stars,² and had been given a new name, and were called 'holy daemons'; and he said to them, 'My children, offspring of my being, take the residue left over from my handiwork, and let each of you fashion something,³ relying on his own ability; and I will set before you as models these things which I have made'.⁴ And having taken . . . well and fairly . . . and then he withdrew,⁵ after ²¹ promising to join to the visible works of their hands⁶ the invisible vital-spirits, and to give to each of the creatures that should be made power to generate others like to itself, in order that the souls might not thereafter be obliged to make anything else beside what they made at first.—

Horus. Tell me then, mother, what did the souls make?—And ²² Isis said: When the souls, my son Horus, had received the mingled mass, they first examined it, and sought to find out of what ingredients it was compounded; but this it was not easy for them to discover. Thereupon they feared they might incur the Father's anger for having tried to find out; and they betook

¹ The writer assumes the 'vital spirit' of an animal to be a sort of gaseous and invisible body, like in size and shape to the gross and visible body.

² I. e. to the highest of the atmospheric strata.

³ I. e. the body of some kind of animal.

⁴ Viz. the 'vital spirits' of the animals.

⁵ Perhaps, 'And he took <the vital spirits of the animals, which were by this time> well and fairly <finished, and set them before the souls;> and then he withdrew'.

⁶ I. e. the gross bodies of the animals.

πνεῦμα scripti (τὸ ἀριστὸν πνεῦμα Canter): τὸ ὄπατὸν πνεῦμα FP | ἔξονται
scripsi: οὐσίαν codd. 22 αὐτῷ (om. αὐτοῖς) Heeren: αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς FP¹:
αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς P² 23 αὐτῷ scripti (αὐτῷ τε Meineke): αὐτῷ τε P: αὐτῷ
γέ F | μηκέτι scripti: οὐκ ἔτι FP | ἔχωσιν P²: ἔχουσιν FP¹ | παρ
add. Heeren: ή add. P² 27 λαβούσαι scripti: τῆς ὕλης λαβόμεναι codd.
28 πάθειν P | ή (post διόθειν) Heeren: ή FP

- 23 ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ προσταχθέντα ἐτράπησαν. ἔνθεν ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀνωτέρω ὅλης, τῆς ὑπερβολῆς κοῦφον ἔχούσης τὸν ἑπίπαγον¹, τὸ τῶν ὄρνέων γένος ἐ[ν]μόρφουν, [[ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἡμιπαγοῦς ἥδη τοῦ κράματος γενομένου καὶ ἥδη τὴν στερεὰν πῆξιν λαβόντος τὸ τῶν τετραπόδων γένος ἐπλαστον,]] (ἐκ δὲ) ⁵ το[ῦ] [δὴ] ἥττον κούφογ [καὶ ἐτερᾶς ὑγρᾶς[ιας] οὐσίας δεδμενον εἰς διάνηξιν] τὸ τῶν ἰχθύων. (ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἡμιπαγοῦς [ἥδη] τοῦ κράματος γενομένου, καὶ ἥδη [[τὴν στερεὰν πῆξιν λαβόντος]] (κατωφεροῦς ὑπάρχοντος)), τὸ τῶν τετραπόδων γένος ἐπλαστον» ψυχροῦ δὲ (γενομένου) τοῦ λοιποῦ, ¹⁰ καὶ ἥδη (τὴν) στερεὰν (τὴν) πῆξιν λαβόντος) [[κατωφεροῦς ὑπάρχοντος]], τὴν τῶν ἐρπετῶν αἱ ψυχαι φύσιν ἔκαινούργουν.
- 20 (ὸ δὲ θεὸς . . .) (τὸν ἥψιλακὸν συμφώνως ταῖς φυσικαῖς κινήσεσι διέταξε [κόσμον], [πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρωποείδεσι τῶν ¹⁵ ἥψιλον [ακ]ων τὰ ἔξῆς ἀπαρτίσας] [οὸν ἥψιλοις,] καὶ (τούτῳ) [τὰς] παντούργοις [εὐχαριστάμενος] δυνάμεις [καὶ πάντεχνον πνεῦμα], γεννητικὸν (έκελευσεν εἶναι) τῶν εἰς ἀεὶ μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι [καθολικῶς] πάντων (φῶν).)
- 24 [αὐτ]αι δὲ (ψυχαῖ), ὡς τέκνον, ὡς (μέγα) τι πράξασαι, ²⁰ ἥδη καὶ περιέργον ὠπλίζοντο τόλμαν, καὶ παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα ἐποίουν. (τοῖς (γὰρ) ἐν οὐρανῷ θεοῖς ἐφίλονείκουν, (ἴ)ησ [εὐ]άυτοῖς εὐγενείας [περικρατοῦσαι καὶ] ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [εὐτυχοῖς] δημιουργοῦ.) καὶ ἥδη τῶν ιδίων τμημάτων [καὶ ταμείων] προήρχοντο· καὶ ²⁵ (γὰρ) ἐφ' ἐνδε οὐκέτι ἥθελον τόπου μένειν, ἀεὶ δὲ ἔκινοῦντο, καὶ τὸ [ἔτι] ἐπὶ μιᾶς μονῆς εἶναι θάνατον ἤγοῦντο.
- 25 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν [φησίν], ὡς τέκνον, (ὡς) Ἐρμῆς [[ὡς]] [καὶ] ἐμοὶ λέγων (ἔφη), [καὶ] τὸν τῶν ὄλων κύριον [καὶ θεὸν] οὐκ ἐλάνθανον [δὲ] πράσσουσαι κόλασιν δὲ αὐταῖς ἐπέζητει [καὶ ³⁰ δεσμὸν δὲ τλημόνως ὑπομενοῦσι]. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ πάντων ἡγεμόνι καὶ δεσπότῃ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σύστημα [τι]

2 τῆς (post ὅλης) Meineke: τῇ FP 2 3 Fortasse κούφην ἔχούσης τὴν σίστασιν vel simile quid 2 ἔχούσης Patrit.: ἔχούση FP 3 ἐπὶ πάγον FP¹ | ἔμόρφουν P²; εὐμόρφουν FP¹ 5–6 ἐκ τοῦ ἥττον κούφου scripsi: τὸ δὴ ἥττον κούφον codd. 6 ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας scripsi (ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας Heeren, ὑγρασίας Wachsm.): ὑγρασίας οὐσίας F¹: ὑγρασίας οὐσίας F²P¹ 13 ἐκανονίγον F¹ 14 φυσικαῖς scripsi: ψυχικαῖς codd. 15 Fortasse κινήσει (τῶν ἥψων) | κόσμον codd.: fortasse κύκλον 16 ἥψιλον Patrit.: (ἥψιλακῶν codd. 17 παντούργοις scripsi: πανούργοις codd. | χαριστάμενος scripsi ('an χαριστάμενος?' Wachsm.): ἔχαριστάμην

themselves to doing the work they had been bidden to do. Out of the upper part of the stuff, which was of very light consistency, they fashioned the race of birds ; and out of the part which was less light, the race of fishes. And when the mixture had become half-solid, and was now heavy, they fashioned out of it the race of quadrupeds ; and when what was left of it had grown cold, and was quite solidified, the souls made of it yet another sort of creatures, the breed of creeping things.

...¹ And God arranged the Zodiac in accord with the movings ²⁰ of nature ;² and having bestowed on it powers of all-various working, he bade it be productive of all the animals that were to be in all time to come.³

But the souls, my son, thinking that they had now done some-²⁴ thing great, began to array themselves in presumptuous audacity, and transgress God's commands ; for they sought to vie with the gods in heaven, claiming nobility equal to theirs, in that the souls themselves had been made by the same Maker.⁴ And so they now began to overstep the bounds of their own divisions of the atmosphere ; for they would not any longer abide in one place, but were ever on the move, and thought it death⁵ to stay in one abode.

But when the souls did thus, my son, the Lord of all (so ²⁵) Hermes said when he told the tale to me) failed not to mark it ; and he sought a way to punish them. And so the Ruler and Master of all thought good to fabricate the human organism,

¹ § 20 was probably preceded by a passage in which it was said that God put the vital spirits of the animals into the bodies (as he had promised to do, put ^{§ 21}).

² I. e. the processes operated by nature in the bodies of the animals.

³ I. e. all that were to be born after the making of the first specimen (or pair) of each kind. (It was commonly thought that births were effected by the influence of the Signs of the Zodiac.)

⁴ I. e. by God, by whom the star-gods also had been made.

⁵ I. e. an intolerable thing.

FP¹: 'έχαρίσατο, οἱ fallor, P²' Wachsm. 20 αἱ δὲ ψυχαὶ scripsi : αὐταὶ τε
codd. 22-24 τοῖς . . . δημιουργοῦ huc a § 53 (p. 486) transposui 23 τοῖς
αὐτοῖς scripsi : τοῖς ἑαυτῶν codd. | πειραρούσα καὶ seclusi (an secluden-
dum καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι !) 24 καὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ P | τυχόνσαι scripsi :
ētūchōn codd. 26 οὐκ ἔτι ἡθελον P : οὐκ ἡθελον F 27 ἔτι (ante ἔτι)
seclusit Wachsm. 28-29 ὁς Ἐρμῆς ἐμοὶ λέγων ἐψη scripsi : 'Ἐρμῆς ὁς
κάμον (καὶ P²) λέγων FP 30 ἐλάνθανον Heeren : ἐλάνθανεν codd.
| πράσσονται scripsi : δ πράσσονται codd. 32 ἡγεμόνι καὶ secludendum !
| τὸ F : τὸ eras. ex τῷ P | σύστημα (om. τι) P² : συστήματι FP¹

τεχνήσασθαι, ὅπως ἐν τούτῳ τὸ τῶν ψυχῶν διαπαντὸς γένος κολάζηται.

26 Τότε δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος ἐμέ, φησὶν Ἐρμῆς, εἶπεν “⁷Ω ψυχῆς ἐμῆ^(s) ψυχὴ καὶ νοῦς ἱεροῦ ἐμοῦ νοῦ^(s), . . .”

27 <... εἰπεν ὁ θεός> ““Ἄχρι ποῦ στυγνὴ φύσις ἡ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὄρᾶται; 5 ἄχρι πότε τὰ ἥδη γεγονότα [ἀργά] μένει [καὶ] ἀνεγκωμαστα; ἀλλ’ ἦτε δὴ μοι τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ θεοὺς (κάλεσο) πάντας ἥδη” [εἰπεν ὁ θεός, ὃ τέκνον, ὡς φησιν Ἐρμῆς]. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἥλθον πρὸς τὸν ἐπίταγμα, “‘Απίδετε’ εἶπεν ‘eis τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ χαμαὶ’ <...>” οἱ δὲ ἐν τάχει [καὶ εἰδον καὶ] ἐνύσταν ἀ ἐθύλετο (ό) δυνάστης, καὶ εἰπόντι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως 10 28 συνέθεντο. (ἐπερωτῶντος δέ) [εἴ τι παρ] ἔνα ἔκαστον τί δυνατός ἐστι παρασχεῖν τοῖς μέλλουσι γίγνεσθαι, ἐλεγεν “Ἡλιος “ΓἘπὶ πλέον” λάμψω.” ὑπισχνεῖτο Σελήνη [τὸν] μετὰ τὸν Ἡλίον δρόμον φωτίσαι· ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ προπεπαιδοποιηκέναι [φόβον καὶ] σιγὴν καὶ ὑπνον [καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι (π)αναφελῆ μνήμην]. Κρόνος ἀπήγγειλεν ἥδη πατὴρ γεγονέναι [καὶ] 15 δίκης καὶ ἀνάγκης. Ζεὺς ἐλεγεν “‘Ος μὴ παντάπασι πολέμοις (ἀπόλητη)αι τὸ φύλον τὸ ἐσόμενον, ἥδη αὐτοῖς [καὶ τύχην καὶ ἐλπίδα καὶ] εἰρήνην γεγένηκα.’” Αρης ἀγωνίας ἐλεγεν ἥδη καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ ἕριδος πατὴρ εἴναι. Ἀφροδίτη οὐκ ἐμέλλοσεν, ἀλλὰ εἶπεν “‘Εγὼ δὲ πόθον αὐτοῖς, ὃ δέσποτα, καὶ ἥδοιν ἐπιζεύξω καὶ γέλωτα [ώς μὴ χαλεπωτάτην αἱ συγγενεῖς ψυχαὶ τὴν καταδίκην 20 ὑπομένωσιν] [ἐπὶ πλέον κυλάζωται].’” ἐτέρπετο, ὃ τέκνον, [ἐπὶ πλέον]

29 (ὁ πατὴρ) Ἀφροδίτης ταῦτα λεγούσθη. “‘Εγὼ δέ’, εἶπεν Ἐρμῆς, “[καὶ] ³⁵ *συνετήν* ποιήσω τὴν <τὸν> ἀνθρώπων φύσιν [ἔφη], καὶ σοφίαν αὐτοῖς [καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ πειθώ] καὶ ἀλήθειαν <π>αραθήσω· καὶ οὐ παύσομαι [τῇ εὑρέσει συνώτ] [ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ ζωδίων τῶν ἐμῶν γινομένων ἀνθρώπων] εἰσαὶ τὸν θνητὸν βίον ὀφελ[ησ]ῶ^(ν); [ξέρδια γάρ [[τὰ]] ἐμοὶ ἀνέθηκεν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ δημιουργὸς <τὰ> ἐμφρονα [γε] καὶ νοερά,] καὶ τότε πλέον, ὅταν ἡ ἐπικειμένη αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀστέρων κίνησις σύμφωνον ἔχῃ τὴν ἐνὸς ἔκαστου φυσικὴν ἐνέργειαν.” ἔχαιρεν [ὁ θεός] δεσπότης [κόσμου] ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ προστίθεται γίγνεσθαι φύλον τὸ ἀνθρώπων.]

30 <...> ἐγὼ δέ, φησὶν Ἐρμῆς, ἐπεργήτουν ὕλην, τίνι δέον

1 τεχνίσασθαι P 4 ἐμῆς Patriit.: ἐμὴ FP | ψυχῆς ἐμῆς ψυχὴ καὶ secludendum! | νοῦς ἱεροῦ ἐμοῦ νοῦς scripsi (νοῦς ἱεροῦ ἐμοῦ νοῦ Wachsm.): νοῦς ἱερὸς ἐμοῦ νοῦ codd. 8 τὰ εἰδή γεγονότα P | ἀλλά τε δῆμος P¹ 7 κάλεσον add. Usener: αἱ <καλείτω τις>! 8 ὡς (ante ἥλθον) add. Heeren 9 Fortasse καὶ εἶδον <τὴν τῶν κάτω ἰρημαν> καὶ ἐνόσσαν 10 δ l²: om. FP¹ 11 συνέθεντο P¹: συνήθουντο F | ἔνα ἔκαστον scripsi: εἴ τι παρ' ἐνὸς ἔκαστον codd. | τι (ante δυνατός) FP¹: τις P¹ 13 μετὸν F | Ἡλίου scripsi: ἥλιον codd. 14 προπεπαιδοποιηκέναι P 15 παναφελῆ Meineke: ἀναφελῆ FP | καὶ om. Heeren 16 πολέ-

to the intent that in it the race of souls might through all time suffer punishment. 'And thereon', said Hermes, 'he sent for ²⁶ me, and said, "Thou soul of my soul, and mind of my holy mind, . . . ¹"

. . . And God said,² 'How long shall the world below be gloomy to look ²⁷ on? How long shall the things that have been made remain with none to praise them? Come now, summon to me forthwith all the gods in heaven.' And when they had come in obedience to his command, 'Look down', said God, 'on the earth and all things there below, (and see how . . .)'. And the gods quickly understood³ what their Sovereign wished to do; and when he spoke of the making of man, they agreed. And God asked each of them ²⁸ in turn, 'What can you provide for the men that are about to be made?' Then the Sun said, 'I will shine . . .⁴ The Moon promised to give light after the Sun had run his diurnal course; and she said also that she had already given birth to Silence and Sleep. Kronos⁵ announced that he had already become father of Penal Justice and Necessity. Zeus⁶ said, 'In order that the tribe that is about to be may not be utterly destroyed by wars, I have already begotten Peace for them'. Ares⁷ said he was already father of Struggle, Anger, and Strife. Aphrodite⁸ delayed not, but said, 'And I, Master, will attach to them Love and Pleasure and Laughter'. And the Father was glad, my son, at what Aphrodite said. 'And I', said Hermes,⁹ 'will make mankind intelligent; I will confer wisdom on them, and make known to them the truth. I will never cease to benefit thereby the life of mortal men; and then above all will I benefit each one of them, when the force of nature working in him is in accord with the movement of the stars above.' And the Master was glad¹⁰ when he heard these words; and he gave command that mankind should come into being.

. . . 'And I', said Hermes, 'sought to find out what material ³⁰

¹ Perhaps, '(make bodies in which the disobedient souls may be imprisoned)', or something to that effect.

² This passage (§§ 27-29) must be an extract from another document. The gods who speak in the council are the seven planets.

³ Perhaps, 'quickly saw (the desolation of the earth), and understood'.

⁴ Perhaps, 'I will shine upon them in the day-time, and . . .'.⁵

⁵ I. e. the planet Saturn. ⁶ The planet Jupiter. ⁷ The planet Mars.

⁸ The planet Venus. ⁹ The planet Mercury.

¹⁰ Perhaps, 'was yet more glad'.

μοις ἀπόληται scripsi: πολεμῆσαι codd. 17 τὸ ἐσόμενον Patriit.: τὸ ἐσόμεναν P: τῶν ἐσόμεναν F 18 ἐμέλησεν F 21 ὑπομένωσιν scripsi: ὑπομένοντα codd. | ἐπὶ πλέον seclusit Wachsm. 22 ὁ πατὴρ addidi ('addiderim ὁ θεός' Wachsm.) | τάδε P | καὶ del. Heeren 23 τῶν add. Heeren | ἐφ' FP: εὐθυνὴ Heeren et Wachsm. 24 παραθήσω scripsi: ἀναθήσω codd. 25 ὄφελῶν scripsi: ὄφελήσω codd. 26-27 Fortasse ἡσά γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἀνέθηκεν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ δημονύργος τὰ ἔμφρονα καὶ νοερά (sc. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους) 27 γε FP: τε Meincke | ἡ Wachsm.: καὶ FP 27-28 Fortasse ἡ τῶν ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς ἀστέρων κίνησις 29 Fortasse ἔχαπεν ((ἐπὶ (vel ἐπὶ) πλέον)) (vide § 28 fin.) 30 τὸ (post φῦλον) F: τῶν P 31 Fortasse ('Εμὲ δῆ, φησιν Ἐρμῆς, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ σώματα πλάσαι') ἴγαν δὲ ἐπεξήγουν ὑπὸ vel simile quid

έστι χρήσασθαι. καὶ παρεκάλουν τὸν μόναρχον· ὁ δὲ ταῖς ψυχαῖς προσέταξε τὸν κράματος τὸ λείψανον δοῦναι. καὶ λαβὼν εὑρον αὐτὸ παντελῶς ξηρόν. ἔνθεν πολλῷ [πλείου τοῦ δέοντος] ἔχρησάμην <εἰς> κατάμιξιν ὕδατι, <οὗτ>ως <δε> τὴν τῆς ὑλῆς σύστασιν νεαροποιήσας[θαι] [ώς ἔκλυτον 5 παντάπασιν καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀδύνατον τὸ πλαστόμενον εἶναι] [ώς μὴ πρὸς τῷ συνετὸν εἶναι ἔτι καὶ δυνάμεως γῇ πεπληρωμένον] ἔπλασα· καὶ καλὸν ὑπῆρχε <(μου τὸ ἔργον)>, καὶ ἐτερόπομην βλέπων [<(μου τὸ ἔργον)>]. καὶ [κάτωθεν] ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν μόναρχον θεωρῆσαι· ὁ δὲ καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἔχαρη, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκέλευσεν ἐνσωματισθῆναι.

31 αἱ δὲ τότε πρῶτον [<(στυγνάσασαι)>] κατακρίτους ἑαυτὰς μαθοῦσαι <(ἐστύγνασαν)>. [ἐθαύμασα οὖν] (λέξω δέ σοι) καὶ τοὺς τῶν ψυχῶν λόγους.

32 [<(πρόσεχε, τέκνον Ὁρε, κρυπτῆς γὰρ ἐπακούεις θεωρίας, 15 ἥσ ο μὲν προπάτωρ Καμῆφις ἔτυχεν ἐπακούσας παρὰ Ἐρμοῦ τοῦ πάντων ἔργων ὑπομνηματογράφου, παρὰ τοῦ πάντων προγενεστέρου Καμῆφεως, ὅπότε με καὶ τῷ τελείῳ μέλανι ἐτίμησε, νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς σὺ παρ' ἐμοῦ.)]

33 ὅτε γάρ, ὡ [<(θαυμαστὲ)>] πᾶι μεγαλόδοξε, ἔμελλον ἐγκατα- 20 κλείεσθαι τοῖς σώμασιν, αἱ μὲν [γὰρ] αὐτῶν αὐτὸ μόνον ὀδύροντο καὶ ἐστέναζον, <(αἱ δὲ <καὶ ἀντε>)πάλαιον,> [καὶ] δύπερ τρόπου τῶν [<(γεγονότων)>] θηρίων τὰ ἐλευθέρ(ι)α δόξινοις πονηρῶν [<(μελήσει)>] τῆς συνήθους [καὶ φίλης] ἀποσπάμενα ἐρημίας <(ἐπιχειρεῖ)> μάχεσθαι [καὶ στασιάζειν] [καὶ οὐχ 25 δύμονοεῖν] πρὸς τοὺς κρατήσαντας αὐτῶν [καὶ στασιάζειν] [ἀλλὰ καί, ἐὰν τύχῃ περιγενόμενα, θανάτῳ παρα<δί>δω[σου]σι τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλοντας]. [<(αἱ δὲ παλαιῶν)>] [ἐτριζον δίκην 34 ἀσπίδων.] ὁδὸν δὲ κωκύσασα ἐτέρα, [καὶ πρὸ τῶν λόγων ἰκανὰ κλαύσασα,] καὶ πολλάκις ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω [<(τοὺς οἵ>)οὺς 30 ἔτυχεν ἔχουσα] μεταφέρουσα <(τοὺς> ὄφθαλμούς, “Ούρανέ, τῆς ἡμετέρας” εἶπεν “ἀρχὴ γενέσεως, <(περιλαμπή τε ὄφθαλμοὶ θεῶν)> ἀστρα, καὶ [<(φῶς)>] ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης <(φῶς)> ἀκοπίαστον.”] αἰθήρ τε καὶ ἄηρ, καὶ τοῦ μονάρχου [<(θεοῦ)>] [χειρές τε καὶ] ἱερὸν πνεῦμα, [<(περιλαμπή τε ὄφθαλμοὶ θεῶν 35 ἀστρα καὶ φῶς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἀκοπίαστον,>] τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας “ἀρχῆς” σύντροφα· ὡς [<(ἀπάντων)>] <(μεγάλων τε καὶ λαμπρῶν)> ἀποσπάμενα<ι> ἀθλια πάσχομεν. “πλέον οὐδ’ ὅτι” ἀπὸ [<(μεγάλων τε καὶ λαμπρῶν)>] [καὶ] τοῦ ἱεροῦ περι-

36

I was to use ;¹ and I called on the Sole Ruler, and he commanded the souls to hand over to me the residue of the mixture.² But when I received it, I found that it was quite dried up. I therefore used much water for mixing with it ; and when I had thereby renewed the liquid consistency of the stuff, I fashioned bodies out of it. And the work of my hands was fair to view, and I was glad when I looked on it. And I called on the Sole Ruler to inspect it ; and he saw it, and was glad ; and he gave order that the souls should be embodied.³

Then first did the souls learn that they were sentenced ; and 31 gloomy were their looks. I will tell you what the souls said ; listen, my glorious son. When they were about to be shut up 33 in the bodies, some of them wailed and moaned, just that and nothing more ; but some there were that struggled against their doom, even as beasts of noble temper,⁴ when they are caught by the crafty tricks of cruel men, and dragged away from the wild land that is their home, strive to fight against those who have mastered them.⁴ And another shrieked, and again and again 34 turning his eyes now upward and now downward,⁵ said, ‘O thou Heaven, source of our being, and ye bright-shining stars, and never-failing light of sun and moon ; and ye, aether and air, and holy life-breath of Him who rules alone,⁶ ye that have shared our home ; how cruel it is that we are being torn away from things so great and splendid ! . . . We are to be expelled from the holy atmosphere, and a place nigh to the vault of heaven,

¹ Sc. in making the bodies in which the souls were to be imprisoned.

² Perhaps, ‘he gave command that the residue of the mixture should be handed over to me’. (It is the *second* mixture that is meant.)

³ E. g. lions or elephants.

⁴ Perhaps, ‘And others writhed like asps’.

⁵ I. e. looking at heaven and earth by turns.

⁶ God’s ‘life-breath’ is the atmosphere.

1-2 ταῦς ψυχᾶς secludendum ! 4 εἰς κατάμεμψιν scripsi : κατὰ μῆτιν (κατὰ μίξας Π²) codd. | οὐτρος δὲ scripsi : ὡς codd. 5 νεαροποιήσας scripsi : νεαροποιήσασθαι codd. 7 πρὸς τὸ Π 15-19 § 32 (πρόσεχε . . . ἐμοῦ) hinc ad initium excerpti transposui 18 καρέφης F : καρέφης Π 22 αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀντεπάλαιον huc a v. 28 transposui | καὶ ἀντεπάλαιον scripsi : παλαιῶν F : πλέον Π 23 ἀλεύθεροι scripsi : ἀλεύθερα codd. 23-24 δόλοις πονηρῶν scripsi (an δόλοις πονηροῖς !) : δούλοις πονηρῷ FP¹ : δούλοις πονηροῖς Π² 24 μελήσει F : μελλήσει Π | καὶ φίλης F : τε καὶ φίλης Π 26 καὶ στασιάζειν FP : om. edd. 27 παραδίδωσι scripsi : παραδώσουσι codd. 28 τοὺς Π² : τοῖς FP¹ 28-29 ἔτριχον δίκην ἀσπίδων seclusi (an scribendum αἱ δὲ ἀλέγον δίκην ἀσπίδων !) 30 οἶνος scripsi : ὡς codd. 31 φέρουσα Ρ 37 ἀρχῆς codd. : fortasse φύσεως | ὡς scripsi : ἄν codd. 38 ἀποστάμενα Ρ² : ἀποστάμενα FP¹ 38-39 πλέον οὐδὲ ὅτι F : πλέον δὲ ὅτι Ρ : ‘num πλέον δὲ ὅτι ?’ Wachsm. : an πλὴν οὐδὲ ὅτι ?

χύματος καὶ *(τόπου)* πλησίου *(τοῦ)* πόλου καὶ [έπι] τῆς μακαρίας [μετὰ θεῶν] πολιτείας εἰς ἄτιμα καὶ ταπεινὰ οὔτως 35 ἐγκατειρχθησόμεθα σκηνώματα. [[τί ταῖς δυστήναις ἡμῖν ἀπρεπὲς οὔτως πέπρακται; τί τῶν κολάσεων τούτων ἀξιον;]] οἵα τὰς δειλαίας ἡμᾶς *[ἀμαρτίας]* *(ἀνάγκαι)* περιμένουσιν 5 οἴα [διὰ τὰ πονηρὰ τῶν ἐλπίδων] πράξομεν, ἵνα τῷ [ὑδαρεῖ 36 καὶ] ταχὺ διαλύτῳ σώματι πορίζωμεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. *(οἱ)* ὄφθαλμοι [τὰς οὐκέτι τοῦ θεοῦ ψυχὰς] χωρήσουσιν ὀλίγον, καὶ [[παντελῶς μικρὸν]] τῷ ἐν τούτοις *(τοῖς)* *(κύκλοις)* ὑγρῷ [καὶ] [[κύκλων]] *(παντελῶς μικρὸν)* τὸν ἔαυτῶν πρόγονον 10 οὐρανὸν δρῶσαι στενάξομεν ἀεί. [ἔστι δ' ὅτε] καὶ *(βλέποντες δ'* οὐ βλέψομεν *(ἄντικρυς)*. [ἐνθεν] Ὁρφεύς “τῷ λαμπρῷ βλέπομεν, τοῖς δ' ὅμμασιν οὐδὲν ὄρῳμεν.”] ἀθλίαις γὰρ κατεκρίθη *(ἥ)μῖν* *(σκότος)*. [καὶ τὸ βλέπειν ἡμῖν οὐκ [[ἄντικρυς]] ἔχορίσθη, ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ φωτὸς ἡμῖν τὸ δρᾶν οὐκ 15 ἔδοθη.] [τόποι¹ τοίνυν καὶ οὐκέτι εἰσὶν ὄφθαλμοι.] ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν φυσ[σ]ώντων ἐν ἀέρι πνευμάτων ἀκού²σαι τλημόνως οἴσομεν ὅτι μὴ συμπνέομεν αὐτοῖς· οἶκος *(γὰρ)* ἡμᾶς ἀντὶ τοῦ μεταρσίου κόσμου τούτου ὁ βραχὺς περιμένει 37 καρδίας ὄγκος. *(πί ταῖς δυστήναις ἡμῖν [ἀπρεπὲς οὔτως]* 20 *πέπρακται [τί] τῶν κολάσεων τούτων ἀξιον;])* [[ἀεὶ δὲ ἀπολύσας ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὧν εἰς οὐλα κατέβημεν ἀπολεῖ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι.]] *(ῳ)* δέσποτα καὶ πάτερ καὶ ποιητά, [εἰ] *(διὰ τί)* ταχέως οὔτως σῶν ἔργων ἡμέλησας; [[διάταξον ἡμῖν τινας δρους.]] ἔτι κανὸν βραχέων ἡμᾶς ἀξίωσον λόγων [ἔως ἔτι δὶ 25 δόλου τοῦ περιφανοῦς ἔχομεν βλέπειν κόσμου]. *(διάταξον ἡμῖν τινας δρους *(τῆς κολάσεως)*)* *(α[ε]ὶ δὲ <. . .>, ἐπιλήσας ἡμᾶς ἀφ' *(οὐ)*ων εἰς οὐλα κατέβημεν ἀπόλγε το³ λυπεῖσθαι.)*”

38 ἐπέτυχον, τέκνον Ὁρε, αἱ ψυχαὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσαι παρὴν 30 γὰρ [καὶ] *(δ)* μόναρχος, καὶ [[τάδε]] ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας καθίσας θρόνου, ταῖς δεηθείσαις ἐφώνησεν *(τάδε)*. [λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ.] [[“Ἐρως ὑμῶν, ψυχαί, δεσπόσει καὶ Ἀνάγκη. οἴδε γὰρ μετ' ἐμὲ πάντων δεσπόται καὶ ταξίαρχοι.]] Ψυχαὶ

1 τόπου πλησίου τοῦ scripsi: πλονσίου codd. | ἐπὶ FP¹: ἀπὸ P²
 1-2 Fortasse τῆς *(ἐκεί)* μακαρίας πολιτείας *(ἐκπεσούσαι!)* 2 καὶ ταπεινὰ (aut ἀτιμα καὶ) secludendum? 3-4 τί ταῖς . . . ἀξιον binc ad § 37 inīs. transposui 5 οὐλα scripsi: δὲ καὶ FP¹: οὐσαι P² | ἀμαρτίας FP¹: ἀμαρτία P² 6 οὐλα scripsi: οὐσαι P: οὐσαι F 6-7 οὐλα . . . ἐπιτήδεια secludendum? 8 δλίγον Meineke: δλίγα FP 9-10 καὶ τῷ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς κύκλοις ὑγρῷ παντελῶς μικρὸν scripsi: καὶ παντελῶς

and from the blissful life we lived there, and to be imprisoned in habitations mean and base as these.¹ Poor wretches that we 35 are, what hard necessities await us! What hateful things we shall have to do, in order to supply the needs of this body that must so soon perish! Our eyes will have little room to take things 36 in; we shall see things only by means of the fluid which these orbs contain; and when we see Heaven, our own forefather, contracted to small compass,² we shall never cease to moan. And even if we see, we shall not see outright; for alas, we have been condemned to darkness. And when we hear the winds, our kinsmen, blowing in the air, deeply shall we grieve that we are not breathing in union with them. For dwelling-place, instead of this world on high, there awaits us a man's heart, a thing of little bulk. Unhappy we! What have we done to deserve such 37 punishments as these? O Master, thou that art our Father and our Maker, why hast thou so soon ceased to care for the works of thy hands? Even yet hold us of some account,³ though it be but little. Ordain some limits to our punishment; and if . . .,⁴ make us forget what bliss we have lost, and into what an evil world we have come down, and so release us from our sorrow.'

Thus spoke the souls, my son Horus; and they obtained that 38 which they sought. For the Sole Ruler came, and took his seat on the throne of truth, and spoke in answer to their prayer, saying: 'Ye souls, all ye that do obeisance to my unageing

¹ I.e. in earthly bodies.

² An object cannot be seen by bodily eyes unless an image of the object enters the eye or is formed in it; the image (of the sky, for instance) which presents itself to our sight must therefore be small enough to be contained within the eye.

³ Or, 'permit us to plead with thee'.

⁴ Perhaps, 'and if the sentence is irrevocable'.

μικρὸν τῶν ἐν τούτοις ὑγρῶν καὶ κύκλων codd. | Λα secludendum τῶν ἐν τούτοις ὑγρῶν καὶ κύκλων? 11 στενάζωμεν F 12-13 ἐνθεν Ὁρφεὺς . . . δράμει seclusus Heeren 12 ἐνθεν Meineke: ἐνθ' FP 13 ὥμασιν P 13-14 ἀθλίας γὰρ κατεκρίθη ἡμῖν σκότος scripsi: ἀθλίαι γὰρ κατεκρίθημεν codd. 15 ἔχαρισθη Canter: ἔχαρισθη FP 16 τόποι FP: ὧπα Heeren: πύροι Meineke 17 φυσώντων Wachsm.: φυσάντων FP | δέουνσαι scripsi: ἀκούσαι codd. 18 συμπνέομεν F: συμπνέμεν P 20-21 τί ταῦς . . . ἄξιον huc a § 35 transposui 23 δέσποτα καὶ secludendum? | εἰ F: καὶ P 27 εἰ δὲ scripsi: δεὶ δὲ FP: δάλλ' Meineke: fortasse εἰ δὲ *(ἀμεράθετος η καταδίκη)* vel simile quid 28 ἐπιλήγας Wachsm.: ἀπολύτας FP | εἰσω scripsi: ἀν codd. | ἀπόλυτε τοῦ Usener: ἀπολεῖ τὸ FP 30 ταῦτα scripsi: τάδε codd. 31 ὁ add. Heeren 32-33 Titulum λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ habent FP: om. edd. 32 λόγοι codd.: sortasse λόγος 34 δεσπόται καὶ P: δεσπόται τε καὶ F

[δὲ], ὅσαι τὴν ἀγήρατόν μου σκηπτούχιαν θεραπεύετε,
 «ἐπέγνωτε δὴ^(π)ου[ν] ὡς διὰ τὰ πρόσθεν πραχθέντα ὑμῖν
 κόλασιν ταύτην ὑπομένετε [τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν].») ἵστε *(γὰρ)*
 ὡς ἔως μὲν ἀναμάρτητοι ἡτε, τὰ *(πλησίον)* τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 φκεῖτε χωρία· *(έπ)*εὶ δὲ ἄρα τις ὑμῶν *[τινος]* Ἡγγιστε^[τ] 5
 μέμψις, *(σπλάγχνοις καταδικασθεῖσαι)* θνητοῖς, καὶ αὐταὶ
*(τὸν τούτοις προσμεμοιρα[σ]μένον χῶρον [[σπλάγχνοις κατα-
 δικασθεῖσαι]]* ἐνοικήστε, *(ὅπου)* *(Ἐρως ὑμῶν [ψυχαί])*
 δεσπόσει καὶ Ἀνάγκῃ οἴδε γὰρ μετ' ἐμὲ *(τῶν κάτω)* πάντων
 39 δεσπόται καὶ ταξιαρχοί.)» *(ἄλλ' οὐκ [δὲ] εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς 10
 ἔτυχεν ἐνομοθέτησα τὰς μεταβολὰς ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
 χεῖρον . . .)* εἴ τι *[δια]πράξετε* ἀσχημον, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ
 βέλτιον, εἴ τι βουλεύ^(σ)εσθε τῆς ἑαυτῶν γενέσεως ἀξιον. ἐγὼ
 γὰρ *[καὶ οὕτις ἔτερος]* ἐπόπτης αὐτὸς *[καὶ ἐπίσκοπος]* ἔσομαι·»)
 καν μὲν ἡ ὑμῶν μέτρια τὰ αἰτιάματα, τὸν ἐπίκηρον τῶν 15
 σαρκῶν *[συν]*δεσμὸν καταλιποῦσαι πάλιν ἀστένακτοι τὸν
 ἑαυτῶν *Γούρανδον* ἀσπάσεσθε· εἰ δὲ ἄρα τινῶν μειζόνων
 ἀμαρτημάτων ἔσεσθε *Ποιητικαί*, *[οὐ μετὰ τέλους καθήκοντος]*
 τῶν πλασμάτων προελθοῦσαι *Γούρανδον* μὲν οὐκέτι οἰκήστε,
 οὐδὲ ἀν σώματα ἀνθρώπων, *(εἰς)* ζῷα δὲ ἄλογα μεταβάσαι, 20
 χαμαὶ πλανῶμεναι *(τὸ) λοιπὸν διατελέστε.*”

40 τάδε εἰπών, ὡς τέκνον Ὁρε, πάσαις αὐταῖς *Γέχαρίστατο*
 πνεύματα¹, καὶ πάλιν ἐφώνησεν “[[Ἄλλους δὲ εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς
 ἔτυχεν ἐνομοθέτησε τὰς διαβολὰς ὑμῶν, ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον
 εἴ τι διαπράξετε ἀσχημον, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον εἴ τι 25
 βουλεύεσθε τῆς ἑαυτῶν γενέσεως ἀξιον· ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ οὕτις
 ἔτερος ἐπόπτης αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἔσομαι.]]” *[[ἐπέγνωτε δὲ
 οὖν ὡς διὰ τὰ πρόσθεν πραχθέντα ὑμῖν κόλασιν ταύτην
 41 ὑπομένετε τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν.]])* *(. . . ἀρχὴ τοίνυν [διαφορὰ]
 [τῆς] παλιγγενεσίας ὑμῖν ἔσται ἡ τῶν σωμάτων [ὡς ἔφην] 30
 διαφ(θ)ορά, [εὐεργεσία δὲ] καὶ *(τῆς)* πρόσθεν εύδαιμονία^(ς)
 ἀνανέωσις) ἡ διάλυσις· τυφλωθήσεται δὲ ὑμῶν ἡ φρόνησις,
 [έαν τι ἀνάξιον ἐμοῦ δόξητε πράσσειν,] ὥστε φρονεῖν τὰ*

1 θεραπεύεται P¹ 2-3 ἐπέγνωτε . . . ἐνσωμάτωσιν *huc a § 40 fin. trans-*
posui 2 ἐπέγνωτε scripsi: ἐπέγνωτε codd. | δῆπον scripsi (δῆ οὖν
Wachsm.): δὲ οὖν FP 3 τὴν (ante ἐνσωμάτωσιν) F: καὶ P 4 ἡτε
scripsi: ἔστε codd. 5 φκεῖτε scripsi: οἰκήσετε FP²: οἰκήσεται P¹
| ἐπὲι scripsi: εἰ codd. 6 Ἡγγιστε scripsi: ἐγγίστε codd. 7 προσμε-
μοιραμένον scripsi: προσμεμοιρασμένον codd. 8 ἐνοικήσεται P¹
 9-10 Fortasse οἴδε γὰρ *[μετ' ἐμὲ]* *(τῶν κάτω)* πάντων *[δεσπόται καὶ ταξιαρχοί*
(an secludendum οἴδε . . . ταξιαρχοί ?) 10-14 ἀλλ' . . . ἔσομαι *huc a § 40*

sovereignty, you have learnt, methinks, that it is by reason of the deeds which you have done before that you have to endure this punishment. For you know that, as long as you were sinless, you dwelt in the places nigh to heaven; but now that blame has come upon you, you have been condemned to imprisonment in the organs of mortal bodies, and must yourselves dwell in the region assigned to them. And in that region Desire and Necessity will be your masters; for it is they that, after me,³⁹ are masters and captains of all things below. Howbeit, not at random have I ordained the changes of your state; but as your condition will be changed for the worse if you do aught unseemly, so will it be changed for the better if you resolve on action worthy of your origin. I myself will keep watch on you; and if the charges against you shall be but slight, you shall be released from the deadly bondage of the flesh, and, freed from sorrow, shall greet again your home above. But if you shall be found guilty of any greater sins, in that case, when you quit your bodily frames, you shall not thereafter dwell in . . .,¹ nor yet in human bodies, but you shall be transferred into the bodies of beasts, and shall thenceforth continue to wander upon earth.'

Having said this, my son Horus, God gave . . . to² all the souls; and then he spoke again, and said, ' . . . The destruction⁴¹ of your bodies then will be the starting-point for a rebirth, and their dissolution, a renewal of your former happiness. But your minds will be blinded, so that you will think the contrary, and

¹ MSS., 'in heaven'. But the sense required is 'in the atmosphere'.

² Perhaps, 'assigned bodies to'.

transposui 10 ἀλλ' οὐκ Patrit.: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Canter: ἀλλοις δὲ FP
10-11 καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν secludendum? 11 ἐνομοθέτησα Patrit.: ἐνομοθέτησε F:
δηνομοθέτησε P | μεταβολὰς (vel διανομὰς) Meineke: καταβολὰς Heeren:
διαβολὰς FP | ἀλλ' ὡς Patrit.: ἀλλως FP 12 Fortasse (ἢ μεταβολὴ γενή-
σεται) 12-13 Fortasse έάν τι πράγητε . . . έάν τι βουλεύσοσθε 12 πράξετε
scripsi: διαπράξετε F: διαπράξῃτε P 13 βουλεύεσθε Meineke: Βουλεύεσθε
F: βουλεύεσθαι P 14 καὶ ἐπίσκοπος del. Meineke 15 ἢ Meineke:
ἢ FP | αἰτιάμαρτα Patrit.: αἰτιώμαρτα FP 16 δεσμὸν scripsi: σύνδεσ-
μον codd. | ἀστένακτον P: αἱ ἀστένακτι? 17 έαυτῶν F et P marg.:
ἐν' αὐτῷ P | ἀστάνεσθαι P 18 ἔστεσθαι P | ποιητικά codd.:
fortasse ὑπόδικοι 19 προσελθόνται P | οἰκήσεται P¹ 20-21 μετα-
βάσαι, χαραὶ πλανώμεναι scripsi: μεταπλανώμεναι codd. 21 τὸ add. Heeren
22-23 ἔχαριστο πνεύματα codd.: fortasse διέδωκε σώματα 23-27 ἄλλοις . . .
ἔσομαι hinc ad § 39 transposui 27-29 ἐπίγνωτε . . . ικνωμάτωσιν hinc ad
§ 38 transposui 29 ἀρχὴ scripsi: ἢ codd. 30 ἢ τῶν om. P
31 διαφθορά scripsi: διαφορὰ codd. 31-32 εὑδαιμονίας ἀνανέωσις scripsi:
εὐδαιμονία codd. 32 Fortasse ἢ (τοῦ πλάσματος (vel συστήματος)) διάλυσις
| ἥμῶν P 33-1 infra: φρονεῖν τὰ ἐνάντια καὶ secludendum!

ἐναντία, καὶ τὴν μὲν κόλασιν ὡς εὐεργεσίαν ὑπομένειν, τὴν δὲ εἰς τὰ βελτίονα μεταβολὴν (ὡς) ἀτιμίαν [τε] καὶ ὕβριν. αἱ δικαιότεραι δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ ὑθεῖον¹ μεταβολὴν ἐκδεχόμεναι (· · ·)

42 (· · ·) εἰς μὲν ἀνθρώπους, βασιλείς δίκαιοι, φιλόσοφοι γνήσιοι, κτίσται καὶ 5 νυμοθέται, μάντεις [οἱ] ἀληθεῖς, [μιζοτόμοι γνήσιοι], ἄριστοι προφῆται θεῶν, μουσικοὶ ἔμπειροι, ἀστρονόμοι νοεροί, οἰωνοσκόποι σαφεῖς, ἀκριβεῖς θύται, καὶ διπόσοι ἔστι τι καλῶν καγαθῶν ἄξιοι. εἰς δὲ πτηνά, ἀετοί, διότι οὐδὲν (οὗτοι) τῶν ὅμογενῶν οὔτε Γέκβοήσουσιν² οὔτε θου[ησ]ῶνται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν [πλησίον τούτων] ζῷον ἔτερον ἀσθενέστερόν τι αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖν Γάφειθήσεται³. ἐνδικω- 10 τάτην γάρ η τῶν ἀετῶν φύσις [μετελεύσεται]. εἰς δὲ τετράποδα, λέωντες⁴ Ισχυρὸν γάρ τὸ ζῷον, [καὶ φύσεως ἔτυχεν ἀκοιμήτου τρόπῳ τινι], καὶ φθαρτῷ σώματι τὴν ἀθάνατον γυμναζόμενον φύσιν⁵ οὔτε γὰρ κάμνογεντιν οὔτε κοιμῶνται. εἰς δὲ ἐρπετά, δράκοντες, δυνατὸν ὅτι τὸ ζῷον, καὶ μακράβιον, ἄκακόν τε, καὶ φιλάνθρωπον οὕτως (ῶστε) τε (ἐνί)ους καὶ τιθασεύεσθαι, καὶ ἵὸν οὐκ ἔχει,⁶ 15 (ν)εάζει δὲ καὶ γηράσαν, καθάπερ φύσις η θεῶν. ἐν δὲ νήχουσι, δελφίνες⁷ συμπαθ[ησ]οῦσι γάρ [καὶ] τοῖς εἰς πλεγασ ἐμπίπτουσιν οὖτοι, καὶ το(ὺς) μὲν ἐμπυνήγεις διακομίζουσιν εἰς γῆν, τῶν δὲ τελευτησάντων οὐδὲ ὅλως ποτε ἀπτονται, καίτοι φιλοβ(ο)ρωτάτου πάντων ὄντος τοῦ τῶν ἐνύδρων γένους.

τοσαῦτα ὁ θεὸς εἶπὼν ἀόρατος [νοῦς] γίγνεται.

20

43 τούτων οὕτως γενομένων, τέκνον Ὁρε, Ισχυροτατόν τι ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνύσταται πνεῦμα, ἀκατάληπτον μὲν περιοχῇ σώματος, δυνάμει δὲ φρονήσεως ὑπερ(έ)χον, [δ] [[καίπερ εἰδὸς ὑπὲρ ὃν ἐπινθάνετο]] τὸ σῶμα [[μὲν]] κατ(ὰ) τύπον ἀνδρὸς περικείμενον, καὶ καλὸν (μὲν) καὶ σεμνοπρεπὲς ὅν, ὑπερβολῇ δὲ ἄγριον καὶ

1 ὑπομένειν codd.: fortasse ὑπονοεῖν (an τὴν μὲν κόλασιν ὡς εὐεργεσίαν [] *〈προσίσθαι〉*, τὴν δὲ ε. τ. β. μεταβολὴν ὡς ὕβριν. *〈φεύγειν vel φοβεῖσθαι〉*)⁸ 2 τε seclusi (an secludendum ἀτιμίαν τε καὶ)⁹ 3 καὶ (post ὑμῶν) F: κατὰ P 3-4 καὶ . . . ἐκδεχόμεναι secludendum¹⁰ | θείον codd.: fortasse βέλτιον 5 Fortasse (αἱ εὐγενέσταται (vel βασιλικαὶ) ψυχαὶ) εἰς μὲν ἀνθρώπους (εἰσελθοῦσαι γίγνονται) — 5-6. Fortasse βασιλείς δίκαιοι καὶ κτίσται καὶ νομοθέται, φιλόσοφοι γνήσιοι 6 ol F: ή P: seclusit Wachsm. | μιζοτόμοι γνήσιοι aut delendum aut transponendum | ἄριστοι codd.: fortasse πιστοί | θεῶν secludendum¹¹ 7 Fortasse οἰωνοσκόποι σαφεῖς, *〈μιζοτόμοι;〉* ἀκριβεῖς [θύται] 8 εἰς τι Usener: ἴστε codd. | ἄξια codd.: ‘num ἄξιοι?’ Wachsm. 9 ἐκβόήσουσιν FP: ἐκσοθήσουσιν Wachsm. fortasse ἐξωθ[ησ]ούσιν | θοινῶνται scripsi: θοινῶνται codd. 10 αὐτῶν scripsi: αὐτοῦ FP | ἀφειθήσεται codd.: fortasse ἐφίέτων 10-11 ἐνδικωτάτη scripsi: ἐνδικωτέρα FP 11 ή τῶν ἀρετῶν φύσις P 12 κάλυπτον Patrit. | κάλυπται FP 15 οὗτος . . . τιθασεύεσθαι secludendum! | οὔτε ἐνίοις scripsi: τε οὐν FP | τιθασεύεσθαι scripsi: τιθασεύθησται codd. | οὐκ ἔχει scripsi: οὐχ ἔχει codd. 16 νεάσει scripsi (νέάσει Wachsm.): έάσει FP 17 συμπαθοῦσι scripsi:

will regard the punishment¹ as a boon, and the change to a better state² as a degradation and an outrage. But the more righteous³ among you, those who look forward to the change . . .

(Souls of the noblest kind,)⁴ when they enter human bodies, become **42** righteous kings, founders of cities, and lawgivers, genuine philosophers, true diviners, trustworthy prophets, skilled musicians,⁵ sage astronomers,⁶ men that find sure omens in the flight of birds, priests exact in the rites of sacrifice,⁷ and all kinds of men that are of high worth in any sort of work. When such souls enter the bodies of birds, they become eagles; because eagles neither drive away other creatures of their kind⁸ nor devour them, and do not seek to wrong any other sort of animal that is weaker than themselves; for eagles are most righteous by nature. When they enter the bodies of quadrupeds, they become lions; for the lion is a strong beast, and one that trains itself to imitate with its mortal body the immortal nature of the gods, inasmuch as lions are never tired, and never sleep. When they enter the bodies of reptiles, they become dragons; for the dragon is a powerful animal, and long-lived; and it is harmless, and so friendly to man, that some dragons are even tamed by men; it has no venom; and it renews its youth when it has grown old, resembling the gods in this. And among the fishes,⁹ such souls are dolphins; for dolphins take pity on men who fall into the sea; they convey the man to land if he is still alive, and they never even touch him if he is dead, though the race of fishes is voracious beyond all others.

And having thus spoken, God vanished from their sight.

When¹⁰ these things had come to pass as I have told you, my son Horus, **43** there arose from the earth a mighty spirit, named Momus, who had a body of enormous bulk, and a mind of surpassing power. This spirit was clothed in a body of manly form; he was comely and stately to look on, but exceeding

¹ I. e. your life in the body.

² I. e. death.

³ Possibly, 'the more right-thinking'.
⁴ This paragraph has evidently been taken from another document, and inappropriately tacked on to God's speech to the souls.

⁵ Perhaps the kind of music meant is chiefly the singing of hymns to the gods.

⁶ Or 'astrologers'.

⁷ Or possibly, 'unerring herbalists'.

⁸ I. e. other birds.

⁹ Or 'when they are in fish-bodies'.

¹⁰ This passage (§§ 43-48) is another account of the making of men, and is inconsistent with the story told in §§ 24-41. Perhaps the words 'When these things . . . my son Horus', and the phrase 'as soon as he saw the souls entering into their bodily frames', were added to the passage by the man who inserted it into the *Kore Kosmu*.

συμπαθήσουσι codd. 17-18 τὸν μὲν ἔμπνοῦς scripsi: τὰ μὲν ἔμπνοια codd.
18 διακομίζουσιν scripsi: διακομοῦσιν codd. 19 ἀπτονται scripsi: ἀφονται
codd. | φιλοβορατάτου Meineke: φιλοβορατάτου P: φιλοβορατάτου (sed a
corr. in o) F: φιλοβορωτοάτου P² | ὄντος scripsi: ἐσομένου codd.
20 ἀδόπτος scripsi: ἀφθαρτος νοῦς codd. 21 τι ἀπτ F: τε ἀπὸ P 22 For-
tasse πνεύμα (φόνομα Μῶμος) | περιοχῆ P²: περιοχῆς FP¹ | ὑπερέχον
Meineke: ὑπάρχον codd. 23 εἰδὼς Wachsm.: εἰδός FP | μὲν (post
σῶμα) om. Patriit. | κατὰ τύπον Meineke: κατ τύπον FP

πλῆρες φόβου· ὁ δὴ παραυτίκα τὰς ψυχὰς εἰσιούσας εἰς τὰ πλάσματα θεωρῆσαν [αν], «καίπερ εἰδὸς ὑπὲρ δν ἐπυνθάνετο,» «Τίνες» ἔλεγεν «οὗτοι 44 καλοῦνται, ὡς Ἐρμῆ, θεῶν ὑπομηματογράφε;» εἰπόντος δὲ «“Αὐθρωποι”, [ἔφης] ἔφη “Ω ‘Ἐρμῆ, τολμηρὸν ἔργον ποιῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, περίεργον ὀφθαλμούς («μέλλοντα εἶναι»), καὶ [λάλου γλώσσης] ἀκουστικὸν [[μᾶλλον 5 εἶναι]] [[καὶ]] τῷ^ν αὐτῷ μὴ προσηκόντων, «καὶ» λίχνον (γεύσει, καὶ . . .) ὀσφρήσει, καὶ μέχρι πάντων τῷ^ν [τῆς ἀφῆς] ἀπτικῷ μέλλοντα καταχράσθαι. τοῦτον ἀμέριμνον καταλεῖψαι κέκρικας, ὡς γενεσιοργέ, τὸν ὄρāν μέλλοντα τολμηρὸν τῆς φύσεως τὰ καλὰ μυστήρια; ἀλιπον εἴσαι θέλεις τοῦτον, (τὸν) καὶ μέχρι [τῶν] περά(τω)ν γῆς τὰς Γέαντον¹ μελλ[ησ]οντα πέμπειν ἐπινοίας; 10 45 «εἴτα [οὐ καὶ μέχρις οὐρανοῦ περιέργον ὀπλισθήσονται] τὸλμαν οὗτοι;】 οὐκ. [ἀμερίμνους] [ἐκτενοῦσιν] ἐπ[ε]ι[καὶ] τὰ στοιχεῖα [τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν]» «[[τολμηρὰς ἐκτενοῦσι χείρας;]]» ρίζας φυτῶν ἀνασκάψουσιν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ [ποιότητας] ἐξετάσουσι χυλῶν,] λίθων φύσεις ἐπισκοπήσουσι· καὶ διὰ μέσογ ἀνατεμένοις τῶν ζῴων τὰ ἀλογα, οὐ μόνον (δὲ ταῦτα), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτούς, 15 (π)ῶς (. . .) ἐγένοντο ἐξετάσειν θελούτες, «καὶ τὶς ἐνδοτέρω τῶν [ἰερῶν ἀδύτων] (. . .) φύσις ὑπάρχει.» [[τολμηρὰς ἐκτενοῦσι χείρας]] [καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ] τὰς αὐτοφυεῖς ὕλας τέμνοντες [μέχρι καὶ] [[τῶν πέραν]] διαπορθμεύσονται[ν ἀλλήλους] (θιλασσαν) ἐπὶ ζῆτησιν («τῶν πέραν») [[καὶ τὶς ἐνδοτέρω τῶν ιερῶν ἀδύτων φύσις ὑπάρχει]]. «[[² ὀρύσσοντες μέτρα]]» αλλὰ 20 [καὶ τούτων] τὴν ἐσχάτην [τῷ θέλειν] (τῶν ὑπογείων) ἐρευνήσουσι νύκτα.» «[[³ ἔτι μέτρια ταῦτα]]» (καὶ) τὰ [μέχρις] ἀνω διώξουσι, παρατηρήσαι βουλόμενοι τὶς οὐρανούς καθέστηκε κίνησις. [[[[⁴ ἔτι μέτρια ταῦτα.]]] [Λείπει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι πλὴν γῆς τόπος ἐσχάτος.] [[[[⁵ ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὴν ἐσχάτην τῷ θέλειν 46 ἐρευνήσουσι νύκτα.]]] μηδὲν οὖν ἐμπόδιον ἔχωσιν οὗτοι, ἀλλὰ [τῷ τῆς 25 ἀληθείας ἀγαθῷ μνηθῶσι καὶ] τοῖς χαλεποῖς μὴ βιασθέντες τοῦ φόβου κέντροις ἀμερίμνῳ βίᾳ (ἐν)τρυφήσωσιν; [[[[⁶ εἴτα οὐ καὶ μέχρις οὐρανοῦ περιέργον ὀπλισθήσεται τὸλμαν;]]] δίδαξον ἐντεῦθεν Γέρανον τοῦ τί βουλεύεσθαι⁷ (. . .) [τὰ 30 δαμασθώσι, τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἀποτυχόντες. χρεωκοπείσθω [ιῶν ψυχῶν] αὐτῶν τὸ περιέργον [ἐπιθυμίας καὶ φόβοις καὶ λύπαις καὶ ἐλπίσιοι πλάνοις]. ἐπάλληλοι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν [ἔρωτες] νεμέσθωσαν ἐλπίδες ποικιλαὶ [ἐπι-

2 θεωρῆσαι, “τίνες” Wachsm.: θεωρῆσαι ἀν τίνες FP | ἔλεγεν Ηερεν: ἔλεγον FP. 3 ὑπομηματογράφε Heeren: ὑπομηματογράφοι FP 4 ἔφης (ante ἔφη) del. Heeren 5 μᾶλλον FP: μέλλοντα Wachsm. 6 τῶν Patriit.: τῷ FP | λίχνον Patriit.: λίχνων FP 7 Fortasse (τρυφερὸν) ὀσφρήσει | καταχράσθαι Ηερεν: καταχράσαι P: καταχράσαι F 8 τολμηρῶν

fierce and terrible. And as soon as he saw the souls entering into their bodily frames, he asked (though he well knew the answer to his question), ‘What are these creatures called, Hermes, you record-writer of the gods?’ ‘They 44 are called *men*,’ said Hermes. Then Momus said, ‘Hermes, you are doing a rash thing in making man; for he is like to be a creature that sees with inquisitive eyes, and hears things he has no right to hear, and indulges greedily his sense of taste, and makes voluptuous use of his sense of smell,¹ and misuses to all extremes his sense of touch. Tell me, you that are the author of his being, is it your settled purpose to leave him free from care, this being that is going to look with audacious gaze upon the beauteous mysteries of nature? Is it your will to let him be exempt from sorrow, this man that is going to send forth his designing thoughts to the very ends of the earth? And if so, 45 will not men put forth audacious hands against the elements? They will dig up roots of plants, and investigate the properties of stones. They will dissect the lower animals,—yes, and one another also,—seeking to find out how they have come to be alive, and what manner of thing is hidden within . . .² They will cut down the woods of their native land,³ and sail across the sea to seek what lies beyond it. They will dig mines, and search into the uttermost darkness of the depths of the earth. And all this might be borne, but they will do yet more: they will press on to the world above, seeking to discover by observation the laws of movement of the heavens. Are they then to meet 46 with no impediment? Shall they never be overpowered by the cruel stings of fear, and shall they luxuriate in a life exempt from cares? Teach them henceforth to . . .⁴ (Make them . . .,) that they may fail to get the things they hoped for, and be subdued by the pangs of grief. Let their presumptuous eagerness be disappointed of its expectations. Let their souls be a prey

¹ This probably refers to the use of scents and unguents.

² Perhaps, ‘is hidden beneath the outer flesh’. ³ *Sc.* to build ships.

⁴ Perhaps, ‘to keep their designs within the limits of what is fitting for them’.

secludendum! 10 μέχρι περάτων scripsi (μέχρι τῶν περάτων Wachsm.): μέχρι τῶν πέραν FP | τὰς ἑαυτοῦ Heeren: τὰ σεαυτοῦ FP | μέλλοντα scripsi: μελλήσοντα codd. 11-12 ἐίτα . . . ψυχᾶς αὐτῶν huc a § 46 transposui 11 καὶ om. P | δηλισθήσονται Heeren: δηλισθήσεται FP 12 ἐπὶ Heeren: ἐπεὶ FP | καὶ (ante τὰ στοιχία) om. Heeren 13 ἐκτενοῦντο Heeren: ἐκτείνουσι FP | ἀνασκάψουσι F: ἀνακάμψουσι P 14 ποιότητα scripsi: ποιότητα codd. 14 καὶ (ante διά) secludendum! | μέσον scripsi: μέσον F: μέσων P 15 ἀνατεμοῦσι Heeren: ἀνατέμονται FP 16 πῶς scripsi: ὡς codd. | Fortasse πῶς (ἔμψυχοι) ἔγένοντο 16-17 “καὶ τίς . . . ὑπάρχει νῦν post θέλοντες transponenda!” Wachsm. 16 Fortasse ἐνδοτέρα τῶν παρκῶν 19 διαπορθμεύσουσι θάλασσαν scripsi (διαπορθμεύσουσι ἀλλήλων Heeren): διαπορθμεύσουσι ἀλλήλους codd. 20 ὄρυσσοντες μέταλλα scripsi: ἀλλὰ codd. 21 καὶ τούτων F: καὶ τούτων P | ἐρείνησον P 23 οὐρανοῦ Canter: οὖν FP 25 ἔχωσιν F: ἔχουσιν P 26 δλῆθεις F: δλυνίας P 27 ἐντρυφήσονται scripsi (an scribendum ἐντρυφώσιν!): τρυψήσωσιν FP 27-29 ἐίτα . . . ψυχᾶς αὐτῶν hinc ad § 45 init. transposui 27 οὖν (post ἐίτα) Canter: οὖν FP 29 τοῦ τί F: τούτη P | Fortasse (μηδὲν πέρα[ν] τοῦ προσήκοντος) θουλεύεσθαι 29-30 ἵνα ἔχωσι . . . φοβηθῆναι seclusit Wachsm. 32 περίεργον codd.: fortasse περισσὸν (τῆς . . .) | πλάνοις Heeren: πλάνης F: πλάνη (supra v superscr. s) P

θυμίαι], ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιτυγχάνουσαι, ποτὲ δὲ ἀτευκτοῦσαι, ἵνα αὐτοῖς καὶ *(τὸ)* τῆς ἐπιτυχίας ήδυ δέλεαρ *ἢ εἰς ἀθλησιν τελειοτέρων κακῶν.* Γιαρείτω πυρετὸς αὐτούς, ἵνα ἕκκακήσαντες κολάσωσι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.⁷

47 [λυπῇ, τέκνον Ὄψε, τάδε *(ἀκούων);* *(καταπλήσση)*] ἐρμηνευόσης σοι τῆς τεκούσης [*οὐ θαυμάζεις*] [*οὐ*] [*καταπλήσση*]] πῶς ὁ τὰς ἀνθρωπος ἐβαρίθη; 5 *(ἔτι) δεινότερον ἐπάκουσον.]*

48 ἑτέρπετο Μώμου ταῦτα λέγοντος Ἐρμῆς ἐλέγετο γὰρ οἰκείως αὐτῷ τὰ εἰρημένα. [*καὶ ταῦτα ἐπραττεν ὅσα περ εἰρήκει;*] [*λέγων*] “*(Ὤ) Μώμε,*” *(ἔφη,) [ἄλλ' οὐκέτ' ἄργη γενήσεται [πνεύματος θείου] φύσις ἡ τοῦ περιέχοντος.]* [εἴπε γὰρ εἶναι με ταμίαν καὶ προνοητὴν ὁ τῶν συμπάντων δεσπότης.] 10 [*ἐποπτεῖηρα τοίνυν τὰ γῆς ἔσται τῶν ὅλων ὀξυδερκῆς θεὸς Ἀδράστεια.]* *(. . .)* καὶ τι κρυπτὸν ὅργανον ἔγω τεχνάσματι, ἀπλανοῦς καὶ ἀπαραβάτου *Γθεωριαστὴν ἔχομενον, φ [τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς] ἀναγκαῖος δουλαγωγῆσεται πάντα τὰ* *(τῶν ἀνθρώπων) ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι φθορᾶς ἐσχάτης [*ἔχον τὴν ἀποτελουμένων πῆξιν]*]. πεισθήσεται δὲ τῷ ὁργάνῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἄλλα πάντα.” 15 εἶπεν Ἐρμῆς [*ἔγὼ δέ*] ταῦτα τῷ Μώμῳ, *(καὶ ταῦτα) ἐπραττεν ὅσα περ εἰρήκει.)* καὶ ηδη τὸ ὅργανον ἐκινεῖτο. *(ἐπόπτε*(ι)*[τη]ρα [τοίνυν τὰ γῆς]* *δ' ἐπέστη τῶν ὅλων ὀξυδερκῆς θεὸς Ἀδράστεια,) (ἔχογ*(σα)* τὴν (τῶν)* ἀποτελουμένων πῆξιν.)*

49 ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνεσωματίσθησαν αἱ ψυχαί, 20 *[καὶ ἐπαίνους ὑπὲρ τῶν γενομένων αὐτὸς ἔτυχεν,] (.* . . .)

50 [*πάλιν ὁ μόναρχος σύγκλητον τῶν θεῶν ἐποίησε συνέδριον.* καὶ οἱ θεοὶ παρῆσαν, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ταῦτα οὐτως ἐφώνησε, “*Θεοί*” λέγων, “*ὅσοι τῆς κορυφαίας, ὅσοι καὶ ἀφθάρτου φύσεως τετεύχατε, οἱ τὸν μέγαν αἰώνα διέπειν ἐσ αἰὲν κεκλή- 25 ρωσθε, οἱς αὐτὰ ἐαυτοῖς ἀντιπαραδίδοντα οὐδέποτε κοπιάσει τὰ σύμπαντα, μέχρι πότε τῆς ἀνεπιγνώστου ταύτης δεσπόσομεν ἡγεμονίας; μέχρι πότε ἀθεώρητα γενήσεται ταῦτα ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ; ἔκαστος ἡμῶν ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ γεννάτῳ. 30 ἀπαλείψωμεν τῷ δύνασθαι τὴν ἔτι ἀργὴν σύστασιν ταύτην. ἀπιστος τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις μῦθος δὲ δοξάτῳ χάος εἶναι. ἔργων ἀπτεσθε μεγάλων, ἔγὼ δ' αὐτὸς ἄρξομαι πρῶτος.” εἶπε, καὶ εὐθέως κοσμικῶς τῆς ἔτι μελαίνης ἐνώσεως διάστασις ἐγένετο· καὶ]*

51 [*έφάνη μὲν οὐρανὸς ἄνω συγκεκοσμημένος τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ* 35 *μυστηρίοις πᾶσι· κραδαινομένη ἔτι γῆ ἡλίου λάμψαντος ἐπάγη, καὶ ἐφάνη πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν συγκεκοσμημένοις καλοῖς.* καλὰ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ θνητοῖς εἶναι νομιζόμενα

to a succession of varying hopes, sometimes fulfilled and at other times frustrated, so that even the sweetness of attainment may be but a bait to lure the wretches on to more unmitigated miseries. . . .¹

Hermes was pleased by what Momus said; for it was said in friendliness 48 to him.² ‘Momus,’ said he, ‘. . . and I will devise a secret engine,³ linked to unerring and inevitable fate, by which all things in men’s lives, from their birth to their final destruction, shall of necessity be brought into subjection; and all other things on earth likewise shall be controlled by the working of this engine.’ So said Hermes to Momus; and he did even as he had said. And when the engine began to work, the keen-eyed goddess Adrasteia took her stand above to supervise the whole, having in her hands the confirmation of all that was wrought by the working of the engine.

And when these things had come to pass, and the souls had 49 been embodied, . . .⁴

¹ Perhaps, ‘Let them be scorched by the flame of desire, that so they may lose heart, and be (the more severely) punished’.

² Perhaps, ‘for he thought there was good reason in it’.

³ Viz. the system of the stars.

⁴ Between § 49 and § 53 might perhaps be placed § 47: ‘Are you grieved, my son Horus, when you hear this? Are you dismayed, when your mother describes to you the miseries by which unhappy man was oppressed? You must hear something yet more terrible.’

1 ἀπεντοῦσας Meineke: ἀπεντοῦσαι FP | 2 ηδὸς P | εἰς ἀθλησιν
secludendum? An scribendum ἵνα [αὐτοῖς] . . . δέλεαρ ἢ τοὺς ἀθλίους!
2-3 Fortasse καίτω αὐτούς τὸ πῦρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ἵνα . . . κολασθῶσι, 6 ἐπι
scripsi: τὸ codd. 7 οἰκεῖας codd.: fortasse εἰκότας vel ἐπιτήδειος
9 οὐκέτι ἀργὴ Usener: οὐν ἐναργῆ FP 10 με ταῖς Canter: μετὰ μίαν FP
| Fortasse ταρίαν «πνεύματος θείου» | προνοητήν F: προνοητικήν P
| Fortasse προνοητήν (τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς) 13 θεωρίας codd.: fortasse ἀνάγκης
| ἀναγκαῖας om. Heeren, nescio an recte 14 ἑσχάρης secludendum?
16 εἶνεν Patrit: εἴνοι FP | ἵγιώ δὲ del. Heeren 17 ἐπόπτειρα
Meineke: ἐποπτεῖηρα FP 18 δ' ἐπέστην scripsi: ἴσται codd. | ἔχουσα
scripsi: ἔχον codd. | τῶν (post τὴν) add. Wachsm. 19 ἀποτελούμενα
codd.: fortasse ἀποτελεσμάτων 20 ἐνεωματίσθησαν Canter: ἐνεω-
ματίσθησαν P: ἐνεμβατίσθησαν F 21 ἑτοχεῖ Heeren: ἑτοχον FP
22-34 § 50 (πάλιν ὁ μόναρχος . . . ἴγενετο καὶ) hinc transponi: vide post § 8
(p. 460) 35-2 infra: § 51 (ἐφάνη . . . κινούμενα) hinc transposui: vide
ante § 14 (p. 464)

φαῦλα, δτι δὴ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ νόμοις δουλεύειν ἐποιήθη.
ἔχαιρε δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὄρων ἡδη ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἔργα κινούμενα.]]

52 [[πληρώσας δὲ τὰς ἴσοστασίας χεῖρας τῷ περιέχοντι τῶν
ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ τὰς δράκας καρτερῶς
σφίγξας, “Λάβε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ιερὰ γῆ, λάβε, πάντιμε καὶ 5
εἶναι γεννήτειρα μέλλουσα πάντων, καὶ μηδενὶ ἐντεῦθεν
λείπεσθαι δόκει.” εἶπεν ὁ θεός, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, οἵας δεῖ
θεὸν ἔχειν, ἀπλώσας πάντα ἀφῆκεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄντων
συστάσει.]]

53 [καὶ ἀγνωστα μὲν ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς παντάπασι.]

10

νεωστὶ γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ καθειρχθεῖσαι [καὶ τὴν ἀτιμίαν μὴ
φέρουσαι] [[τοῖς ἐν οὐρανῷ θεοῖς ἐφιλονείκουν, τῆς ἑαυτῶν
εὐγενείας περικρατοῦσαι καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμεναι, ὡς καὶ αὐταὶ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον δημιουργοῦ,]] ἐστασίαζον καὶ *{οἱ κρεό-*
{σονες}, τοῖς λειπομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὅργανοις χρώμενοι, 15
ἐποίουν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι, καὶ
πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ [οὕτως ἡ [μὲν] ἰσχὺς κατὰ τῆς
ἀσθενείας μέγα ἡδύνατο, ὥστε] οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους
καὶ *{Γέκαιον}* καὶ ἐφόνευον, καὶ [κατὰ τῶν ιερῶν] τοῦτο μὲν
ζῶντας *{(ἡνδραπεδίζον)}*, τοῦτο δὲ *{καὶ νεκροὺς ἔρριπτον}* 20
{ἀδάπτους} [κατὰ τῶν ἀδύτων].

54 «πολλοῦ δὲ ἡδη γενομένου τοῦ κακοῦ,» [ἔως] ἀγανακτή-
σαντα τὰ στοιχεῖα τῷ μονάρχῳ θεῷ ἐντυχεῖν ἐδοκίμαζον
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίου πολιτείας. [[πολλοῦ δὲ ἡδη
γενομένου τοῦ κακοῦ]] [τὰ στοιχεῖα] *{καὶ}* τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὰ 25
[τῷ θεῷ] προσελθόντα τοιούτοις λόγοις [ὑπὲρ μέμψεως]
ἐχρήσαντο.

55 καὶ δὴ «τὸ πῦρ, πρῶτον» *{γάρ}* [καὶ] εἰχε τὴν τοῦ λέγειν
ἔξουσίαν [[τὸ πῦρ πρῶτον]], “Δέσποτα” [δὲ] ἔλεγε “καὶ
τοῦ καινοῦ τούτου κόσμου τεχνῆτα, *{οὐ}* καὶ [[κρυπτὸν]] 30
«σεβαστὸν *{τὸ ὄνομα}*» ἐν θεοῖς καὶ «κρυπτὸν» [[σεβαστὸν
ὄνομα]] [μέχρι νῦν ἄπασιν] ἀνθρώποις, μέχρι πότε [ὦ δαῖμον]
ἀθεον καταλεῖψαι τὸν θνητῶν βίον προ[ς]αίρεσιν ἔχεις; *{Οὐκ*
ἔωσι με *{Γένειν}* εἰς δὲ πέφυκα, παραχαράσσοντες οὐ καθη-
κόντως τὸ ἄφθαρτον» *{μιλαίνομαι γάρ, ὡς δέσποτα, μέχρι 35*
νῦν,] καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν [γενομένων] ἀνθρώπων [ἀθέου] τόλμης

56 σάρκας ἀναγκάζομαι τίκειν.» ἀνάδειξον ἡδη σεαυτὸν χρῆ-
[ματι]ζοντι τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ ἄγριον λῦ[η]σον.
[[εἰρήνη χάρισο νόμους τῷ βίῳ. χάρισαι νυκτὶ χρησμούς.

For when the souls had but recently been imprisoned, they 53 began to quarrel among themselves ; and the stronger men used the weaker as tools, and made them attack each other, and array themselves in hostile ranks, and make war on one another. And the strong . . .¹ and slew the powerless ; and they enslaved the living, and cast out the dead unburied.

But when the mischief had grown great, the Elements were 54 indignant, and resolved to make petition to God, who rules alone, concerning the savage conduct of mankind. And they approached their Maker, and addressed him as follows.

Fire was permitted to speak first, and said, 'Master, and 55 Fabricator of this new universe, thou whose name is revered among the gods and hidden from men, how long is it thy purpose to leave the life of mortals godless ? These men do not let me render the services for which my nature fits me ; they put a false and unmeet stamp on my imperishable being. I am polluted, Master, and by men's audacity I am forced to consume human flesh. Reveal thyself at once to the world that needs thee, and 56

¹ Perhaps, 'tortured' or 'mutilated'.

3-9 § 52 (πληρώσας . . . συστάσει) hinc transposui : vide post § 13 (p. 462)
 10 τοῖς . . . δημιουργῶν hinc ad § 24 (p. 470) transposui 15 λαιπό-
 μένοις P | χρύμεναι scripsi : χρύμεναι codd. 16-17 καὶ πολεμεῖν
 ἀλλήλους secludendum ? 18 ἔκανον codd. : fortasse ἔκανον 19 κατὰ τῶν
 ιερῶν seclusit Wachsm. 20 κατὰ τῶν ἀδύτων del. Heeren 22-23 ἀναγ-
 καστήσονται P 24 ὥπλ̄ . . . πολιτείας secludendum ? 25 τῷ θεῷ del.
 Usener 26 τῷ θεῷ codd. 27 ανάτελον et σεβαστὸν inter se mutanda ! Wachsm.
 28 προσίρεσιν Heeren : πρὸς αἴρεσιν FP 28-37 οὐκ . . . ἀφθαρτὸν et
 μαίνομαι . . . τῆκεν huc a § 56 fin. transposui 34 με scripsi : τε codd.
 μένειν codd. : fortasse ὑπηρετεῖν 35 μαίνομαι Canter : μαίνομαι FP
 37 ἀνάθεψον scripsi : ἀνάτελον codd. 37-38 χρῆσον Usener : χρηματί-
 ζοντι codd. 38 λύσον scripsi (an (κατά)λυσον ?) : μύησον codd.

πλήρωσον καλῶν ἐλπίδων πάντα.]] φοβείσθωσαν ἀνθρώποι τὴν ἀπὸ θεῶν ἐκδίκιαν, καὶ οὐδὲς διαρτήσει. [έπαξίους ἀμαρτημάτων μισθοὺς ἀν ἀπολάβωσιν οἱ ἀμαρτόντες], φυλάξονται οἱ λοιποὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν.] [φοβηθήσονται δρκούς, καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς ἔτι ἀνόσιον φρονήσει.] «εἰρήνην χαρισάμενος τῷ 5 βίῳ [χάρισαι νυκτὶ χρησμούς] πλήρωσον καλῶν ἐλπίδων πάντα») *(καὶ)* μαθέτωσαν εὐεργετθέντες εὐχαριστῆσαι, ἵνα [χαῖρον] [παρὰ λοιβαῖς] παρὰ θυσίαις ὑπηρετ^{οῦνται} ἐγὼ τὸ πῦρ [*ν'*] εὐώδεις ἀτμοὺς ἀπ' ἐσχάρας προπέμψω σοι. [[μαίνομαι γάρ, ὃ δέσποτα, μέχρι νῦν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν το γενομένων ἀνθρώπων ἀθέου τόλμης σάρκας ἀναγκάζομαι τήκειν.]] [[οὐκ ἔωσι τε μένειν εἰς διέφυκα, παραχαράσσοντες οὐ καθηκόντως τὸ ἄφθαρτον.]]»

57 ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ «Καὶ αὐτὸς θολοῦμαι, δέσποτα,» ἔλεγε, «[καὶ] ἀπὸ *(τῆς ἐκ)* τῶν νεκρῶν [σωμάτων] ἀναθυμιάσεως, νοσώδης 15 τέ είμι, καὶ *(οὐκέτι)* ὑγιεινός *[οὐκέτι]*. ἐφορῶ τε ἀνωθεν οία μὴ θέμις δρᾶν.»

58 ὕδωρ ἔξῆς, ὃ παῖ μεγαλόψυχε, τὴν τοῦ λέγειν εἶχεν ἔξουσίαν, καὶ ἔλεγεν οὕτως. «Πάτερ [καὶ θαυμαστὲ ποιητὰ πάντων] αὐτογόνε [δαιμὸν] καὶ τῆς διὰ σὲ πάντα γεννώσης 20 ποιητὰ φύσεως, ἥδη ποτὲ [ὃ δαιμὸν] *[άει]* ρεῖθρα [ποταμῶν] *(τάμα)* καθαρὰ πρόσταξον εἶναι. [*ἥ*] *(άει)* γάρ ἀπολούνουσι ποταμοὶ καὶ θάλασσαι τοὺς φονεύσαντας *[ἥ]* *(καὶ)* δέχονται τοὺς φονευθέντας.»

59 γῆ παρῆν περίλυπος ἔξῆς, καὶ τάξομαι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν 25 λόγων¹, ὃ παῖ μεγαλόδοξε, οὕτως λέγειν ἤρξατο. «Βασιλεὺ καὶ *(πάτερ)*, τῶν οὐρανίων πρύτανι [καὶ δέσποτα] ἀψίδων, *(καὶ)* στοιχείων ἡμῶν ἡγεμὸν *[πάτερ]* τῶν σοι παρεστώτων, ἔξ ὧν *[αὐξήσεως καὶ μειώσεως]* ἀρχὴν ἔχει τὰ πάντα, εἰς ἀ καὶ πάλιν καταλήγοντα ἀναγκαῖος ὀφειλόμενον τέλος ἔχει. 30 *[ἀλόγιστος, ὃ πολυτίμητε, καὶ ἀθεος]* *[ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπ' ἐμὲ χορὸς ἐπεστι]* *[χωρῷ δ' ἐγὼ καὶ φύσιν πάντων]* *(στοιχείων τιμιωτέραν τῶν ἀλλων τὴν γῆν [μετ]ἐποίησας.)* αὐτὴ γάρ, ὡς σὺ προσέταξας, καὶ φέρω πάντα καὶ *[τὰ φονευθέντα]* δέχομαι.

60 ἀτιμοῦμαι δὲ ἥδη. *[ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων]* *[ὅ ἐπιχθόνιος σου κόσμος]* 35

2 ἀμαρτήσει Patrit.: ἐκαρτήσει FP: ἐγκακήσει Meineke
codd.: fortasse φοβείσθωσαν 5 εἰρήνην χαρισάμενος scripsi: εἰρήνην· χάρσο
νόμους FP 6 ἐλπίδων secludendum! 7 πάντα F: πάντα corr. ex
πάντων P 8 ὑπηρετοῦν ἐγὼ scripsi: ὑπηρετήσω codd. 9 ἀτμοὺς F:

put an end to the savagery of human life. Let men be taught to fear the penal justice of the gods, and then no man will sin. Bestow peace on mankind, and thereby fill the world with goodly hopes; and let them learn to give thanks to thee for thy benefits, that so I, the Fire, may render service at their sacrifices, and send up fragrant vapours to thee from the altar-hearth.'

Then spoke Air, and said, 'I too, Master, am made turbid 57 by the reek which rises from the corpses, so that I breed sickness, and have ceased to be wholesome; and when I look down from above, I see such things as ought never to be seen'.

Next, my magnanimous son, Water was given leave to speak, 58 and spoke thus: 'O Father, self-begotten, and Maker of Nature, that power which generates all things to give thee pleasure, it is high time for thee to give command that my streams be kept pure; for the rivers and seas are ever washing off the defilement of the slayers, and receiving the corpses of the slain.'

Next Earth stood forth, in bitter grief; and . . .,¹ my glorious 59 son, she thus began: 'O King and Father, President of the over-arching spheres of heaven, and Governor of us, the Elements, that stand before thee, us out of whom all things get their beginning, and into whom they are resolved again when they cease to be, and reach their end, paying a debt that must be paid;² thou didst make Earth more highly honoured than the other Elements; for it is I that, as thou hast commanded, both bring forth all things and receive them back into me. But now, 60

¹ Perhaps, 'when she in turn was given leave to plead'.

² Perhaps, (omitting the words 'and reach . . . be paid') 'out of which all things (i.e. all organized bodies) are formed by composition when they begin to be, and into which they are resolved again when they cease to be'.

αὐτῷ P	15 τῆς ἐν addidi (τῆς διπλ. add. Usener)	18 οἷα scripsi: ὅσα
codd.	17 μὴ Heeren: με FP ¹ : οὐ P ² marg.	20 αὐτόρονε Meineke:
αὐτούγενε FP ¹ : αὐτογένες P ²	δαιμον. om. Patriit.	καὶ τὴν δὰ 1 ¹
δὰ σὲ secludendum?	25–26 Fortasse ἀφιουμένη (vel ἀφιωθεῖσα) καὶ	
αὐτῇ λόγον ('num ἀφιουμένη τῆς ἀπολογίας?' Wachsm.)	τάξισμα τῶν	
	δλῶν ('desiderium omnium elementorum') coni. Usener	28 ἡμῶν ἥγειαν
	29 καταλήγοντα codd.: fortasse διαλύμενα	codd.: fortasse ἡμῶν δέσποτα
	ἀναγκαῖαν codd.: fortasse ἀνάγκη (an secludendum ἀναγκαῖας δρειλόμενον?)	30 καταλήγοντα codd.: fortasse διαλύμενα
	31–32 δι' ἀνθρώπων . . . ἔπειτα hinc ad § 61 transposui	ἀναγκαῖας codd.: fortasse ἀνάγκη (an secludendum ἀναγκαῖας δρειλόμενον?)
	32 καὶ φύσιν	33 ἔποιησαν scripsi (an scribendum
πάντων codd.: fortasse τὰ φύσεις <i>(γηγνόμενα)</i> πάντα	33 ἔποιησαν codd.	ἐπὶ ἔποιησαν): μετεποίησαν codd.
34 Fortasse οὐ <i>((δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων))</i>	34 Fortasse οὐ <i>((δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων))</i>	34 Fortasse οὐ <i>((δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων))</i>
προσέτραφας τὰ φυευθέντα seclusi (an scribendum [τὰ] διαλυθέντα?)		
35–1 infra: δὲ πιχθύνεις . . . οὐκ ἔχει hinc ad § 61 transposui		

- πεπληρωμένος θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει] «... ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπ' ἐμὲ
 「χορὸς」 ἐπέστη]. πάντα γάρ, δὲ φοβηθῶσιν οὐκ ἔχοντες,
 παρανομοῦσι· καὶ κατ' ἐμῶν, ὁ κύριε, τενόντων¹ *(πεδίων)*
 πάσῃ πονηρῷ τέχνῃ *(φονευόμενοι)* καταπίπουσι, κατα-
 βρέχομαι δὲ πᾶσα διαφθειρομένων² σωμάτων χυλοῖς.
61 ἐντεῦθεν, κύριε, *(έπει)* [καὶ] τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους ἀναγκάζομαι
 χωρεῖν, χωρῆσαι θέλω μεθ' ὧν φέρω πάντων καὶ θεόν. *(μέχρι*
πότε) «*ὁ ἐπιχθόνιός σου κόσμος, (θυητῶν) πεπληρωμένος,*
θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει;» χάρισαι τῇ γῇ, καὶ [οὐ] *(μή)* σεαντόν, οὐ
 γὰρ σὲ χωρεῖν ὑπομένω, *(ἀλλὰ σαυτοῦ γέ)* τίνα ιερὰν ιο
 ἀπόρροιαν. *[στοιχείων τιμιωτέραν τῶν ἄλλων τὴν γῆν*
μετεποίησαν.] [μόνη γὰρ αὐχεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ σοῦ πρέπει τὰ
 πάντα παρεχούσης.]”
- 62** τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶπεν δὲ θεός, ιερᾶς [ἐν τῷ
 λέγειν] φωνῆς τὰ σύμπαντα πληρώσας, “Πορεύεσθε,” εἶπεν,¹⁵
 “ιερὰ καὶ μεγάλου πατρὸς ἅξια τέκνα, καὶ κατὰ μηδένα
 τρόπον νεωτερίζειν ἐπιχειρεῖτε, μηδὲ ἀργὸν τῆς ἐξ ὕμων
 ὑπηρεσίας τὸν σύμπαντά μου κόσμον καταλείπετε. ἔτέρα
 γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν τις ἡδη *(κατοικήσει)* τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπόρροια φύσεως,
 διὸ δὴ καὶ δοσις ἔσται τῶν πραττομένων ἐπόπτης, καὶ ζώντων²⁰
 μὲν κριτής ἀμεθόδευτος, φρικτὸς δὲ³ [οὐ μόνον ἄλλὰ καὶ
 τιμωρὸς] τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν τύραννος. [καὶ] ἐκάστῳ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
63 πων ἀκολουθήσει *«διὰ γένους»* μισθὸς ἐπάξιος.” καὶ
 οὕτως ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἐντυχίας τὰ στοιχεῖα *[τοῦ δεσπότου*
κελεύσαντος] καὶ ἔχεμυθίαν εἰχεν· καὶ *«τοῦ δεσπότου*²⁵
κελεύσαντος» ἔκαστον αὐτῶν τῆς ἴδιας ἔχουσίας ἐκράτει [καὶ
 ἐδέσποζε].—
- 64** καὶ ἐκ τούτου εἶπεν Ὁρος.⁴ Ω τεκοῦσα, πῶς οὖν τὴν τοῦ
 θεοῦ ἀπόρροιαν ἔχειν εὐτύχησεν ἡ γῆ;—καὶ εἶπεν Ἰσις.
 Παραιτοῦμαι *[γένεσιν ἵστορεῖν]* *[οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν]* σῆς³⁰
 σπορᾶς καταλέγειν ἀρχήν, ὁ μεγαλοσθενὲς Ὁρε. *«οὐ γὰρ*
θεμιτὸν» [ὡς μήποτε ὑστερον εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀθανάτων
(διέλθη γένεσις) θεῶν *(γένεσιν ἵστορεῖν)*. πλὴν δτι γε ὁ
 μόναρχος θεός, δὲ τῶν συμπάντων *[κοσμοποιητὴς καὶ]* τεχνίτης,
 τῇ *(γῇ)* τὸν μέγιστόν σου πρὸς ὀλίγον ἔχαρίσατο πατέρα³⁵

1-2 ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων... ἐπέστη huc a § 59 transposui 2 χορὸς codd.: fortasse
 θύρυβος | ἐπέστη Meineke: ἐπεστη FP 2-3 Fortasse δὲ γὰρ φοβηθῶσιν
 οὐκ ἔχοντες, πάντα παρανομοῦσι 5 διαφθειρομένων Usener: διαφθειρομένη codd.
 | σωμάτων codd.: fortasse πτωμάτων | χολοῖς P 7 μεθ' ὧν φέρω πάντων

I am dishonoured ; . . .¹ has risen up against me from mankind. Having naught to fear, they commit all manner of crimes ; slaughtered by every sort of cruel device, men fall dead on my plains, O Lord, and I am soaked through and through with the juices of rotting corpses. Henceforward, Lord, since I am forced **61** to contain beings unworthy of me,² I wish to contain, together with all the things which I bring forth, God also. How long shall thy terrestrial world, peopled with mortals, have no God ? Bestow upon Earth, if not thy very self,—that I ask not, for I could not endure to contain thee,—yet at least some holy efflux from thee.'

Thus spoke the Elements ; and God filled the universe with **62** the sound of his holy voice, and said, 'Go your ways, my holy children, that are worthy of your great Father ; make no attempt to violate my laws, and leave not my universe bereft of your services. Another³ shall now come down to dwell among you, an efflux of my being, who shall keep holy watch on men's deeds. He shall be judge of the living,—a judge that none can deceive,—and a terrible king of the dead ; and every man shall meet with such retribution as his deeds deserve.' Thereon the Elements **63** ceased from their entreating, and kept silence ; and at their Master's bidding, each of them continued to wield the power committed to him.—

Thereupon Horus said : Tell me then, mother, how did Earth **64** attain to the happy lot of receiving the efflux of God ?—And Isis answered : Mighty Horus, do not ask me to describe to you the origin of the stock whence you are sprung ;⁴ for it is not permitted to inquire into the birth of gods. This only I may tell you, that God who rules alone, the Fabricator of the universe, bestowed on the earth for a little time your great father Osiris

¹ Perhaps, 'trouble' or something of the sort.

² I. e. men. ³ Viz. Osiris.

⁴ I. e. to explain to you how your father and mother came into being.

secludendum ? | φίρων P 10 σαντοῦ F : ταυτοῦ P | γέ add. Meineke
 | λεπάν secludendum ! 11-12 σταχεῖσσιν . . . μετεπάσχον hinc ad § 59
 transposui 12 τὰ (ante πάντα) codd. : fortasse τῇ 15 πορεύεθαι P
 16 μεγάλον secludendum ! 17 ἀργὸν codd. : fortasse ἀμοιρὸν | ὑπὼν
 scripsi : αὐτῶν FP (αὐτῶν Wachsm.) 18 καταλείπετε F : καταλίπτε
 Meineke | ξέρα codd. : fortasse ἔπειρος 25 εἰχεν scripsi : ἔχον
 codd. 33 διέλθη scripsi : ἔλθη codd. 35 τῇ γῇ scripsi (γῇ Usener) :
 τῇ codd.

*Οσιριν καὶ τὴν μεγίστην θεὰν Ἰσιν, ἵνα τῶν πάντων δεομένῳ
(τῷ) κόσμῳ βοηθοὶ γένενται.

65 οὗτοι, (τοῦ θείου τὸν βίον [εἰ]πληρώσαν(τες), [οὗτοι] τὸ τῆς
ἀλληλοφονίας ἐπανταν ἄγριον.

⟨οὗτοι [παρ'] Ἐρμοῦ μαθόντες ώς τὰ κάτω συμπαθεῖν τοῖς 5
ἄνω ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διετάγῃ] [τὰς] πρὸς κάθετον ('μολο-
γούσας) τοῖς ἐν οὐρανῷ μυστηρίοις ἱεροποιίας ἀνέστησαν
ἐν γῇ.⟩

⟨οὗτοι⟩ τεμένη (τοῖς) προγόνοις θεοῖς [[αὐτοὶ]] καὶ θυσίας
καθιέρωσαν· [νόμους] οὗτοι καὶ τροφὰς θυητοῖς καὶ σκέπην 10
ἔχαρισαντο.

66 “οὗτοι τὰ καὶ υπτά”, φησὶν Ἐρμῆς, “τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιγνώσονται γραμμάτων
πάντα καὶ διακρινοῦσι, καὶ τινὰ μὲν Γαύτοι κατασχῶσι¹, δὲ καὶ πρὸς
εὐεργεσίας θυητῶν Γφάνει, (ἐν) στήλαις καὶ ὀβελίσκοις χαράξουσιν.”

67 [οὗτοι πρῶτοι δεξιαντες δικαστήρια] [[εὐνομίας τὰ σύμπαντα 15
καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπλήρωσαν.]]

οὗτοι, δεξιᾶς καὶ πίστεως ἀρχηγέτην [γενέμενοι καὶ] τὸν
μέγιστον θεὸν Ὁρκον εἰσαγαγόντες² εἰς τὸν βίον, ⟨εὐνομίας
τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπλήρωσαν.⟩

οὗτοι, ⟨τὸ φθόριμον τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιγνόντες,⟩ τοὺς 20
παυσαμένους τοῦ ζῆν ως δέον ἐστί[ν] [[ἐδίδαξαν]] περιστέλλειν
⟨ἐδίδαξαν⟩.

οὗτοι, τὸ τοῦ θαράτου ζητήσαντες αἴτιον, ἔγνωσαν ώς τοῦ ἔζωθεν ⟨εἰς τὰ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλάσματα⟩ ⟨εἰσελθόντος> πνεύματος φίλυποστρόφου τυγ-
χάνοντος [[εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλάσματα]] Γέαν ὑστερήση ποτέ, ἀνάκτησιν 25
οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἐργάζεται λ[ε]ποθυμίας.³

οὗτοι, τὸ περιέχον ὃτι δαιμόνων ἐπληρώθη παρὰ Ἐρμοῦ μαθόντες, (. . . ἐν)
κρυπταῖς στήλαις ἔχαρισαν.

68 οὗτοι [μόνοι], τὰς κρυπτὰς νομοθεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ [παρὰ
Ἐρμοῦ] μαθόντες, [τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων 30
ἀπάντων εἰσηγηταῖ] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο [καὶ] νομοθέται.

1 τῶν πάντων secludendum? | δεομένων FP 3 τοῦ
θείου scripsi: βίον codd. | Fortasse τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον | πληρώσαντες
scripsi: ἐπλήρωσαν codd. 5-8 οὗτοι . . . ἐν γῇ huc a § 68 transposui
8-7 πρὸς κάθετον δμολογούσας scripsi: προσκαβέτον FP 9 τοῖς addidi
(an secludendum προγόνοις!) | οὗτοι (post θεοῖς) codd.: οὗτοι Meineke
| καὶ θυσίας secludendum? 10-11 οὗτοι καὶ τροφὰς . . . ἔχαρισαντο seclu-
dendum! 13 κατάχωσιν F: καταχώσονται Usener: num αὐτοὶ κατασχέντες
ἐννοήσουσι! 14 φθάνει codd.: fortasse τείνει 17 ἀρχηγέτην scripsi:
ἀρχηγέται codd. 18 εἰσαγαγόντες scripsi: εἰσηγάγοντο codd. 20 τὸ
φθόριμον τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιγνόντες huc a § 68 transposui: sed hic quoque postea

and the great goddess Isis, that they might give the world the help it so much needed.

It was they that filled human life with that which is divine,¹ and 65 thereby put a stop to the savagery of mutual slaughter.

It was they that established upon earth rites of worship which correspond exactly to the holy Powers in heaven.

It was they that consecrated temples and instituted sacrifices to the gods that were their ancestors, and gave to mortal men the boons of food and shelter.

'They',² said Hermes, 'will get knowledge of all my hidden writings,³ 66 and discern their meaning;⁴ and some of those writings they will keep to themselves, but such of them as tend to the benefit of mortal men, they will inscribe on slabs and obelisks.'

It was they that introduced into men's life that mighty god, 67 the Oath-god, to be the founder of pledges and good faith; whereby they filled the world with law-abidingness and justice.

It was they that, noting how corpses decay, taught men the fitting way to swathe the bodies of those who have ceased to live.

They sought to discover the cause of death; and they found out that the life-breath,⁵ which has entered from without⁶ into men's bodily frames, is apt to return to the place from which it came, and . . .⁷

It was they that, having learnt from Hermes that the atmosphere had been filled with daemons,⁸ inscribed . . .⁹ on hidden slabs of stone.

It was they that, having learnt God's secret lawgivings, became 68 lawgivers for mankind.

¹ Or 'with religion'.

² § 66 is certainly out of place here; it may possibly have been intended to stand at the end of the speech of Hermes in § 8. In that case, 'they' would mean the men of after times who were destined to find and read the books of Hermes.

³ Or 'all the secret lore taught in my writings'.

⁴ Or perhaps, 'and will divide them into two parts'.

⁵ Or 'vital spirit'.

⁶ I. e. from the atmosphere.
⁷ Perhaps, 'and if a man runs short of it, he swoons; (but if he loses it entirely,) he cannot get it back, (and so he dies)'.

⁸ Possibly altered from 'is full of daemons'.

⁹ Perhaps, 'inscribed the names of the daemons' (or 'forms of words for invoking the daemons').

additum videtur 23 αἰτιον scripsi: ἀγριον codd. 25-26 Fortasse
ἐὰν *{μὲν}* ὑστερήσῃ ποτὲ *{αὐτοῦ δὲ άνθρωπος, κατέχεται}* *{⟨⟨λιποθυμίᾳ⟩⟩}*, *{ἐὰν δὲ*
παντάπασιν ἀποστερηθῇ,} ἀνάκτησιν οὐκ ἔχον *{ἀποθνήσκει}* vel eiusmodi aliquid
26 ἔχουσαν FP: ἔχον P² | λιποθυμίας scripsi: λιποθυμίας codd. 27 ἐπλη-
ρώθη codd.: fortasse πεπλήρωται 27-28 Fortasse *{τὰ δύοπατα (vel τὰ δι-}*
{κλήσεις) αὐτῶν ἵν} κ. σ. ἔχαραξαν

[[οὐτοι, παρ' Ἐρμοῦ μαθόντες ὡς τὰ κάτω συμπαθεῖν τοῖς
ἄνω ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διετάγη, τὰς προσκαθέτους τοῖς ἐν
οὐρανῷ μυστηρίοις ἱεροποιίας ἀνέστησαν ἐν γῇ.]]

οὗτοι [[τὸ φθόριμον τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιγνόντες]] τὸ ἐν ἄπασι
τέλειον¹ τῶν προφητῶν ἐτεχνάσαντο, [ὡς μήποτε δὲ μέλλων⁵
θεοῖς προσάγειν χεῖρας προφήτης ἀγνοῆ τι τῶν (δε)όντων,
ἴνα φιλοσοφίᾳ μὲν [καὶ μαγείᾳ] (τὴν) ψυχὴν τρέφῃ, σώζῃ δὲ
[[ὅταν τι πάσχῃ]] ἴατρικῇ (τὸ) σῶμα («ὅταν τι πάσχῃ»).]

69 ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσαντες, ὡς τέκνον, "Οσιρίς τε κάγω,
τὸν κόσμον πληρέστατον ἰδόντες (ἀγαθῶν γενύμενον) [[ἀπη-¹⁰
τούμεθα λοιπὸν]] ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν κατοικούντων,
⟨⟨ἀπητούμεθα λοιπὸν⟩⟩ <...>. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἡν ἀνελθεῖν πρὶν
(ὕμνῳ) ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὸν μόναρχον, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τῆς θεωρίας
ταύτης¹ πλῆρες τὸ περιέχον γένηται, αὐτοί τε εὐπαράδεκτοι
[εὐτυχήσωμεν] (ποιησάμεθα) τὴν ἀνάβασιν. [χαίρει γὰρ¹⁵
ὕμνοις δὲ θεός.—]

70 Ὡς τέκουσα, εἶπεν Ὁρος, κάμοὶ χάρισαι τὴν τοῦ ὕμνου
ἐπίγνωσιν [ὡς μὴ ἀμαθῆς ὑπάρχω].—Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰσις,
Πρόστεχε, παῖ.

EXCERPTUM XXIV

Stobaeus I. 49. 45, vol. i, p. 407 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I.* 980
Heeren).

'Ἐν ταύτῳ.

20

I Σὺ δέ, ὡς παῖ μεγαλόψυχε, εἰ τι θέλεις ἔπερώτα.—
καὶ εἶπεν Ὁρος· Ὡς πολυτίμητε μῆτερ, εἰδῆσαι θέλω πῶς
γίγνονται βασιλικαὶ ψυχαί.—καὶ εἶπεν Ἰσις· Ἡ γιγνομένη,
τέκνον Ὁρε, περὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς ψυχὰς διαφορὰ τοιαύτη τίς
ἔστιν. [έπει γὰρ] τόποι τέσσαρες εἰσιν ἐν τῷ παντί, οἵτινες²⁵
ἀπαραβάτῳ νόμῳ καὶ (βασιλικῇ) προστασίᾳ ὑποπίπουσιν,
οἱ τε οὐρανὸς καὶ (δὲ) αἰθήρ καὶ δὲ ἀὴρ καὶ ἡ [ἱερωτάτη] γῆ.
καὶ ἄνω μὲν, ὡς τέκνον, ἐν οὐρανῷ θεοὶ κατοικοῦσιν, ὅν ἄρχει

1-3 οὗτοι . . . ἐν γῇ hinc ad § 65 transposui
codd.: fortasse τὸ ἐν ἄπασιν ὠφέλιμον (έθνος)

4-5 τὸ ἐν ἄπασι τέλειον

codd.: δεύτερον scripsi: δύτων
13-14 καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ταύτης codd.: fortasse [καὶ] τῆς εὑφωνίας
(vel εὐλογίας) [ταύτης] 14 εὐπαράδεκτοι scripsi: εὐπαράδεκτον codd. (an
scriendum [εὐπαράδεκτον] εὐτυχήσωμεν τὴν ἀνάβασιν !)

26 ἀπαραβάτῳ νόμῳ καὶ secludendum! 27 δὲ add. Heeren

It was they that devised the . . .¹ of the prophet-priests, to the end that these might nurture men's souls with philosophy, and save their bodies by healing art when they are sick.

When we had done all this, my son, Osiris and I, perceiving **69** that the world had been filled with blessings by the gods who dwell in heaven, asked leave to return to our home above. But we were not permitted to return until we had invoked the Sole Ruler with a hymn, so that the atmosphere might be filled with . . .,² and we ourselves might be well received above when we ascended.—

Mother, said Horus, grant to me that I too may learn that **70** hymn.—And Isis said, Hearken, my son.³

EXCERPT XXIV

In the same book.⁴

Isis. 'But if you wish to ask any further question, my **1** magnanimous son, ask on.'—'My honoured mother,' said Horus, 'I wish to know what is the origin of kingly souls.'—And Isis said, 'My son Horus, the distinction by which kingly souls are marked out is as follows. There are in the universe four regions, which are subject to law that cannot be transgressed, and to kingly presidency; namely, heaven, the aether, the air, and the earth. Above, my son, in heaven, dwell gods, over whom, as

¹ Perhaps, 'the order of the prophet-priests, which is helpful to men in all things'. Or possibly, 'the initiation' or 'the training of the prophet-priests'. (The word 'prophets' probably here means Egyptian priests.)

² Perhaps, 'with the music of our voices', or 'with the sound of our song of praise'.

³ Here followed the hymn.

⁴ I. e. 'This piece occurs in the same book from which *Exc. XXIII* was taken'.

μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός· ἐν δὲ τῷ αἰθέρι ἀστέρες, ὃν ἄρχει ὁ μέγας φωστήρ ἥλιος· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀέρι ψυχαὶ [δὲ μόναι], ὃν ἄρχει σελήνη· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἄνθρωποι [καὶ τὰ λουπά ζῷα], ὃν ἄρχει ὁ (ἀεὶ) [[κατὰ καιρὸν]] βασιλεύς· γεννῶσι γάρ (κατὰ καιρὸν), ὡς τέκνον, [βασιλεῖς] 5
 2 (ἄνθρωπον) οἱ θεοὶ ἐπάξιον τῆς ἐπιγείου (ἡ)γεμονίδες. καὶ εἰσιν οἱ (ἄλλοι) ἄρχοντες τοῦ (ἐν οὐρανῷ) βασιλέως ἀπόρροιαι· ὃν ὁ μᾶλλον ἔκεινω πλησίον, οὗτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλικώτερος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἥλιος, καθὸ ἔγγιόν ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς σελήνης ἐστὶ μεῖζων καὶ δυναμικώτερος· [ὡς δευτερεύει ἡ 10 σελήνη καὶ κατὰ τάξιν καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν] (ἡ δὲ σελήνη . . .)
 3 καὶ ὁ [μὲν] (ἐπὶ γῆς) βασιλεὺς τῶν μὲν [ἄλλων θεῶν] (ὅς ἀρχόντων) ἐστὶν ἔσχατος, πρῶτος δὲ ἀνθρώπων. καὶ μέχρις ὅτου ἐπὶ γῆς ἐστι, τῆς μὲν ἀληθοῦς θε[ι]ότητος ἀπῆλλακται, ἔχει δὲ ἔξαιρετόν τι παρ(ὰ τοὺς ἄλλους) 15 ἄνθρωπογς, ὁ ὅμοιον ἐστι τῷ θεῷ· ἡ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν καταπεμπόμενη ψυχὴ [ἔξι ἑκαίνου] ἐστι^κ (τοῦ) χωρίου ὁ ὑπεράνω κεῖται ἑκείνων ἀφ' ὃν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους καταπέμπονται ἀνθρώπους.
 4 καταπέμπονται δὲ ἑκεῖθεν εἰς τὸ βασιλεύειν διὰ δύο ταῦτα 20 αἱ ψυχαί, ὡς τέκνον· αἱ (μὲν) [γὰρ] καλῶς καὶ ἀμέμπτως δραμοῦσαι τὸν ἴδιον ἀγῶνα, καὶ μέλλουσαι ἀποθεῦσθαι, ἵνα κάν τῷ βασιλεύειν (εἰς) τὴν τῶν θεῶν προγυμνασθῶσιν ἔξουσίαν· αἱ (δὲ), θεῖαί τινες ἥδη οὖσαι, καὶ ἐν μικρῷ τινι παραθεμιστεύσασαι τὸν [ἐν] θε[ι]ον γνώμονα, ἵνα [μὴ] κόλασιν 25 μὲν ἐν τῷ (ἐν)σεσωματίσθαι ὑπομένωσι [δι' ἀδοξίαν καὶ φύσιν], μηθὲν (δὲ) ὅμοιον ταῖς ἄλλαις πάσχωσιν [ἐνσωματίσθεῖσαι], ἀλλ' ὅπερ (προ)εἶχον λελυμέναι, τοῦτο καὶ δεθεῖσαι (προ)έχωσιν.
 5 αἱ μέντοι περὶ τὰ ἥθη τῶν βασιλευόντων γιγνόμεναι 30 διαφορὰὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς φύσει κρίνονται, πᾶσαι γὰρ θεῖαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν δορυφορησάντων αὐτῆς τὴν κατάβασιν

3 δὲ μόναι F: μόναι P: δαιμόναι Meineke
 scripsi: βασιλεῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἐπάξιοις codd. | ἡγεμονίας scripsi (μονῆς Usener): γονῆς codd. 7 τοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλέως scripsi (θεοῦ βασιλέως Usener): τοῦ βασιλέως codd. 8 οὗτος P: ἑκείνος F | καὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Π 10 ἐστὶ μεῖζων scripsi: ἐν μεῖζον FP²: ἐπιμείζων P¹ | δυναμικώτερον P 11 Fortasse (ἢ δὲ σελήνη τοῦ κάτω ἄρχοντος) 14 θεότητος scripsi: θεότητος codd. 15–16 παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους scripsi (παρ' ἀνθρώπους Meineke): παρ' ἀνθρώπους FP 21 μὲν Usener: γὰρ codd. 22 ἀγῶνα Meineke: αλῶνα codd. 24 δὲ add. Heeren | ἐν scripsi: ἐπὶ codd. (An ἐπὶ μικρὸν τι?)

over all else likewise, rules the Maker of the universe ; in the aether dwell stars, over whom rules that great luminary, the Sun ; in the air dwell souls, over whom rules the Moon ; and upon earth dwell men, over whom rules he who is king for the time being ; for the gods, my son, cause to be born at the right time a man that is worthy to govern upon earth. The other rulers¹ 2 are effluxes of Him who is king in heaven ; and among them, he who is nearer to Him is more kingly than the others. The Sun, inasmuch as he is nearer to God, is greater and mightier than the Moon ; (and the Moon is mightier than the earthly king.) He who is king on earth is the last of the four rulers,³ 3 but the first of men. As long as he is on earth, he has no part in true deity ;² but as compared with other men, he has in him something exceptional, which is like to God ; for the soul which is sent down to dwell in him comes from a place which is situated above the places whence souls are sent down to dwell in other men.³

Now souls are sent down thence to reign as kings, my son,⁴ 4 for these two reasons. Souls that have well and blamelessly run their appointed race, and are about to be transmuted into gods, are sent down to earth in order that, by reigning here as kings, they may be trained to use the powers which are given to gods ; and souls that are already godlike, and have in some little thing transgressed God's ordinances, are sent down to be kings on earth in order that they may undergo some punishment in being incarnated, and yet may not suffer in like measure with the rest, but in their bondage may still retain the same pre-eminence which they enjoyed while they were free.

The differences in the characters of kings are not determined⁵ 5 by the nature of their souls (for all kingly souls are godlike), but by that of the angels and daemons that have escorted the

¹ I. e. the Sun, the Moon, and the earthly king.

² I. e. he is not a god.

³ I. e. comes from a higher stratum of the atmosphere.

25 θεον scripsi : ἐνθεον codd. | μὴ seclusit Wachsm. 26 ἐνσεσαμα-
τίσθαι scripsi : σεσωματίσθαι codd. 27 δὲ add. Heeren | ταῖς ἄλλαις
scripsi : τοῖς ἄλλοις codd. | πάσχωσιν Heeren : πάσχουσιν FP 28 προ-
έχον scripsi : ἀλλον codd. | λελυμένα P¹ | τοῦτο καὶ θεῖσαι P¹
29 προέχουσιν scripsi : ἔχουσιν codd. 30 τὰ ἥδη τῶν F 31 φύσει
scripsi : κρίσει codd. 32 ἐν τῷ τῷ P¹ | κατάβασιν scripsi : κατάστασιν
FP

ἀγγέλων καὶ δαιμόνων. αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται καὶ ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα κατερχόμεναι δίχα προπομῆς καὶ δορυφορίας οὐ κατέρχονται· οἶδε γὰρ ἡ ἀνω δίκη τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ νέμειν, κανὲν ἐκ τῆς 6 εὐημερούσης χώρας ἀπωθῶνται. ὅταν οὖν οἱ κατάγοντες αὐτὴν ἀγγελοι καὶ δαίμονες, τέκνον Ὁρε, πολεμικοὶ ὁσι, 5 (τότε καὶ αὐτὴν πολεμεῖ) [τούτων (γὰρ) περικρατεῖν] τῆς γυνώμης ἡ ψυχή [ἔχει ἥ] ἐπιλαθομένη τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἔργων, μόνων δὲ μεμνημένη [τούτων μέχρι] τῶν (ἀπὸ) τῆς [εἰς] ιερᾶς συνοδίας προσγεγονότων· ὅταν δὲ εἰρηνικοί, τότε καὶ αὐτὴ [τὸν ἰδίον δρόμον] εἰρηνοποιεῖται· ὅταν δὲ δικαστικοί, τότε 10 καὶ αὐτὴ δικάζει· ὅταν δὲ μουσικοί, τότε καὶ αὐτὴ ἄδει· ὅταν δὲ φιλαλήθεις, τότε καὶ αὐτὴ φιλοσοφεῖ. ὡς γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἱ ψυχαὶ αὗται τῆς τῶν καταγόντων περικρατοῦσι γυνώμης πίπτουσι γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τῆς μὲν ἴδιας φύσεως ἐπιλαθόμεναι [καὶ παρόστον μακρὰν αὐτῆς ἀπέστησαν], 15 μεμνημέναι δὲ τῆς τῶν κατακλεισάντων αὐτὰς διαθέσεως.—

7 Καλῶς, εἶπεν Ὁρος, [ἀπαντα] (ταῦτα) μοι (ἔξήπλωσας), ὡς τεκοῦσα· πῶς δὲ εὐγενεῖς γίγνονται ψυχαί, οὐδέπω μοι διηγήσω.—[Πῶς γίγνονται εὐγενεῖς ψυχαί.] “Ον τρόπον ἐπὶ γῆς, ὡς τέκνον Ὁρε, εἰσί τινες πολιτεῖαι διαφέρουσαι 20 ἀλλήλων, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἔστι. καὶ αὗται γὰρ τόπους ἔχουσιν ὅθεν ὠρμῶσι, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτέρου τόπου ὠρμηκυῖα εὐγενεστέρα ἔστι τῆς μὴ οὕτως ἔχούσης. ὅνπερ γὰρ τρόπον ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἐλεύθερος εὐγενεστέρος εἴναι δοκεῖ δούλου,—τὸ γὰρ [[ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς]] ὑπερέχον καὶ 25 βασιλικὸν δουλοποιεῖται τὸ ὑπερεχόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης,— οὕτω δῆ, ὡς τέκνον, καὶ (ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς) (ἔχει).—

8 (Πῶς, ὡς τεκοῦσα), ἀρρενικαὶ καὶ θηλυκαὶ γίγνονται ψυχαί;—[Πῶς ἀρρενικαὶ καὶ θηλυκαὶ γίγνονται ψυχαί.] Αἱ ψυχαὶ, ὡς τέκνον Ὁρε, δομοφυεῖς εἰσιν ἑαυταῖς, καθάπερ 30 ἐξ ἐνὸς οὐσιας χωρίου, ἐν φιλάτελης διετύπωσεν δημιουργός, καὶ οὕτε εἰσὶν ἀρρενεῖς οὕτε θήλειαι. ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη [διάθεσις] (διαφορὰ) ἐπὶ σωμάτων γίγνεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ

2 προπομῆς καὶ (vel καὶ δορυφορίας) secludendum! 3-4 Αν κανὲν ἐκ

. . . ἀπωθῶνται transponendum, ut legatur post οὐ κατέρχονται! 4 ἀπω-

θῶνται Wachsm.: ἀπωθῶνται FP 8 περικρατεῖ scripsi: περικρατεῖν

codd. 7 ἔχει ἡ seclusi ("ἡ deleverim" Wachsm.): an scribendum

ἔχεται, deleto περικρατεῖ? | ἐπιλαθομένη F: ἐπιλαθομένους P | ἔργων

codd.: fortasse ἐνεργεῖῶν 8 μόνων scripsi: μαλλον codd. | μεμνημένη

F: μεμνημέναι P | (ἀπὸ) τῆς ιερᾶς Usener: τῆς ἔτερας codd.

2 φιλαλήθεις P: φιλαλήθης F 15 ἐπιλαθόμεναι Patriit.: ἐπιλαθόμενοι FP

| ἐπίστησαν P 16 μεμνημέναι scripsi: μέμνηται FP 17 ἔξηπλωσας

soul on its way down to earth. For souls that are of this quality,¹ and come down to earth for this purpose,² do not come down without escort and attendance ; for the Justice that rules on high knows how to assign to each his due, even though they be exiled from the Happy Land. And so, my son Horus, when **6** the angels and daemons who bring the kingly soul down from above are warlike, then that soul wages war ; when they are peaceful, then it maintains peace ; when they are disposed for judicial work, then it sits in judgement ; when they are given to music, then it sings ; when they are truth-lovers, then it pursues philosophy. For these souls, as of necessity, cling to the temper of the angels and daemons who bring them down to earth ; for when they sink into the condition of man, they forget their own nature, and bethink them only of the disposition of those who have shut them up in the body.'--

'Mother,' said Horus, 'you have full well explained these **7** things to me ; but you have not yet told me what is the origin of *noble* souls.'—*Isis.* 'Just as on earth, my son, there are certain grades of social standing which differ one from another, even so it is with the souls. For the souls also have certain places whence they come ; and the soul which has come from a more glorious place is nobler than one that is not thus exalted. For just as among men the free man is held to be nobler than the slave, because that which is of superior and kingly nature necessarily enslaves that which is inferior, even so it is, my son, in the case of the souls.'—

Horus. 'Tell me, mother, what is the origin of *male and female* **8** souls.'—*Isis.* 'The souls, my son Horus, are all of one nature, inasmuch as they all come from one place, that place where the Maker fashioned them ;³ and they are neither male nor female ; for the difference of sex arises in bodies, and not in

¹ I. e. that are godlike.

² Viz. the atmosphere.

³ I. e. to reign as kings there.

addidi (ἔδηλωσας add. Heeren) 19 Titulum πῶς . . . ψυχαὶ habent FP
20 πολιτείᾳ P 21 ἀλλήλων codd. : fortasse τῶν ἄλλων 23 ὡρμηκνίᾳ
 scripsi: ὄρμηκνά codd. 24 ἐν (post τρόπον) scripsi: ἐπ' codd. 25 Fort-
 tasse τὸ γῆρας [] <τὴν φύσει> ὑπερέχον 25-26 καὶ βασιλικὸν secluden-
 dum ! 26 δοντοποίεται Usener: δοντοποῖος codd. 27 καὶ ἐν ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς ἔχει scripsi: καὶ <ταῦτ' ἔχει> Heeren: καὶ <ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἔστιν>
 Wachsm. 28 πῶς, ὡς τεκοῦσα addidi (πῶς δὲ ὡς τεκοῦσα add. Wachsm.)
29 Titulum πῶς . . . γίγνονται ψυχαὶ (ψυχαὶ om. F) habent FP 30 ὡς
 om. FP² 31 διετύπωσεν P²: διατυπώσαι P¹: διατυπώσαι F

9 ἀσωμάτων. ή δὲ [[διαφορὰ]] *(αιτία)* τοῦ τὰς μὲν *(τῶν ἀρρένων)* *(ό)βριμω[δεσ]τέρας* εἶναι, τὰς δὲ *(τῶν θηλειῶν)* εὐαφεῖς, < . . . > ὁ ἀήρ ἐστι, τέκνον Ὀρε, ἐν φῷ πάντα γίγνεται· ἀήρ δὲ *ψυχῆς* ἐστιν¹ < . . . > αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα δὲ περιβέβληται, ὅπερ στοιχείων ἐστὶ φύραμα, γῆς καὶ ὑδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ 5 πυρός. ἔπει οὖν τὸ μὲν τῶν θηλειῶν σύγκριμα πλεονάζει μὲν τῷ ὑγρῷ καὶ *(τῷ)* ψυχρῷ, λείπεται δὲ τῷ ἔηρῳ καὶ *(τῷ)* θερμῷ, παρὰ τοῦτο η εἰς τοιούτον πλάσμα συγκλειομένη ψυχὴ δύνυρος γίγνεται καὶ τρυφερά, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρρένων τὸ ἐναντίον ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν γὰρ τούτοις πλεονάζει μὲν τὸ 10 ἔηρὸν καὶ τὸ θερμόν, λείπεται δὲ τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ *(τὸ)* ὑγρόν, *(καὶ)* διὰ τοῦτο αἱ ἐν τοιούτοις σώμασι ψυχαὶ τραχεῖαι καὶ ἐργατικότερα εἰσὶ.—

10 Πῶς γίγνονται [αἱ] ψυχαὶ συνεταί, ὡς τεκοῦσα;—καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἱσις [Πῶς γίγνονται αἱ ψυχαὶ] Τὸ δρατικόν,¹⁵ ὡς τέκνον, περιβέβληται χιτώσιν. ὅταν οὗτοι οἱ χιτῶνες πυκνοὶ ὡσι καὶ παχεῖς, ἀμβλυωπεῖ δὲ ὄφθαλμός· ἔαν δὲ ἀραιοὶ καὶ λεπτοί, τότε ὀξυωπέστατα βλέπεται. οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ αὐτῇ ἴδια περιβόλαια, ἀσώματα, καθὸ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀσώματός ἐστι. τὰ δὲ περιβόλαια ταῦτα ἀ(ἔ)ρος²⁰ *(χιτῶνές)* εἰσι τογὴ ἐν ἡμῖν. ὅταν οὗτοι ὡσι λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀραιοὶ καὶ διαυγεῖς, τότε συνετὴ η ψυχή ἐστιν· ὅταν δὲ τούναντίον πυκνοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ τεθολωμένοι, [[τότε]] ὡς ἐν χειμῶνι, <τότε> ἐπὶ μακρὸν οὐ βλέπεται, ἀλλὰ τ(oσ)αῦτα ὅσα παρὰ ποσὶ κεῖται.—

II καὶ εἶπεν Ὀρος· Διὰ τίνα οὖν αἰτίαν, ὡς τεκοῦσα, οἱ ἔξω τῆς ἱεροτάτης ἡμῶν χώρας ἀνθρωποι [ταῖς διανοίαις] οὐχ οὕτως εἰσὶ συνετοὶ ὡς οἱ ἡμέτεροι;—καὶ εἶπεν Ἱσις· Ἡ γῆ μέσον τοῦ παντὸς ὑπτία κεῖται, ὥσπερ ἀνθρωπος, <πρὸς>

1-4 Fortasse η δὲ altria . . . <οὐχ> δ ἀήρ ἐστι, τέκνον Ὀρε, ἐν φῷ [οὔπω ἐνσωματωθεῖσα φέτι (?) η ψυχή, ἀλλὰ] οὗτὸ τὸ σῶμα δὲ περιβέβληται δὲ βριμωτέρας scripsi: *Βριμωδεστέρας* codd. 5 στοιχείων Patrit.: στοιχεῖον FP 10 ἐν scripsi: ἐπὶ codd. 12 Fortasse *τραχύτεροι* 14 γίγνεται P 15 Titulum Πῶς γίγνονται (γίγνεται P) αἱ ψυχαὶ (deest συνται) habent FP 16 Fortasse <καὶ> ὅταν <μὲν> 17 ἀμβλυωπεῖ Canter: ὀξυωπεῖ FP: οὐκ ὀξυωπεῖ P² 18 καὶ βλεπτοὶ P¹ | Βλέπει Meineke: *βλέπουσιν* FP 19 ἔχει γὰρ ἔχει γὰρ P¹ 19-20 ἀσώματα . . . ἀσώματός ἐστι secludendum! 20-21 δέρος χιτῶνές scripsi: δέρες P¹: ἄρες FP¹ 21 εἰσὶ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν scripsi: εἰσὶν οἱ ἐν ἡμῖν codd. | Fortasse <καὶ> ὅταν <μὲν> 23-24 Fortasse ὡς (δ ἀήρ) ἐν χειμῶνι 24 τοσαῦτα scripsi: ταῦτα codd. 25 παρὰ ποσὶ Patrit.: παρὰ πᾶσι FP 27-28 οὐχ οὗτος Heeren: οὐκ ὅντας codd. 29 κεῖται P: κεῖται καὶ κεῖται F

incorporeal beings. And the reason why the souls of males 9 are more robust, and those of females delicate, . . . the body itself, in which the soul is enwrapped.¹ The body is a mixture of the elements, that is, of earth, water, air, and fire; and so, since the body of the female has in its composition an excess of the fluid element and the cold element,² and a deficiency of the dry element and the hot element,³ the result is that the soul which is enclosed in a bodily frame of this nature is melting⁴ and voluptuous, just as in males one finds the reverse; for in males there is an excess of the dry element and the hot element, and a deficiency of the cold element and the fluid element, and hence it is that the souls in male bodies are rougher and more energetic.'⁵—

Horus. 'Tell me, mother, what is the origin of intelligent 10 souls?'—Isis replied, 'The organ of sight, my son, is wrapped in membranes; and when these membranes are dense and thick, the eye sees but dimly, but if they are rare and thin, it sees with the greatest keenness. And even so it is in the case of the soul. For the soul also has certain wrappings of its own, which are incorporeal, inasmuch as the soul itself is incorporeal. These wrappings are coats made of the air that is within us.⁶ When these coats are thin and rare and transparent, then the soul is intelligent; but when on the other hand they are dense and thick and muddied, as the outer air is in stormy weather, then the soul cannot see far, but sees only what is close at hand.'—

And Horus said, 'Why is it then, mother, that the men who 11 dwell beyond the borders of our most holy land⁷ are not so intelligent as our people are?'—'The Earth', said Isis, 'lies in the middle of the universe, stretched on her back, as a human

¹ Perhaps, 'the cause of the fact that the souls of males are more robust, and those of females delicate, is (not) the air, my son, in which (the soul dwelt before it was embodied, but) simply the body in which the soul is enwrapped' (that is to say, this difference in incarnate souls results, not from any difference in the air in which the souls resided before their incarnation, but from a difference in the bodies in which they are incarnated).

² I.e. of water and air.

³ I.e. of earth and fire.

⁴ Or 'soft'; more literally, 'diluted'.

⁵ Or 'how do souls become intelligent!'

⁶ Or 'layers of the air that is within us'.

⁷ I.e. Egypt.

οὐρανὸν βλέπουσα. μεμέρισται δὲ καθ' ὅσα μέρη ὁ ἀνθρωπός
μερίζεται [〈έμ〉]βλέπει δ' [έν] οὐρανῷ καθάπερ πατρὶ ἴδιῳ,
ὅπως ταῖς ἐκείνου μεταβολαῖς καὶ αὐτὴ [τὰ ἴδια] συμμετα-
βάλλῃ·] καὶ πρὸς μὲν τῷ νότῳ τοῦ παντὸς κειμένην ἔχει τὴν
κεφαλήν, πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἀπηλιώτῃ *(τὸν)* δεξιὸν ώμον, *(πρὸς δὲ 5*
τῷ λιβὶ τὸν εὐώνυμον,) ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον τοὺς πόδας, [*τὸν*
δὲ εὐώνυμον ὑπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς ἄρκτου,] τοὺς δὲ μηροὺς ἐν
12 τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἄρκτον [τὰ δὲ μέσα ἐν τοῖς μέσοις]. καὶ
τούτου σημεῖον ἔστι τὸ τοὺς μὲν νοτιαίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ
ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ *(τῆς γῆς)* οἰκοῦντας εὐκορύφους *(⟨εἶναι⟩)* καὶ 10
καλλίτριχας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπηλιωτικοὺς πρὸς μάχην προχέρους
[⟨εἶναι⟩] καὶ τοξικούς,—[αἵτια] *(κρείττων)* γὰρ τούτοις ἡ
δεξιὰ χείρ ἔστι,—τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ λιβὶ ἀσφαλεῖς¹ εἶναι καὶ ὡς
ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῖστον ἀριστερομάχους [καὶ ⟨έν⟩ ὅσοις ἄλλοι τῷ
δεξιῷ μέρει ἐνεργοῦσιν, αὐτὸς τῷ εὐωνύμῳ *(προστιθεμένους)*, 15
τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον *(πρὸς τινα)* ⟨. . .⟩ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ
ἄλλως εὐκνήμους. [τοὺς] *(οἱ)* δὲ μετὰ τούτους καὶ μικρῷ
πόρρῳ [τὸ νῦν Ἰταλικὸν κλίμα καὶ τὸ Ἑλλαδικόν], πάντες
δὴ οὗτοι καλλίμηροί εἰσι καὶ εὐπυγγονότεροι [ὡστε τῇ τοῦ
κάλλους τῶν μερῶν τούτων ὑπερβολῇ καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα 20
ἀνθρώπους καταβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄρρενων δμιλίαν.]

13 πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη *(τῆς γῆς)*, πρὸς *(τινα μὲν ἐνεργὰ*
δῆτα, πρὸς δὲ) τὰ ἄλλα ἀργά *(δῆτα), ἀργοτέρους (τὴν νόσιν)*
ἥνεγκε καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τῷ
μέσῳ τῆς γῆς κεῖται ἡ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν ἱερωτάτη χώρα, 25
τὸ δὲ μέσον τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος *[μόνης]* τῆς καρδίας
ἔστι σηκός, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ὄρμητήριον ἔστι *(ν ἡ)* καρδία, παρὰ
ταῦτην τὴν αἴτιαν, ὡς τέκνον, *(οἱ)* ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρωποί τὰ μὲν
ἄλλα ἔχουσιν οὐχ ἥττον ὅσα καὶ πάντες, ἔξαιρετον δὲ τῶν
πάντων νοερώτεροί εἰσι *[καὶ σώφρονες]*, ὡς ἀν ἐπὶ καρδίας 30
(γῆς) γενόμενοι καὶ τραφέντες.

14 ἄλλως τε, ὁ μὲν νότος, ὁ παῖ, δεκτικὸς ὁν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
περιέχοντος συνισταμένων νεφῶν, ⟨. . .⟩. αὐτίκα γοῦν καὶ

1 μεμέρισται scripsi: μεμερισμένη FP²: μεμερισμένοι P¹ | καθ' ὅσα μέρη
Wachsm.: καὶ ὅσα μέλη FP | δ (ante ἀνθρωπός) om. P 2 μερίζεται
scripsi: μελίζεται codd. | ἐμβλέπει δ' Heeren: βλέπει δ' ἐν FP
3-4 συμμεταβάλλει P 5 τὸν (ante δεξιὸν) add. Heeren 5-8 πρὸς
δὲ . . . εὐώνυμον add. Heeren 8 τὴν ἄρκτον scripsi (τῆς ἄρκτου Heeren):
τὰς ἄρκτους FP 10 καὶ καὶ F 12 τοξικούς P²: τοξικούς FP¹:
fortasse τοξεύειν δειγνούς | τούτους scripsi: τούτων codd. 13 ἀσφα-

being might lie, facing toward heaven. She is parted out into as many different members as a man; and her head lies toward the South of the universe, her right shoulder toward the East and her left shoulder toward the West; her feet lie beneath the Great Bear,¹ and her thighs are situated in the regions which follow next to the South of the Bear. Evidence of this may be seen in the fact that the men of the South, who dwell where the top of Earth's head lies, have the tops of their heads well developed, and have handsome hair; the men of the East are apt for battle, and are good bowmen, because in them the right hand is the stronger; the men of the West are . . . , and for the most part fight with the left hand; and those who live beneath the Bear have strong² feet, and sturdy legs as well. And those who come next after them, and dwell a little farther from the North,³ all these have comely thighs and well-shaped buttocks. Now all these parts of the earth are active in some respects,¹³ but sluggish in all else, and the men whom they produce are somewhat sluggish in intelligence. But the right holy land of our ancestors lies in the middle of the earth; and the middle of the human body is the sanctuary of the heart, and the heart is the head-quarters of the soul; and that, my son, is the reason why the men of this land, while they have in equal measure all other things that all the rest possess, have this advantage over all other men, that they are more intelligent. It could not be otherwise, seeing that they are born and bred upon Earth's heart.

And there is another reason also. The South, my son, being receptive of the clouds which are formed by condensation from the atmosphere, (. . .). Indeed, it is said to be in consequence

¹ I.e. in the far North.

² Or possibly ' swift'.

³ That is, in or about the latitude of Italy and Greece.

λεῖς εἶναι codd. : exspectes ἐναγτίος διακειμένους	14 ἐν ὅσοις scripsi :
ὅσον codd. 15 προστιθεμένους codd. : fortasse [πρός τι] (χρωμένοις)	15 προστιθεμένους codd. : fortasse [πρός τι] (χρωμένοις)
16 Fortasse (ταχεῖς) τοὺς πόδας	17 ἀλλως Patriit. : ἄλλους codd.
18 πόρρω codd. : fortasse πορρωτέρω κλῆμα F 19 δὲ Wachsm. : δὲ FP εἰπηγύτεροι Barth : εἰπηγυότεροι FP 20 μερῶν Canter : μερῶν FP	18 πόρρω codd. : fortasse πορρωτέρω κλῆμα F 19 δὲ Wachsm. : δὲ FP εἰπηγύτεροι Barth : εἰπηγυότεροι FP 20 μερῶν Canter : μερῶν FP
22 τὰ (post ταῦτα) om. P μέρη Heeren : μέλη FP 24 καὶ secludendum ? ἀπ' αὐτῶν scripsi (ἐπ' αὐτῶν Heeren) : ἀπ' αὐτῆς FP 26 γῆς om. P ¹ κεῖται om. P ημῶν Patriit. : ημῶν FP 27 ἔστιν η scripsi : ἔστι codd. 28 οἱ add. Heeren 30 καὶ σάφρονες seclusi (an scribendum καὶ φρονιμώτεροι ?) 31 γενόμενοι P ² : γενήμενοι FP ¹	22 τὰ (post ταῦτα) om. P μέρη Heeren : μέλη FP 24 καὶ secludendum ? ἀπ' αὐτῶν scripsi (ἐπ' αὐτῶν Heeren) : ἀπ' αὐτῆς FP 26 γῆς om. P ¹ κεῖται om. P ημῶν Patriit. : ημῶν FP 27 ἔστιν η scripsi : ἔστι codd. 28 οἱ add. Heeren 30 καὶ σάφρονες seclusi (an scribendum καὶ φρονιμώτεροι ?) 31 γενόμενοι P ² : γενήμενοι FP ¹
33 Lacunam signavit Meineke	

διὰ τὴν οὔτως αὐτῶν γενομένων ἐκεῖ(σε) [κ] ἀνακομιδὴν ἐκεῖθεν
ρεῖν λέγουσιν καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον πο(ταμόν), λυομένης ἐκεῖ τῆς
πάχνης¹. ὅπου δὲ ἀν ἐμπέσῃ νεφέλη, τὸν ὑποκείμενον
ηχλυσεν ἀέρα, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καπνοῦ κατέπλισε· καπνὸς
δὲ ἡ ἀχλὺς οὐ μόνον ὁμάτων ἔστιν ἐμπόδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοῦ.⁵

ὅ δὲ ἀπηλιώτης, ω̄ μεγαλόδοξε² Όρε, τῇ σύνεγγυς τοῦ ἡλίου
ἀνατολῆ³ θορυβούμενος καὶ ἐκθερμαινόμενος, δμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ
ἀντικείμενος τούτῳ λίψ μετέχων τῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ δυσμάς,
(οὐκ) [οὐδεμίαν] εἰλικρινῆ *(τὴν)* [ἐπι] σύνεσιν ποιοῦσι τῶν
παρ' αὐτοῖς γεννωμένων ἀνθρώπων⁴ ὁ δὲ βορέας τῇ συμ-⁵
φύτῳ ψυχρίᾳ ἀποπήσσει μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὸν νοῦν
15 τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων. τὸ δὲ μέσον τούτων, [εἰλικρινὲς
δν καὶ] ἀτάραχον *(δν)*, καὶ *(αὐτὸ καθ')* ἐαυτὸ προ[λ]έχει, καὶ
τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ *(γεννωμένοις)* [πᾶσι]. τῇ γὰρ συνεχεῖ *(εὑ)*η-
μερ[ιμ]ίᾳ *(συνετούς)* γεννᾶ. καὶ *(ἄλλοφύλους δὲ)* κοσμεῖ¹⁵
καὶ παιδεύει· καὶ *(γάρ)* μόνον *(δ)*cois *(ἔριζει)*, τοσούτος
[[έριζει]] καὶ νικᾷ, καὶ [[έπιστάμενον τὴν ιδίαν]] νική⁶σα⁷ν,
ῶσπερ σατράπην ἀγαθὸν τοῖς νενικημένοις [καὶ] *(έπιστήμην
[ον] τὴν ιδίαν)* ἐπιδίδωσι.—

17 Καὶ τοῦτό μοι, κυρία μῆτερ, ἔκθου· παρὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν ἔτι²⁰
ζώντων ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς μακραῖς νόσοις καὶ δ [λόγος καὶ
αὐτὸς ὁ] λογισμὸς καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ψυχὴ ἔσθ' ὅτε βλάπτεται ;—.
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη⁸ Ἰσις. Τῶν γάρ[ντ]ων, ω̄ τέκνουν, τὰ μὲν φύείωται
πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀέρα, τὰ δὲ
πρὸς γῆν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τούτων δύο ἡ τρία [τὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ²⁵
ὅλα]. *(καὶ)* πάλιν αὖ τὰ μὲν ἀπηλλοτρίωται τοῦ πυρός, τὰ δὲ
τοῦ ὕδατος, τὰ δὲ τῆς γῆς, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος, τὰ δὲ δύο τούτων,
18 τὰ δὲ τριῶν [τὰ δὲ τῶν ὅλων]. οἷον ἀκρὶς μέν, ω̄ τέκνουν, καὶ
πᾶσα μυῖα φεύγει τὸ πῦρ, ἀετὸς καὶ κίρκος καὶ ὅσα ὑψι-
πετ⁹έστηρά ἔστι τῶν ὄρνέων φεύγει τὸ ὕδωρ, ἵχθύες ἀέρα καὶ³⁰
γῆν, ὅφις τὸν ἀέρα τὸν εἰλικρινῆ ἀποστρέφεται· φιλοῦσι δὲ

1 ἐκεῖσε ἀνακομιδὴν scripsi : ἐκεῖ κατακομιδὴν codd. 2 ποταμὸν λυομένης
Meineke (ποταμὸν πολυομένης Patrit.) : πολυομένης FP 2-3 Fortasse
λυομένης *(εἰς ὄμβρον!)* ἐκεῖ τῆς συστάσεως; (*τῶν νεφῶν!*)!
τέχνης P | ὑποκείμενον scripsi : ἐπικείμενον codd. 3 πάχνης F :
κατεκόμεσε codd. 4 κατέπλησε scripsi :
5 ὄμματαν edd. : ὄμομάτων FP 6 σύνεγγυς scripsi : συνεχῆ F : συνεχεῖ P
9 οὐκ scripsi : οὐδεμίαν codd. (an οὐδ' ἐκείνοι;) | τὴν σύνεσιν ποιοῦσι
scripsi : ἐπίστασιν ποιοῦνται codd. | τῶν (ante παρ' αὐτοῖς) om. P
10 γενομένων P 10-11 συμφύτῳ Usener : συμφάνῳ codd. 11-12 νοῦν
τὸν ὑπ' F 13 ἀτάραχον ὄν scripsi : εἰλικρινὲς δν καὶ ἀτάραχον codd.
αὐτὸ καθ' ἐαυτὸ scripsi (αὐτὸ Wachsm.) : ἐαυτῷ FP | προέχει Wachsm. :

of the conveyance of the clouds to the southern region when they have thus been formed, that our river¹ flows from that quarter, the . . . being there broken up.² Now wherever a cloud arrives, it makes the air below it misty, and fills it with smoke, so to speak; and smoke or mist is an obstruction not only to the eyes, but also to the mind. And the East, my glorious son, is troubled and overheated by the rising of the sun in close proximity to it; and likewise its opposite, the West, is affected in the same way at the sun's setting; and thus both the East and the West cause the intelligence of the men born in those regions to be wanting in clearness. And the North, with the cold that belongs to it by nature, freezes the minds as well as the bodies of the men who live beneath the northern sky. But 15 the country which lies in the middle³ is undisturbed, and is consequently superior both in itself and in the men born in it; for in virtue of the continual serenity of its climate, it produces men of high intelligence. And it disciplines and educates men of other races also; for it is the only land that is victorious over all competitors, and having won the victory, it bestows on its defeated rivals the gift of its own knowledge, as a king might send a good satrap to govern a conquered province.'—

Horus. 'Explain to me this also, my lady mother; why is it 17 that in long⁴ diseases, though the man is still alive, the reason and the soul itself is sometimes disabled?'—Isis replied, 'Among animals, my son, there are some that have an affinity to fire, some to water, some to air, some to earth, and some to two or three of these elements; and again, some of them are alien to fire, some to water, some to earth, some to air, some to two of the elements, and some to three. For instance, the locust, my 18 son, shuns fire, and so does every kind of fly; the eagle, the falcon, and all high-flying birds shun water; fishes shun air and earth; and snakes avoid pure air. And on the other hand,

¹ I. e. the Nile.

² Perhaps, 'the clouds being there (*sc.* in the South) dissolved in rain'.

³ I. e. Egypt.

⁴ Perhaps, 'great' or 'grievous'.

προλέγει FP 14-15 εύημερίᾳ scripsi: ἀμερινίᾳ codd. 15 συνετούσις
addidi (an συνετοτέρους?) 16-17 δόσις ἐρίζει, τοσούτους καὶ νικᾶ scripsi:
τοῖς τοσούτοις ἐρίζει καὶ νικᾶ codd. 17 νικήσαν scripsi: νικῆν codd.
18 σατράπην ἀγαθὸν scripsi: σατράπης ἀγαθὸς codd. | ἐπιστήμην
scripsi: ἐπιστάμενον FP 21-22 λόγος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ seclusi (καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ
λυγισμὸς om. Heeren) 23 ζῷων Meineke: ζῶνταν F: ζῶν τῶν P
29-30 ἴψιπεπτότερα Gaisford: ἴψιπέτερα FP

τὴν μὲν γῆν οἱ ὄφεις καὶ δσα ἔρπει, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὰ [κι] νη^(κ)τὰ πάντα, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα τὰ πτηνά [ἐν ὦ καὶ πολιτεύεται], τὸ δὲ πῦρ δσα ὑπερπετῆ ἐστι καὶ ἐγγὺς ^(ήλιον ἔχει) τὴν δίαιταν. [οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τινα τῶν ^(ἄλλων) ζώων φιλεῖ τὸ πῦρ, οἷον αἱ σαλαμάνδραι· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρὶ καὶ φωλεύουσιν.] 5

19 (. . .) ἔκαστον γὰρ τῶν στοιχέων περιβολή ἐστι τῶν σωμάτων.⁷ πᾶσα οὖν ψυχή, ἐν τῷ σώματι οὖσα, βαρεῖται καὶ θλίβεται τοῖς τέτταροι τούτοις. [καὶ γὰρ εἰκός ἐστι καὶ ταύτην τισὶ μὲν τούτων τέρπεσθαι, τισὶ δὲ ἄχθεσθαι.] διὰ τοῦτο οὖν οὐκ ἔχει ^(ἐντ)αῦθια τὴν ἀκροτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν, 10 ἀλλ' ὡς ἀν φύσει θεία οὖσα κάν τούτοις οὖσα ^(μάχεται)¹. καὶ νοεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐχ δσα ^(άν) ἐνόησεν ἀσύνδετος οὖσα σώματι. ἐὰν μέντοι [καὶ] τοῦτο σάλον λάβῃ καὶ ταραχὴν ἥτοι ἀπὸ νόσου ^ἢ ^(φόβου), τότε καὶ αὐτὴ ^{(ώσπερ} ἐν βυθῷ ^(πεσὼν) ἄνθρωπος ἐπικυμαίνεται, καὶ οὐδὲν ^(άνθ)ισταμένη φέρετ^(αι). 15

EXCERPTUM XXV

Stobaeus I. 49. 68, vol. i, p. 458 Wachsmuth (*Ecl.* I. 1070 Heeren).

Ἐρμοῦ λόγος ⁷Ισιδος πρὸς ⁷Ωρον.

1 Θαυμαστῶς, εἶπεν ⁷Ωρος, ἔκαστά μοι διηγήσω, ὃ μέγα δυναμένη τεκοῦσα ⁷Ισι, ὑπὲρ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ψυχοποίίας τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ θαυμάζων διατελῶ ὅπω δέ μοι ἀπήγγειλας ποῦ τῶν σωμάτων ἀπολυθεῖσαι χωροῦσιν αἱ ψυχαί. βούλομαι 20 οὖν καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ταύτης μύστης γενόμενος εὐχαριστῆσαι 2 σοὶ μόνῃ, ἀθάνατε μῆτερ.—καὶ εἶπεν ⁷Ισις· Πρόσεχε, παῖ· ἀναγκαιοτάτη γὰρ ζήτησις αὕτη· ^{([[μύστης]] (έγὼ) δέ, [ώσπερ]} τῆς ἀθανάτου φύσεως καύτη [τυγχάνουσα] ^(μετέχουσα), καὶ

2 νηκτὰ P¹: κινητὰ FP¹ | ὦ Heeren : οἴδι codd. | ἐν . . . πολιτεύεται seclusit Meineke 3 ἡλίον ἔχει addidi : ἔχει add. post δίαιταν Heeren, post ἐγγὺς Wachsm. 5-6 Fortasse [καὶ] φωλεύουσιν ^(αὗται) 6 Foitasse ἔκαστον γὰρ τῶν στοιχίων ^(ἀπηλλοτρίωται ἢ ψυχή . . .) 8 Fortasse [οὐ μὴν τοῖς ὄλοις] καὶ γὰρ κ τ.λ.] 10 ἐνταῦθα scripsi : αὕτης FP 11 τούτους codd. : fortasse ἀλλοτρίοις vel ἀροκείοις | μάχεται codd. : fortasse ταράσσεται 12 Fortasse νοεῖ ^(τρόπῳ τινὶ) vel ^(μέχρι τινὸς) | ἀν Heeren : ἀ FP (an delendum ἀ!) σώματι Usener : σώματων FP 13 τούτο scripsi : καὶ ταῦτα codd. | καὶ ταραχὴν secludendum ? An

snakes and all creeping things love earth; all animals that swim love water; the birds love the air; and fire is loved by all creatures that fly high and spend their lives near the sun.¹ . . .² Every soul therefore, as long as it is in the body, is weighed ¹⁹ down and oppressed by these four elements. For this reason then the soul does not enjoy perfect happiness here on earth, but is perturbed, inasmuch as it is divine by nature and is hemmed in by the elements; and it is intelligent to some extent, but not so intelligent as it would have been if it were not bound up³ with the body. But if the body is storm-tossed and perturbed by disease or . . ., then the soul too is tossed upon the waves, like a man that has fallen into the deep sea, and is swept along unresisting.'

EXCERPT XXV

Written by Hermes: a discourse of Isis to Horus.

'Wondrously', said Horus, 'have you, my mighty mother Isis, ¹ described to me in all details the wondrous making of souls by God, and my wonder ceases not; but you have not yet told me where the souls go when they are released from their bodies. I desire therefore to be initiated in this doctrine also, and to give thanks for that to you alone, my immortal mother.'—And ² Isis said, 'Give heed, my son; for this inquiry is most needful; and I, who am myself participant in the being of the Immortals,

¹ E. g. by eagles.

² Here must have stood a sentence in which it was said that the human soul is in like manner alien, not to one or more of the elements only, but to all the four elements.

³ Or perhaps, 'as it was when it was not bound up'.

legendum [καὶ] ταραχθὲν? 14 φόβον codd.: fortasse ἄλλου τινός
14-15 ὡσπερὶ βνθῷ ἀνθέρκος Meineke et Wachsm. 15 ἀνθισταμένη φέρεται
scripsi: ἀταράντος φέρει codd.

16 ὥπον πρὸς τοὺς P 19 ποῦ codd.: ποῖ Meineke 22 ἀθάρατος P
23-2 infra: μόστης . . . ὡς δὴ huc a § 4 transposui 23 ὡσπερ seclusi
(an scribendum ὡς [περ]!)

ώδευκυῖα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τῆς ἀληθείας, διεξελεύσομαι σοι τῶν δυτῶν τὸ καθ' ἔκαστον, ἐκεῦνό σοι φήσασα πρῶτον, ὡς δὴ»
Γτὸ συνεστὸς καὶ μὴ ἀφανιζόμενον χῶρον ἔχει¹ (...).

3 ἀλλ' ὁδε γάρ ἐρεῖ *(τις, ὡς δὴ)* [λόγος ἐμός] [Ποὺ τῶν σωμάτων ἀπολυθεῖσαι διατρίβουσιν αἱ ψυχαῖ] [οὐ γάρ, ὡς θαυμαστὲ καὶ μεγάλου πατρὸς Ὁσίρεως μέγα τέκνον] [[ἀκρίτως]] [καὶ ὄρμηδδον] τῶν σωμάτων προελθοῦσαι εἰς ἀέρα ἀναχύνονται [τε] *((ἀκρίτως))* καὶ διασκεδάννυνται μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου ἀπείρου πνεύματος· εἴτα οὐκέτι δύνασθαι πάλιν τὰς αὐτὰς οὐσίας *((ἄλλα))* σώματα παλινδρομῆσαι, [[ἄλλα]] 10 οὗτος εἰς ἐκεῦνον ἔτι τὸν χῶρον [είναι], δθεν ἥλθον τὸ πρότερον, ἀναστρέψειν, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὸ Γαμβανόμενον ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἀγγείων² ὕδωρ εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους δθεν ἐλήφθη Γέπέχειν³ ἐστὶ δυνατόν, [ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Γαύτὸ παραυτίκα λαμβανόμενον καὶ χεόμενον τὴν ίδιαν λαμβάνει χώραν⁴], πλὴν ἀναμίγνυται τῷ 15 παντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος χύματι.

4 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει οὕτως, ὡς μεγαλόφρων **Πρε** [[μύστης δὲ ὥσπερ τῆς ἀθανάτου φύσεως καύτῃ τυγχάνουσσα, καὶ ὠδευκυῖα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τῆς ἀληθείας, διεξελεύσομαι σοι τῶν δυτῶν τὸ καθ' ἔκαστον, ἐκεῦνό σοι φήσασα πρῶτον, ὡς δὴ]] τὸ (μὲν 20 γάρ) ὕδωρ σῶμά ἐστιν ἀλογον, ἐκ πολλῶν συγκεκριμένον παρατεθλιμένων εἰς χύσιν, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ πρᾶγμα ίδιοφυές, τέκνον, [καὶ βασιλικόν,] καὶ ἔργον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χειρῶν τε καὶ νοῦ, Γαύτῳ Θ' ἑαυτῷ⁵ εἰς νοῦν δημηγόριον. τὸ τοίνυν ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐκ *(π)*ολλῶν ἀδύνατον ἐτέρῳ ἀναμιγῆναι· δθεν 25 δεῖ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς σύνοδον [ἀρμονίαν θεοῦ] ὑπὸ ἀγάγκης γενομένην είναι.

5 ὅτι δὲ οὕτε εἰς ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον *(πᾶσαι)* χυδαιῶς, οὕτε είκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν [[ἄλλα]] ἐκάστη, *((ἄλλα))* ἐπὶ τὴν ίδιαν ἀναπέμπεται χώραν, φανερὸν καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔτι ἐν τῷ 30 σώματι οὐσίᾳ [καὶ τῷ πλάσματι] πάσχει *(καὶ)* [γάρ] παρὰ τὴν 6 ίδιαν φύσιν Γεπταχυμένη⁶. [ἄλλα καὶ] πρόσσχεις *(γάρ)*, ὡς περιπόθητε **Πρε*, τῷ λεγομένῳ δροιώματι. φέρε γάρ εἰς ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν συσχετήριον ἐγκεκλεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπους τε, καὶ ἀετοὺς καὶ περιστερὰς καὶ κύκνους καὶ ἵερακας καὶ χελιδόνας 35

3 Fortasse τὸ *(μὲν)* συνεστὸς καὶ *(διαλύεται, τὸ δὲ)* μὴ *(συνεστός)*, ἀφανιζόμενον, χῶρον ἔχει *(εἰς ὃν ἀπέρχεται. . .)* 4 λόγος ἐμός codd.: fortasse [Λόγος πέμπτος] 4-5 Titulum Ποῦ... ψυχαὶ habent FP 5 οὐ γάρ codd.: fortasse σὺ γάρ 6 θαυμαστὲ καὶ secludendum! 9 ἐπὶ FP¹: δοτε P² marg. 11 οὐδὲ scripsi: μηδὲ codd. | εἶναι seclusit Heeren

and have journeyed through the Plain of Truth, will describe to you in all particulars the things that are. I begin by saying that . . .¹

But perhaps some one will say that when the souls go forth ² from their bodies, they are indistinguishably diffused in the air, and are dispersed throughout the boundless atmosphere, and that they cannot thereafter retain their identity and come back again to dwell in other bodies, nor yet return to the place from which they came before; just as it is impossible that the water . . .³ should return to the same place from which it was taken, but it is mingled with all the mass of flowing water.

But in the case of the soul, high-minded Horus, it is not so. ⁴ Water is a body, an irrational thing, composed of many ingredients crushed into fluidity; but the soul, my son, is a thing of peculiar nature, a thing that has been made by the hands and mind of God, and is guided . . .⁵ on the way that leads to Mind. And that which consists of one thing only and not of many⁶ cannot be mingled with anything else. Hence it follows that the union of the soul with the body must have been effected by compulsion.

Souls, when they quit the body, are not all sent promiscuously ⁵ to one and the same place; nor is each of them sent to some place at random and by chance; but each soul is sent to its own proper place. This you may clearly see from what befalls the soul even when it is still in the body, and is . . .⁸ against its proper nature. Give heed, well-beloved Horus, to the similitude ⁶ which I am about to set forth. Suppose that in one and the same enclosure there are shut up men, and eagles and doves

¹ Perhaps, 'that which is composite is broken up and destroyed, but that which is not composite (is not destroyed, but) has a place to which it goes when it disappears from our sight'. (The body is composite; the soul is not composite.)

² Perhaps, 'which is poured out from a vessel'.

³ Perhaps, 'by God himself'.

⁵ Perhaps, 'weighed down', or 'fast bound'.

⁴ Viz. the soul.

12-13 λαμβανόμενον ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἀγγείων codd. : fortasse ἐκχεόμενον ἐξ ἀγγείου
 13 ἐπέχειν codd. : fortasse ἔπι (ἀνατρέχειν 14-15 καὶ χόμενον om. P
 15 (άρα)λαμβάνει Meineke 17-20 μύστης . . . ὡς δὴ hinc ad § 2 transposui
 21-22 συγκεκριμένον παρατεθλιμμένων scripsi: συγκριμάτων παρατεθλιμ-
 μένον (παραθλιμμένον P) codd. 23 τε om. P 24 αὐτῷ θ' ἐντῷ
 codd. : fortasse αὗτοί τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 25 ἐκ πολλῶν scripsi: ἐξ ἀλλού codd.
 26 δεῖ Heeren: δὴ FP 27 γενομένη εἶναι codd. : fortasse γεγονέναι
 30 ἐπι F²: ἐστιν P¹ 31 γάρ seclusit Heeren 32 πεπαχυμένη F:
 fortasse βεβαρυμένη vel πεπεδημένη | πρόσσχεις scripsi: πρόσσχεις codd.
 33 Fortasse (τούτῳ) τῷ [λεγομένῳ] 34 συγχετήριον P¹

καὶ στρουθοὺς καὶ μύιας, [[καὶ ὄφεις]], καὶ λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λύκους καὶ κύνας καὶ λαγωὸς καὶ βόας καὶ ποίμνια, ⟨⟨καὶ ὄφεις,⟩⟩ καὶ τίνα τῶν Γῆς κοινότητος ἔχομένων³ ζῷων, οἰονεὶ φώκας καὶ ἐνύδρεις καὶ χελώνας καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους κροκοδείλους· ἔπειτα τούτους, ὁ τέκνον, ⟨πάντας⟩⁴ 7 ὑπὸ μίαν φοπὴν ἀπολυθῆναι τοῦ συσχετηρίου. (οὐ) πάντως τραπήσονται οἱ μὲν ἀνθρώποι εἰς [τε] ἀγορὰς καὶ στέγας, ὁ δὲ ἀετὸς εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὅπου καὶ φύσιν ἔχει διαιτᾶσθαι, αἱ δὲ περιστεραὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον ἀέρα, οἱ δὲ ἱέρακες ὑπεράνω τούτων; αἱ δὲ χελιδόνες οὐχὶ ὅπου ἀν οἰκῶσιν ἀνθρώποι,¹⁰ οἱ δὲ στρουθοὶ περὶ τὰ καρποφόρα τῶν δένδρων, οἱ δὲ κύκνοι ὅπου ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἄδειν, αἱ δὲ μυῖαι περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν, τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς ἀπέχουσαι δοσον ἀναβῆναι δύνα[ν]ται ἀνθρώπων [τῇ] δοσμή;—ἀνθρωπόλιχνον γὰρ ιδίως, ὁ τέκνον, ἐστὶν ἡ μύια, καὶ χαμαιπετές·—οἱ δὲ λέοντες καὶ παρδαλεῖς οὐκ¹⁵ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, οἱ δὲ λύκοι ἐπὶ τὰς ἐρημίας, οἱ δὲ κύνες κατ' ἔχνος ἀνθρώπων, λαγωὶ δὲ ⟨εἰς⟩ δρυμούς, καὶ βόες ⟨εἰς⟩ αὐλιστήρια [πεδία], καὶ εἰς τὰς νομὰς τὰ ποίμνια; οἱ δὲ ὄφεις εἰς τὰ μύχια τῆς γῆς; φῶκαι δὲ καὶ χελώναι μετὰ τῶν δροίων εἰς βάθη καὶ νάματα, ὡς μὴ πεδιάδος γῆς στέροιντο²⁰ μηδὲ τοῦ συγγενοῦς ἀπολειφθεῖν ὕδατος, ἐκάστου εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔνδον κριτηρίου ἀνατρεπομένου; 8 οὕτως ἐκάστη ψυχή, καὶ ἀνθρωπευομένη καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιγεῖ-ζοντα, ολδεν ὅπου πορευτέον αὐτῇ ἐστι· πλὴν εἰ μή τις τῶν Τυφωνίων, ὁ τέκνον, παρελθὼν λέγοι ὅτι δυνατὸν ταῦρον²⁵ μὲν ἐν βυθῷ, ἐν (δὲ) ἀέρι χελώνην διαζῆν. εἰ δὴ τοῦτο πάσχουσι σαρκὶ καὶ αἷματι βεβαπτισμέναι, ὡς μηδὲν παρὰ τάξιν πράσσειν κάνειν κολάζωνται,—κόλασις γὰρ αὐταῖς ἡ ἐνσωμάτωσις,—πόσιψ πλέον [βαπτισμοῦ καὶ] ⟨τῆς⟩ κολάσεως ⟨ἀπολυθεῖσαι⟩, καὶ ἐλευθερίας ⟨τῆς⟩ ιδίας μετασχοῦσαι;³⁰

9 ⟨. . . ⟩ ἔχει δὲ ἡ ⟨τῶν⟩ ⟨⟨ἄνω⟩⟩ διάταξις [ἡ ἱερωτάτη] οὕτως. [ἥδη ποτέ [ἄνω]], (ὦ) μεγαλοφύεστατε παῖ, βλέπε] [ψυχῶν διατάξεις.] τὸ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κορυφῆς μέχρι σελήνης θεοῖς

3 Fortasse γῆς ⟨τε καὶ ὕδατος⟩ [κοινῶς!] ἔχομένων 6 οὐ add. Meineke
 9–12 οἱ δὲ ἱέρακες . . . αἱ δὲ χελιδόνες . . . οἱ δὲ στρουθοὶ . . . οἱ δὲ κύκνοι . . .
 αὐτοῖς φένειν (et supra καὶ κύκνους καὶ λέρακας καὶ χελιδόνας καὶ στρουθὸν) secludenda!⁵ 10 ὥπον om. F 13–14 δύναται ἀνθρώπων δοσμή σετρίpsi: δύνανται
 ἀνθρώπων τῇ δοσμῇ codd. (‘an αἱ δομαὶ?’ Wachsm.) 17–18 λαγωὶ δὲ . . .
 πεδία (et supra καὶ λαγωὸν καὶ βόας) secludenda?⁶ 17 εἰς δις add. Meineke
 18 πεδία FP¹: καὶ πεδία P² 21 ἐκαστον P 22 ἀνατρεπόμερα P²
 23 ψυχὴ καὶ P 24 ὥποι Meineke | ἐστιν αὐτῇ P 26 ἐν δὲ

and swans and hawks and swallows and sparrows and flies, and lions and leopards and wolves and dogs and hares and cows and sheep, and snakes, and some of the amphibious animals, such as seals and otters and tortoises and the crocodiles of our own country ; and suppose, my son, that all these creatures are released from the enclosure at one moment. Will not the men ⁷ be sure to betake themselves to market-places and houses, and the eagle to the upper air, which is its natural abode, and the doves to the lower air not far from earth, and the hawks to a higher region than the doves ? Will not the swallows make their way to the dwellings of men, and the sparrows to the neighbourhood of fruit-trees, and the swans to places where they are free to sing ? Will not the flies seek places close to the ground, only so far above it as the scent of men can rise ? For the fly, my son, is peculiarly greedy for human flesh, and is a grovelling creature. Will not the lions and leopards betake themselves to the mountains, and the wolves to uninhabited places ? And will not the dogs follow at men's heels, and hares go to coverts, and cows to farmsteads, and the sheep to the pastures ? Will not the snakes creep into holes in the earth ? And will not seals and tortoises and the like seek hollows and flowing waters, that they may neither be deprived of dry land nor suffer want of the water that is congenial to them ? For each of the creatures is sent back to its own place by that thing within it by which its action is determined.¹ And even so does ⁸ every soul, whether incarnated as a man or dwelling on earth in some other shape, know whither it must go ; unless indeed, my son, some follower of Typhon² were to step forth and tell us that it is possible for a bull to live in the deep sea, and a tortoise in the air. If then it is so with the souls when they are immersed in flesh and blood, and if they do nothing against God's ordering even when they are undergoing punishment,—for incarnation is a punishment inflicted on them,—will they not much more act thus when they are released from this punishment, and have obtained the liberty which belongs to them by nature ?

... And the arrangement of the things above the earth is as ⁹ follows. The space from the topmost height of heaven down

¹ I. e. by its own instinct.

² I. e. some perverse opponent.

καὶ ἄστροις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ προνοίᾳ σχολάζει· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ σελήνης, ὁ τέκνου, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ψυχῶν ἔστιν οἰκητήριον.

10 ἔχει μέντοι ἐν ἑαυτῷ [όδὸν] *(κίνησιν)* ὁ [τοσοῦτος] ἄρ, ὃν ἀνέμον καὶ εἴθεται ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, [ἴδιον] [μέγεθος ἐν ὧ] *(ἥν)* κινεῖται πρὸς ἀνάψυξιν τῶν ἐπιγείων· δὴ καὶ ὑπερον ἐρῶ. κατ' οὐδένα μέντοι τρόπον πρὸς 5 ἑαυτὸν κινούμενος ἐμπάδιον γίγνεται ψυχᾶς· κινούμενον γὰρ τούτου ἔχεστι ψυχᾶς ἀνάστσειν καὶ καταστέσειν, ὡς ἂν τύχη, ἀδιακωλύτως. ρέουσι γὰρ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀμυγῶς καὶ ἀκολλητί, ὡς δὲ ἑλαῖον ὑδωρ.]

11 τὸ δὲ διάστημα τοῦτο, ὁ τέκνου ¹Πρε, μοιρῶν μέν ἔστι γενικῶν τεσσάρων, *(εἰ)*ἰδικῶν δὲ χωρῶν ἔξι²ήκοντα. καὶ τῶν 10 μοιρῶν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω χωρῶν ἔστι τεσσάρων, ὡς τὴν γῆν κατά τινας λόφους καὶ ἀκρωτείας [*ἀνατείναι καὶ*] φθάνειν ἕχει τοσούτουν· ὑπὲρ γὰρ ταύτης αὐτὴν ἀναβῆναι *(εἰς)* [τὸ] ὑψος οὐκ ἔχει φύσιν. η δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης δευτέρα ἔστι χωρῶν ὀκτώ· ἐν αἷς γίγνονται ἀνέμων κινήσεις. [πρόσεχε, παῖ·³ 15 ἀρρήτων γὰρ ἐπακούεις μυστηρίων γῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ μέσου [*ἱεροῦ*] πνεύματος.] ὅπου δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἀνέμου κίνησις, *(έκει)* καὶ ἡ τῶν ὄρνέων πτῆσις· ὑπὲρ γὰρ ταύτης οὔτε [*ἀήρ*] κινεῖται *(δὲ)* *((ἀήρ))* οὔτε *ζῷον* βαστάζει. ἔχει μέντοι παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ταύτην τὴν ἔχουσίαν δὲ ἀήρ οὔτος,²⁰ ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἴδιαις ὀκτὼ χώραις καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς γῆς τέτταροι περιπολεῖν⁴ μεθ' ὧν ἔχει *ζῷων*, τῆς γῆς εἰς τὰς 12 [*εἰς*] αὐτοῦ ἐπαναβῆναι *(μὴ)* δυναμένης. η δὲ τρίτη χωρῶν ἔστιν ἑκκαίδεκα, ἀέρος λεπτοῦ καὶ καθαροῦ πλήρης. η δὲ τετάρτη ἔστι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐν αἷς ἔστι λεπτότατος καὶ εἰλικρινέ-²⁵ 13 στατος ἄήρ καὶ διαυγῆς. *(. . .)* διορίζων Γέφ' ἐαυτοῦ⁵ τοὺς οὐρανούς, ἑκπύρους δύντας τὴν φύσιν. καὶ ἔστιν ἡ διάταξις αὐτῇ κατ' εὐθυτενὴ γραμμὴν ἀνωθεν κάτω [*ἀκολλητὶ*] *[τὴν φύσιν]*, ὡς εἶναι μοίρας [*γενικὰς*] μὲν τέσσαρας, [*διαστηματικὰς* δὲ δώδεκα,] χώρας δὲ ἔγκοντα. ἐν δὲ ταῖς 30 χώραις ταύταις, ἔξι⁶ήκοντα> οὖσαις τὸν ἀριθμὸν, οἰκοῦσιν

1 καὶ ἄστροις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ προνοίᾳ secludendum! 3 ἑαυτοῦ P | *(κίνησιν)* scripsi: fortasse *(κίνησιν ίδιαν)* (vide [ἴδιον] ante μέγεθος) 5 δὲ δῆ codd.: fortasse *(περὶ)* οὐ δῆ 7 ἔφεστι scripsi: ἔδον codd. | καὶ καταστεῖν om. P 10 ίδικῶν Meineke: ίδικῶν FP | ἔήκοντα Canter: ἔ FP 10-11 καὶ τῶν μοιρῶν scripsi: ὧν codd. 12 ἀκροτηρίας P 13 ταύτης scripsi: ταύτας codd. 15 ὀκτώ Canter: η F (debeat scribi η', quo significatur ὀκτώ): om. P 16 Fortasse ἐπακούσεις 21 ὀκτώ Heeren: η (pro η') FP 22 περιπολεῖν Patriit.: περιπολεῖ FP | μεθ' . . . ζῷων secludendum? 23 αὐτοῦ Heeren: ἑαυτοῦ FP | καὶ διαυγῆς secludendum? | Fortasse 26 διαυγῆς Usener: δὲ αὐτῆς FP | καὶ διαυγῆς secludendum? | Fortasse (. . . δ κύκλος τῆς σελήνης,) διορίζων | ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ codd.: fortasse δὲ αὐτοῦ

to the moon is reserved for gods and stars, and for Providence¹ in general; but the space from the moon down to us on earth, my son, is the dwelling-place of souls.

Howbeit,² the air has a movement of its own, which we are wont to call **10** wind, a movement which serves for the refreshment of things on earth; about that I will speak later on. But the air in no way impedes the souls by its own movements; for while the air is in motion, souls are free to dart through it upward and downward, as it may chance, without any hindrance; they flow through it without mixing with it or adhering to it, just as water flows through oil.

And this space,³ my son, consists of four main regions, and **11** sixty subdivisions. Of the four regions, the first extends upward from the earth, and contains four subdivisions; and so far up does the earth reach in some hilly and mountainous places; for such is the nature of the earth, that it cannot rise above the first region. The second region contains eight subdivisions; and in these eight subdivisions take place movements of winds. And where there is movement of wind, there birds can fly; but above this region, the air is not in motion, and does not bear the weight of any living creature. Howbeit, such is the power given by nature to the air of this second region,⁴ that it goes to and fro, together with the living creatures contained in it,⁵ not only in the eight subdivisions which properly belong to it, but also in the four which are adjacent to the earth; but the earth cannot rise into the eight subdivisions which belong to that windy air. The third **12** region contains sixteen subdivisions, and is full of fine pure air. The fourth region contains thirty-two subdivisions; and in them is air which is fine and pure in the highest degree, and perfectly translucent. < . . . the sphere of the moon, > the boundary between the air and the heavens, which are fiery by nature.

This arrangement extends in a straight line from the top¹³ to the bottom⁶ of the atmosphere; there are four regions, and sixty subdivisions. And in these subdivisions, which are sixty in number, dwell the souls, each in that subdivision for which

¹ I. e. the divine powers by which the world is governed.

² § 10 appears to be an extract from another document.

³ Viz. the space between the lunar sphere and the earth.

⁴ I. e. the windy air, or the wind.

⁵ I. e. the birds.

⁶ Or rather, 'from the bottom to the top'.

αὶ ψυχαί, ἔκάστη πρὸς ἣν ἔχει φύσιν, μίας μὲν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς συστάσεως οὖσαι, οὐκέτι δὲ τιμῆς· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἔκάστη τῶν χωρῶν ἀπὸ γῆς ὑπερβέβηκε^(ν) [τῆς] ἐτέρας, τοσούτῳ καὶ ^(αἱ) ἐν αὐταῖς ψυχαὶ ^(ἢ) ἐτέρα τὴν ἐτέραν καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λείπει^(ν), ὃ τέκνον. [χώρα καὶ ψυχή.]

⁵
14 τίνες μὲν οὖν εἰς ἔκάστην τούτων ἀναλύουσι ψυχαί, ἐντεῦθέν σοι πάλιν, ὃ μεγαλόδοξε⁷ Ωρε, καταλέγειν ἀρέομαι, ἀνωθεν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσγεια τὴν τάξιν ποιουμένη.

EXCERPTUM XXVI

Stobaeus I. 49. 69, vol. i, p. 463 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I.* 1082 Heeren).

Περὶ ἐμψυχώσεως καὶ μετεμψυχώσεως.

1 Τὸ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ κεχωρίσται, τέκνον⁸ Ωρε,¹⁰ πρὸς μέτρον καὶ ἀρμονίαν. αἱ δὲ χώραι αὗται ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων καλοῦνται ὑφ' ὧν μὲν ζῶνται, ὑφ' ὧν δὲ στερεώματα, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτέρων πτυχαῖ. ἐν δὲ ταύταις φοιτώσιν αἱ τε ἀπολελυμέναι τῶν σωμάτων ψυχαὶ αἱ τε μηδέπω ἐνσωματισθεῖσαι. ἔκάστη δὲ τούτων, ὃ τέκνον, κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ¹⁵ χώραν ἔχει, ὥστε τὰς μὲν θείας καὶ βασιλικὰς ἐν τῇ ὑπεράνω πάντων κατοικεῖν, τὰς δὲ ἐλαχίστας κατὰ τιμήν, καὶ [τὰς ἀλλας] ὅσαι εἰσὶ χαμαιπετεῖς, ἐν τῇ ὑποκάτω πάντων, τὰς δὲ μέσας ^(ἐν) τῇ μέσῃ.

2 αἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖν καταπεμπόμεναι, ὃ τέκνον⁹ Ωρε,²⁰ ἐκ τῶν ὑπεράνω ζωνῶν καταπέμπονται· αἱ καὶ λυθεῖσαι εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἡ καὶ ἔτι ὑπεράνω ἀνέρχονται, πλὴν εἰ μή τινες [<ε>]τι εἴεν ^(παρὰ) τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως καὶ τὴν τοῦ θείου νόμου παραγγελίαν πεπραχυῖαι· ^{(ταύτ)ας} γὰρ ἡ ἄνω πρόνοια πρὸς μέτρον τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰς τὰς ὑποκάτω²⁵

³ αἱ add. Heeren
Heeren: λείπειν FP
scripsi: ἔκάτερα codd.

⁴ Αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐτέρα [τὴν] ἐτέραν?
⁵ χώρα καὶ ψυχή delevit Heeren
Meineke: γε FP
χώρων FP | ὥστε Meineke: ὡς γε FP
μεῖν FP | 19 ἐν add. Meineke

¹⁴ τε Ι²: γε FP¹

¹⁶ χώρων Meineke:

¹⁷ κατὰ τιμὴν Canter:

²¹ αἱ (ante καὶ λυθεῖσαι) secluden-

⁴⁻⁵ λείπει
⁶ ἔκάτην

it is suited by its nature. The souls are all constituted alike, but they are not equal in rank; in proportion as one subdivision stands above another in distance from the earth, in the same proportion does a soul that is in the one subdivision surpass in eminence, my son, a soul that is in the other.

I will now begin afresh, most glorious Horus, and tell you **14** in succession what souls go to each one of the subdivisions when they depart from life on earth. I will speak of the subdivisions in order, beginning with the highest, and ending with places close to earth.'

EXCERPT XXVI

Concerning the incarnation of souls, and their reincarnation in other bodies.¹

Isis. 'The space between earth and heaven is parted out into **1** divisions, my son Horus, according to a system of measured arrangement. These divisions are variously named by our ancestors, some of whom call them 'zones', others 'firmaments', and others 'layers'. They are the haunts of the souls that have been released from their bodies, and likewise of the souls that have not yet been embodied. And each of the souls, my son, resides in one division or another according to its worth. Godlike and kingly souls dwell in the highest division of all; the souls that are of lowest rank, and all that are wont to grovel, dwell in the lowest division; and the souls of middle quality dwell in the middle division.

Those souls then, my son Horus, which are sent down to earth **2** to bear rule there, are sent down from the highest zones; and when they are released from the body, they return to the same zones, or even to a place yet higher, excepting those of them that have done things unworthy of their own nature, and transgressed the commandments of God's law. These souls the Providence which rules above banishes to the lower divisions

¹ There is nothing about reincarnation in this Excerpt.

dum? 22 καὶ ἐπὶ P¹ 22-23 τινὲς τι Meineke: τινὲς ἔτι FP 23 παρὰ
add. Heeren 24 ταῦτα γὰρ scripsi: ἀσπερ F: ἀσπερ P
L 1 2

χώρας ἔξορίζει, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ὑπόδεεστέρας δυνάμει τε καὶ
ἀξίᾳ (.) ἐκ [γὰρ] κατωτέρων ἐπὶ [μείζονας καὶ] ὑψηλοτέρας
ἀνάγει.

* * * * *

3 (.) εἰσὶ γὰρ ἀνωθεν οἱ¹ (.), δορυφόροι ὄντες τῆς
καθόλου προνοίας, ὅν ὁ μὲν ψυχοταμίας, ὁ δὲ ψυχοπομπός⁵
καὶ ὁ μὲν ψυχοταμίας (.) ψυχῶν, ὁ δὲ ψυχοπομπὸς
ἀποστολεύς τε καὶ διατάκτης τῶν ἐνσωματογένενων [ψυχῶν].
καὶ ὁ μὲν τηρεῖ, ὁ δὲ προίσι κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ.

4 Γτῷ οὖν λόγῳ τούτῳ, ὃ παῖ, καὶ τῇ ἀνω τῶν πραγμάτων
ἔξαλλαγή καὶ¹⁰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐστιν ἡ φύσις, [[πλάστρια]] ॥¹⁰ ॥¹⁰
ποιὸς]] [γὰρ] οὐσα, καὶ [[σκηνοποιὸς]] ॥¹⁰ ॥¹⁰ ॥¹⁰
ἀγγείων εἰς (ὰ ἐμ)¹⁰βάλλονται αἱ ψυχαί. παρεστᾶτι δὲ δύο
ἐνέργειαι καὶ αὐτῇ, μνήμη καὶ ἐμπειρία. καὶ ἡ μὲν μνήμη
ἔργον ἔχει τοῦτο, ὅπως ἡ φύσις [τηρῆ καὶ] περικρατῆ τοῦ [τε
ἐκάστου] τύπου (τοῦ) ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταβεβλημένου, καὶ τοῦ¹⁵
παρα(δείγ)ματος τοῦ ἀνω (εἰκὼν) γίγνηται (.). ἡ δὲ
ἐμπειρία, ὅπως πρὸς ἀνάλογον ἐκάστης τῶν καταβαινουσῶν
ψυχῶν εἰς τὸ (ἐν)σωμα[κ]τισθῆναι καὶ τὸ πλάσμα [ἐνεργῆ
καὶ] γένηται, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δέσει τῶν ψυχῶν δέσα γένηται
καὶ τὰ σώματα, ταῖς δὲ βραδέσι βραδέα, ταῖς δὲ ἐνεργέσιν²⁰
ἐνεργῆ, καὶ ταῖς νωθραῖς νωθρά, καὶ ταῖς δυναταῖς δυνατά,
καὶ ταῖς δολαῖς δόλια, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς ἐκάσταις κατὰ τὸ
εἰκός.

5 (.) οὐ γὰρ ἀσκόπως πτηνὰ μὲν ἐπτίλωσε(ν ἡ φύσις),
[[λογικὰ δὲ περισταῖς καὶ ἀκριβεστέραις αἰσθήσεσιν ἐκβ-²⁵
σμησε,]] τετραπόδων δὲ τὰ μὲν κέρασι, τὰ δὲ ὁδοῦσι, τὰ δὲ
δινῦξι καὶ ὀπλα(ὶ)s ἐκαρτέρωσε. τὰ δὲ ἐρπετὰ γενέαῖς

2 Lacunam post ἀξίᾳ signavit Wachsm.

4 Fortasse ἀνω θεοὶ (δύο

5 ψυχοταμίας Patriit.: ψυχοταμίας FP 6 Lacunam post
ψυχῶν statuit Heeren: ψυχῶν (οὐκέτι ἐνσωματωμένων τηρητῆς ἔτιν) coni.
Meineke: fortasse (φύλαξ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνω κατοικουσῶν) ψυχῶν 7 ἀστολεύς
P¹ | ἐνσωματουμένων scripsi: ἐνσωματωμένων FP: ἐνσωματωμένων
Meineke et Wachsmuth: fortasse (ἀεὶ) ἐνσωματουμένων 8 προίσι
Meineke: πρόεσι FP 9-10 Fortasse διμόλογος δὲ τούτοις, ὃ παῖ, καὶ τῇ
ἀνω τῶν πραγμάτων (οἰκονομίᾳ κατ') ἐπαλλαγὴν (ἀντίστροφος) ἐπὶ γῆς ἐστιν ἡ
φύσις 10 ἔτιν ἡ P²: ἐστι μὴ FP¹ 12 εἰς ἀ ἐμβάλλονται scripsi:
εἰσβάλλονται (ἐν οἷς βάλλονται P² marg.) codd. | παραστᾶσι P 13 μνήμη
13 μνήμη (post μὲν) Patriit.: γνώμη FP 14 τηρῆ P: τηρεῖ F | περι-
κρατεῖ F 16 παραδείγματος scripsi: φυράματος codd. | εἰκὼν
γίγνηται scripsi (γίγνηται εἰκὼν Meineke): γίγνεται FP 17 Fortasse (τὸ
πλαστόμενον) post γίγνηται 17 πρὸς ἀνάλογον codd.: fortasse πρὸς
ἀναλογίαν vel [πρὸς] ἀνὰ λόγον 18 ἐνσωματισθῆναι scripsi (σωμα-
τισθῆναι Patriit.): σῶμα κτισθῆναι FP 18-19 ἐνεργῆ καὶ

according to the measure of their sins, even as it raises up from lower to higher divisions souls that are inferior in power and dignity, . . .¹

* * * * *

... For there are . . .² who are attendants of the Providence 3 that governs all. One of them is Keeper of souls; the other is Conductor of souls. The Keeper is he that has in his charge the unembodied souls; the Conductor is he that sends down to earth the souls that are from time to time embodied, and assigns to them their several places. And both he that keeps watch over the souls, and he that sends them forth, act in accordance with God's will.

... upon earth is Nature,³ who is the maker of the mortal 4 frames, and fashioner of the vessels into which the souls are put. And Nature also⁴ has at her side two Powers at work, namely, Memory and Skill. The task of Memory is to take care that Nature adheres to the type that has been established from the first,⁵ and that the body which she fashions on earth is a copy of the pattern on high; and the task of Skill is to see that in each case the frame that is fashioned is conformable to the soul that comes down to be embodied in it,—to see that lively souls have lively bodies, and slow-moving souls slow-moving bodies; that energetic souls have energetic bodies, and sluggish souls sluggish bodies; that powerful souls have powerful bodies, and crafty souls crafty bodies; and in general, that every soul gets such a body as is suitable for it.

... For it is not without purpose that Nature has provided 5 birds with plumage, and has given force to quadrupeds by arming some with horns, and some with teeth, and some with claws or hoofs. And to the reptiles she has given soft bodies, flexible

¹ Perhaps, '⟨if they have lived good lives on earth⟩'.

² Perhaps, 'there are, in the world above, two gods'.

³ Perhaps, 'And in agreement with these, my son, and working in reciprocation as a counterpart to the administration of things in the world above, is Nature upon earth'.

⁴ I. e. as well as Providence. The two assistants of Nature on earth correspond to the two attendants of Providence on high.

⁵ I. e. the race-type, the generic form of this or that kind of animal.

seclusit Wachsm. 19 23 καὶ ταῖς μὲν ὄψεσι . . . κατὰ τὸ εἰκός secludendum ? 21 ἐνεργῆ P²: ἐνεργῆ FP¹ 24 ἀσκόπως F P²: ἀσκέπτως P¹ 26 δὲ (post τετραπόδων) P²: μὲν FP¹ 27 ὄπλαις P²; ὄπλᾶς F : ὄπλᾶς P¹ | ἐκατέρωθε P | ἐποτέ Hecren: ἐρποντα FP | ἐνχαίτροις codd.: εὐκάμπτοις Meineke: 'fort. δοχέτοις' Wachsm. : fortasse ἐλικτοῖς vel εἰκτικοῖς

σώμασι καὶ [εὐ]ύποχωρητ^{ικ}οῖς ἐμαλάκυνε, καὶ ὅπως μὴ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὑγρότητ^ι τέλεον ἀσθενῆ γδιαμένη^γ, δων μὲν τὰ στόματα [καὶ τοῖς] ὄδοντιν ἔχαράκωσεν, δων δὲ τοὺς ὅγκους αγέντασ^α δύναμιν περιέθηκεν. [οὕτως τὰ μὲν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου εὐλαβείᾳ (. . .) ἴσχυρότερα τῶν ἄλλων.] τὰ δὲ 5 νηκτά, δειλὰ δύτα, ἐνοικεῖν ἔδωκε στοιχείῳ ἐν φῷ τῷ [φῶς] ^{πῦρ} οὐδετέραν δων ἔχει δυνάμεων ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυει. ^{έν} γὰρ ὕδατι τὸ πῦρ οὔτε φαίνει οὔτε καίει· ἔκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν [^ή φολίσιν ^ή ἀκάνθαις] ἐν ὕδατι νηχόμενον φεύγει ὅπῃ ἀν θέλῃ, τὴν ἴδιαν περιβεβλημένον δειλίαν, καὶ σκεπαστήριον ἔχον εἰς 10 τὸ μὴ ὄρασθαι τὸ ὕδωρ. ⟨λογικὰ δὲ περισσαῖς καὶ ἀκρι-βεστέραις αἰσθήσεσιν ἐκδιδούσεις,⟩ (. . .).

6 εἰς γὰρ ἔκαστον τῶν σωμάτων τούτων καθ' ὅμοιότητα ἐγκλείονται αἱ ψυχαί, ὥστε εἰς μὲν ἀνθρώπους χωρεῖν τὰς κριτικάς· εἰς δὲ πτηνὰ τὰς γάπανθρώπους¹. εἰς δὲ τετράποδα 15 ^(τὰς) γάκρίτους², νόμος γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἐστὶν ^ή ἴσχυς· εἰς δὲ ἐρπετὰ τὰς δολίας, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔξι ἐναντίου ἐπεξέρχεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, λοχήσαντα δὲ καταβάλλει· εἰς δὲ [τὰ] νηκτὰ τὰς δειλίας, καὶ δσα^ι τῶν λοιπῶν στοιχείων ἀπολαύειν ἀνάξια^ι τυγχάνεις^{ου}σι.

7 γίγνεται μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ^(γένει) εὑρεῖν ζῷον τῇ ἴδιᾳ φύσει ^{μὴ} καταχράμενον³.—Πῶς [πάλιν], ω τεκοῦσα; εἶπεν Ζεύς.—καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ιστις· "Ωστε ἀνθρώπον μέν, ω τέκνον, τὸ κριτικὸν ὑπερβῆναι, ^(πτηνὸν δὲ . . .) τετράπον δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην παραλλάξαι, ἐρπετὸν δὲ τὸ δόλιον ἀπολέσαι, 25 καὶ νηκτὸν τῆς δειλίας καταφρονῆσαι [καὶ πτηνὸν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας ἐκπεσεῖν].

[καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν ἀνω καὶ τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς σωματουργίας τοσαῦτα.]

8 συμβαίνει δέ, ω τέκνον, ἐν ἐκάστῳ εἶδει ^(ἀνθρώπων) 30 εὐρίσκεσθαι [καὶ γένει τῶν προκειμένων] βασιλικάς τινας ψυχάς. [καταβαίνειν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας ἄλλοιούς, τὰς μὲν διαπύρου τὰς δὲ ψυχρὰς τὰς δὲ ὑπερηφάνους τὰς δὲ πραείας τὰς δὲ βαναύσους τὰς δὲ ἐμπέιρους τὰς δὲ ἀπέιρους τὰς δὲ ἀργὰς τὰς δὲ ἐνεργεῖς τὰς δὲ ἄλλο τι ἄλλως οὔσας. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο 35

1 ὑποχωρητικοῖς scripsi: εὐνυποχωρήτοις FP²: εὐνυποχωρήτοις P¹ | μὴ τῇ scripsi (μὴ ^ή Wachsm.); μήτε FP 2 ὑγρότητι scripsi: ὑγρότης codd. | διαμένη codd.: fortasse γίνηται 3 καὶ τοῖς seclusi (an scribendum καρτεροῖς ^ή) 4 αὐξήσασα scripsi: δέσινας codd. 4-5 οὕτως . . . ἄλλων seclusi ('haec aut manca aut interpolata' Wachsm.) 5 Fortasse εὐλαβείᾳ

and yielding ; and that their pliancy may not make them utterly helpless, she has placed in the mouths of some of them a palisade of teeth, and has given strength to others by increasing their bulk. And the fishes, which are timid creatures, she has made to live in that element in which fire cannot put in action either of its two powers ; for in water fire neither shines nor burns ; and every fish, swimming in water, flees whither it will, protected by its own timidity, and having the water for a shelter to hide it from sight. But rational animals¹ Nature has equipped with senses more perfect and more accurate than those which she has given to other creatures, . . .

For the souls are shut up in bodies of this kind or that, each **6** soul in a body that is like it ; so that those souls which possess the faculty of discernment enter human bodies ; those which are flighty enter bird-bodies ; those which are . . .² enter quadruped bodies, for quadrupeds obey no law but that of force ; those which are crafty enter reptile bodies, for reptiles never attack men face to face, but lie in ambush, and so strike them down ; and those which are timid, and all souls that are unworthy to enjoy the other elements,³ enter fish-bodies.

But in each kind of living creatures may be found some that **7** do not act according to their natural dispositions.—‘Tell me, mother,’ said Horus, ‘what do you mean by that?’—Isis replied, ‘A man, my son, may transgress the law laid down by his power of discernment ; *(a bird may . . .)* a quadruped may avoid compulsion ; a reptile may lose its craftiness ; and a fish may rise above its timidity.

And it comes to pass, my son, that in every class of men there **8**

¹ I. e. men.

² Perhaps, ‘violent’.

³ I. e. to live in any other element than water.

⟨ἀσφαλῆ, τὰ δὲ τῷ ὄγκῳ⟩ ισχυρότερα 5-6 Fortasse τοῖς δὲ νηκτοῖς, δειλοῖς
οὖσιν, ἐνοικεῖν ἔδωκεν ἑκεῖνο τὸ στοιχεῖον 7 Ισχίει· ἐν γάρ Patriit. :
Ισχίουν γάρ FP¹ : ισχύει· καὶ γὰρ ἐν P² 9 φεύγη F 10-11 εἰς τὸ μὴ
δρᾶσθαι secludendum ! 15 ἀναρθρώτους codd. : ἀνεβράστους Usener (vide
§ 15) 16 τὰς (post τετράποδα) add. Heeren | ἀκρίτους codd. : fortasse
ἀκρατεῖς 18 τὰ (ante νηκτά) del. Wachsm. 19 δειλαῖς P¹ | ὅσαι
scripsi: ὄσα codd. | ἀπολαύει F 20 ἀνάξια τυγχάνονται scripsi:
ἀνάξια τυγχάνει codd. 21 γένει addidi (εἴδει add. Wachsm.) 22 μὴ
καταχράμενον codd. : μὴ καταρκνύμενον Meineke : fortasse μηκέτι χράμενον
25 ἐρπετῶν Wachsm. : ἐρπετά FP 28-29 καὶ τὰ . . . τοαῦτα hinc ad
§ 13 init. transposui 30 ἐκάστη ἔδει P¹ 32-3 infra: καταβαίνειν
...ψυχῆς hinc ad § 10 transposui

παρὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων θέσιν ὅθεν εἰς τὸ ἐνσωματισθῆναι καὶ θάλλονται αἱ ψυχαί. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ βασιλικοῦ διαζώματος
 9 καταπηδῶσι τῆς ὁμοιοπάθους βασιλευούσης ψυχῆς.] πολλαὶ γάρ εἰσι βασιλεῖαι· αἱ μὲν γάρ εἰσὶ τοῦ ψυχῶν αἱ δὲ σωμάτων,¹ αἱ δὲ τέχνης *(καὶ [δὲ] ἐπιστήμης, αἱ δὲ αὖ τῶν τοῦ καὶ [έαν] τῶν)*.⁵ —Πῶς πάλιν; εἶπεν Ὄρος [[καὶ έαυτῶν]].—Οἶον, ὃ τέκνον Ὄρος, ἀπογεγονότων [ἡδη ψυχῶν] μὲν (βασιλεὺς) "Οσιρις ὁ πατὴρ σου, [σωμάτων] ἔστων" δε δὲ ἐκάστου ἔθνους ἡγεμών [βουλῆς δὲ ὁ πατὴρ πάντων] καὶ καθηγητὴς ὁ τρισμέγιστος Ἐρμῆς, ἰατρικῆς δὲ [ὅ] Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ Ἡφαίστου.¹⁰ [ἰσχύος δὲ καὶ φύμης πάλιν Ὄσιρις, μεθ' ὄν, ὃ τέκνον, αὐτὸς σύ φιλοσοφίας δὲ Ἀρνεβεσχῆνις ποιητικῆς δὲ πάλιν [ὅ] Ἀσκληπιὸς *(οἱ καὶ) Ἰμούθης.*] καθόλου γάρ, ὃ τέκνον, εὐρήσεις, ἐὰν ἔξετάσῃς, πολλοὺς [καὶ] πολλῶν ἄρχοντας καὶ
 10 πολλοὺς πολλῶν βασιλεύοντας. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν πάντων κρατῶν,¹⁵ τέκνον, ἐκ τῆς ὑπεράνω χώρας ἔστιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος (...). ἕκείνην ἔσχε τὴν ἀφ' οὐ τόπου ἔστιν βασιλικωτέραν¹. *([ΣΥΜΒΑÍΝΕΙ[ν] δὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι) καὶ ἄλλας ἄλλοις, τὰς μὲν διαπύρους τὰς δὲ ψυχράς, τὰς δὲ ὑπερηφάνους τὰς δὲ πραείας [τὰς δὲ βανάύσους], τὰς δὲ ἐμπείρους τὰς δὲ ἀπέιρους, 20* [[τὰς δὲ ἀργὰς]] τὰς δὲ ἐνεργεῖς *([τὰς δὲ ἀργὰς]), τὰς δὲ κατ'* ἄλλο τι ἄλλοις οὕσας συμβαίνει δὲ *(καὶ) τοῦτο παρὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων θέσιν ὅθεν εἰς τὸ ἐνσωματισθῆναι καὶ θάλλονται αἱ ψυχαί.* οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ βασιλικοῦ διαζώματος καταπηδήσαντες¹ βασιλεύοντιν [ψυχῆς]]²⁵

11 [[διαζώματος τετευχότες πυρὸς ἐργάται γίγνονται καὶ τροφῆς]] [οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ὑγροῦ ἐν ὑγροῖς διαζώμασιν] οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐπιστημονικοῦ καὶ τεχνικοῦ περὶ ἐπιστήμας καταγίγνονται καὶ τέχνας, *(οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐνεργοῦς) ([διαζώματος καὶ τεληλγθότες πυρὸς] ἐργάται γίγνονται καὶ τροφεῖς,*) οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἀργοῦ³⁰ ἀργῶς καὶ ἐπιρρεμβῶς διαζῶσι. πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς,

4 εἰσι Patrik.: εἰς FP | εἰς ψυχῶν αἱ δὲ σωμάτων codd.: fortasse εἴσιν λσχύος καὶ φύμης 5 καὶ (post τέχνης) scripsi: αἱ δὲ codd. | αἱ δὲ αὖ τῶν καὶ τῶν Usener: αἱ δὲ αὖ τῶν FP 6 καὶ έαυτῶν (post Ὄρος) FP: del. Usener 7 Ὄρε Meineke: ὃς FP | ἀπογεγονότων Meineke: ἐπιγεγονότων FP | 'δ om. P' Wachsm. (sed utrum δ ante πατὴρ an δ ante ἐκάστου, non liquet)
 8 καθηγητικῆς scripsi: καθηγητῆς codd. 13 δ καὶ (ante Ἰμούθης) addidi (δ add. Patrik.) 14 ἔξετάσῃς Canter: ἔξετάχης codd. 14-15 ἄρχοντας καὶ πολλοὺς πολλῶν secludendum? 16 ὑπεράνω (πάντων)? | οἱ δὲ scripsi: δ δὲ codd. | τῶν κάτω μέρος F 17 fortasse *(ἐκ τόπων κατωτέρων)* post μέρος 18-25 συμβαίνει... βασιλεύοντιν ψυχῆς huc a § 8 transposui 18 συμβαίνει

are found some souls that are kingly. For there are many kinds ⁹ of kingship; there are kingships of . . .¹ and kingships of art and science, and of divers other things also.²—‘Again I ask,’ said Horus, ‘what you mean?’—*Isis*. ‘For instance, my son, your father Osiris is king of men that have passed away, and the ruler of each nation is a king of living men; and thrice-greatest Hermes is king of the art of teaching; and Asclepius the son of Hephaestus is king of the art of medicine.² For, to speak generally, you will find, my son, if you look into the matter, that there are many who rule as kings, and many departments over which they rule. But he who has mastery over all,³ my son, ¹⁰ comes from the highest division of the atmosphere, and those who have mastery over this or that department . . .⁴ And it comes to pass that other souls also⁵ are found to differ in quality; some are fiery and some cold, some haughty and some meek, some skilful and some unskilful, some active and some inactive, and others differ in other ways. And these differences also result from the positions of the places whence the souls plunge down to be embodied. For those who have leapt down from a kingly zone reign upon earth as kings; those who have come from ¹¹ a zone of science and art are occupied with sciences and arts; those who have come from a zone of industry become workers, and provide food by their labour; and those who have come from a zone of inactivity live idle and desultory lives. For the

¹ Perhaps, ‘of political power’.

² [‘And Osiris again is king of might and strength, and after him you yourself, my son; and Har-neb-eschenis is king of philosophy; and Asclepius again, he who is also called Imuthes, is king of the art of poetry.’]

³ I. e. the supreme political ruler (e. g. the Roman emperor).

⁴ Perhaps, ‘(come from places high up, but below the highest of all)’.

⁵ I. e. others besides the kingly souls.

scripsi : καταβάνειν codd. | ἄλλοις scripsi : ἀλλοίους codd. 19 δια-
πίους P² : διαπίου FP¹ | διαπίους τὰς δὲ ψυχάς τὰς δὲ secludendum?
20 τὰς δὲ βαναύσους seclusi : (τὰς δὲ ἐλευθερίους) τὰς δὲ βαναύσους Meineke
22 ἄλλοις scripsi : ἀλλας codd. 23-24 καθάλλονται Heeren : καὶ θάλλον-
ται F ; καὶ βάλλονται P¹ : καταβάλλονται P² 24 οἱ μὲν scripsi : αἱ μὲν
codd. | ἀποβατικοῦ F 25 καταπρδήσαντε scripsi : καταπρδῶσι τῆς
codd. | βασιλεύουσιν scripsi : βασιλευόντης F : βασι. et lac. 5 litt. P¹:
βασιλικῆς P² 27 διαζώμασιν FG : διαζώσιν Canter 28 καὶ (ante τεχνι-
κοῦ) om. P | τεχνικοῦ scripsi (τεχνιτικοῦ Meineke) : τεχνίτου FP
| καταγίνονται F : γίγνονται P 29 κατεληλυθότες scripsi : τετευχότες
codd. 30 τροφεῖς Heeren : τροφῆς FP : fortasse (ἀνθρώπων) vel (πόλεων)
τροφεῖς

ϑ τέκνον, [διὰ λόγου καὶ ἔργου πραττομένων] ἄνω εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαί, μέτρῳ καὶ σταθμῷ ἐπιχύνουσαι ἡμῖν τὰς ὁὐσίας· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ μὴ ἄνωθεν καταβέβηκε.

12 καὶ πάλιν ἀνέρχεται *(πάντα ἑκεῖσε ὅθεν)* [ἴνα] κατέβη. —Πῶς [πάλιν] λέγεις τοῦτο, ὃ τεκοῦσα; παράδειξον.—Καὶ 5 ἀπεκρίθη Ἰσις [πάλιν]: Τῆς παλινδρομίας ἐναργὲς τοῦτο σημεῖον τοῖς ςφοῖς ἐνέθηκεν ἡ ἱερωτάτη φύσις· τοῦτο γὰρ ὃ σπῶμεν ἄνωθεν ἔξι ἀέρος πνεῦμα, τοῦτο πάλιν ἄνω πέμπομεν, *(ὅθ)εν ἐλάβομεν.* καὶ εἰσὶν, ὃ τέκνον, τούτου τοῦ ἐνεργήματος τεχνίτιδες ἐν ἡμῖν φῦσαι· αἱ ἐπειδὰν μήσωσι τὰ 10 δεκτικὰ [έαυτῶν] τοῦ πνεύματος στόματα, τότε *(αὐτοὶ)* ἡμεῖς οὐκέτι ὡδέ ἔσμεν, ἀλλ' ἀναβεβήκαμεν.

13 «καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτῶν [καὶ τῆς σωματουργίας] τοσαῦτα.» προσεπιγίγνεται δέ, ὃ παῖ μεγαλόδοξε, καὶ ἔτερά τινα ἡμῖν 15 ἔκ τῆς τοῦ φυράματος συσταθμίας.—Τί δέ ἔστιν, Ὁρος ἐπε, τὸ φύραμα τοῦτο, ὃ τεκοῦσα;—Σύνοδός ἔστι καὶ κράσις τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, ἔξι ἡς [κράσεως καὶ συνόδου] ἀναθυμιάταί τις ἀτμός, ὃς περιειλεῖται μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, διατρέχει δὲ ἐν *(τῷ)* σώματι, ἀμφοτέροις μεταδιδοὺς *[τουτέστι τῷ]* 20 σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ] τῆς ἴδιας ποιότητος· καὶ οὕτως αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν *Γέναλλοιώσεων*¹ 14 γίνονται. εἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν σωματικὴν *Γδιάπηξιν*² πλεονάσει τὸ πῦρ, τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἡ ψυχὴ θερμὴ τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχουσα καὶ ἔτερον θερμὸν προσλαβοῦσα [*ἐκπυρωθεστέρα* 25 γενομένη] ποιεῖ τὸ ςφὸν ἐνεργότερον καὶ θυμικὸν *[τὸ δὲ 15 σῶμα ὁὖν καὶ εὔκινητον].* εἱ δὲ πλεονάσειν ὁ ἀήρ, τὸ τηνικαῦτα [καὶ] κοῦφον καὶ πηδητικὸν καὶ ἀνέδραστον γίνεται

1 πραττομένων scripsi: πραγμάτων codd. 2 ἡμᾶν F | οὐσίας codd.: fortasse ἀπορρόπιας 4 κατέβη scripsi: καταβῆ codd. 5 παράδειξον secludendum? 6 ἐνεργὲς F 7 ἐνέθεικεν F 7-8 ὃ σπῶμεν Wachsm. (ἢ πνέομεν Heeren: ϖ̄ ςφεν Meineke): ὡς τὸ μὲν P: ὡς τὸ μὴ F 8 τοῦτο codd.: τὸ αὐτὸν Usener 9 ὃς εἰς ἐλάβομεν scripsi: ἵνα λάβωμεν codd. 10 τεχνίτιδες P¹ | μύσωσι Canter: μισῶσι FP 11 δεκτηρὰ P 13-14 καὶ τὰ . . . τοσαῦτα huc a § 7 fin. transposui 14 αὐτῶν codd.: fortasse τῶν ψυχῶν 16 ἐκ τῆς scripsi (*ἐκτὸς τῆς*) Wachsm.): ἐκτὸς codd. 17 τοῦτο ὃ P: τοῦτ' οὖν F 19-23 Fortasse ὃς περιειλεῖται [μὲν] τῇ ψυχῇ, [διατρέχει δὲ ἐν *(τῷ)* σώματι, ἀμφοτέροις] μεταδιδοὺς *(αὐτῆς)* [τουτέστι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ] τῆς ἴδιας ποιότητος· καὶ οὕτως αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ψυχ[ικ]ῶν [καὶ σωματικῶν ἐναλλοιώσεων] γίνονται 19 ὃς περιειλεῖται P²: ὡσπερεὶ εἰλεῖται F: ὡσπερά εἰλεῖται P¹ 20 τῷ add. Wachsm.

sources of all earthly things, my son, are on high ; those sources pour forth . . .¹ upon us by fixed measure and weight ; and there is nothing that has not come down from above.

And all things go back again to the place whence they have ¹² come down.'—*Horus*. 'What do you mean by that, mother ? Give me an example.' Isis answered, 'A manifest sign of this return of things to their source has been placed in living beings by most holy Nature. Our life-breath, which we draw from above out of the air, we send up again to the place whence we received it. We have in us bellows-like organs, my son, by which this work is done ; and when these organs have closed the apertures through which the life-breath is taken in, then we ourselves abide no longer here below, but have gone up on high.²

Of the arrangement of the things above, and of their descent ¹³ to earth, I have now said enough. But there are added to us, my glorious son, other qualities also, which result from the proportions in which things are combined in the mingled mass of the body.'⁴—'But tell me, mother,' said Horus, 'what is this "mingled mass"?'—*Isis*. 'It is a combination and mixture of the four elements ; and from it there is exhaled a vapour, which envelops the soul, and is diffused in the body, imparting to both something of its own quality ; and thus are produced both the differences between one soul and another, and the differences between one body and another.'⁵ If there is an excess of ¹⁴ fire in the composition of the body, in that case the soul, being hot by nature and having more heat added to it, makes the living creature more active⁶ and spirited. If there is an ¹⁵ excess of air, in that case the creature comes to be light and

¹ Perhaps, 'their influences'.

² I.e. we are dead, and our souls have returned to their places in the atmosphere.

³ Perhaps, 'of the descent of the souls'.

⁴ I.e. the proportions of the several elements of which the body is composed.

⁵ Perhaps, 'a vapour, which envelops the soul, and imparts to it something of its own quality ; and thus are produced the differences between one soul and another'.

⁶ Perhaps, 'in that case [] the living creature is made more active'.

20-21 τοντίστι . . . ψυχή seclusit Meineke 22 καὶ (post ψυχικῶν) F : καὶ τῶν P | ἐναλλοιώσεων codd. : fortasse ποιογέτων 23 αἱ μὲν γὰρ Π¹ | διάπηξιν codd. : potius esset σύγκρουν vel σύντρον 24-26 τὸ τριπλάσια . . . γενομένη secludendum, et legendum ποιεῖ(ται) τὸ ζῷον ! 25 προσλαμ-βοῦσα P 26 γενομένη Patri. : γεναμένη F¹ P | ἐνεργύτερον Π² : ἐνερ-γύτερον F¹ P² | καὶ θυμικόν om. P

16 τὸ ζῷον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σώματι. εἰ δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ πλεονάσειε, τὸ τηνικαῦτα [καὶ] τὸ ζῷον τῇ μὲν ψυχῇ γίγνεται εὖ[χ]ρουν [καὶ εὐφυὲς] καὶ εὐπερίχυτον, ἵκανῶς τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιπεσεῖν καὶ κολληθῆναι δυνάμενον, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα [ένωτικὸν καὶ] κοινωνικὸν τοῦ ὕδατος· [έφιξανε] *(ένονται)* γὰρ πᾶσι, καὶ 5 πολὺ μὲν δὲ *(καὶ περιλαβόν)* εἰς ἑαυτὸν¹ ἀναλύει [[καὶ περιλαμβάνει]], ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπάρχον καὶ καταδύ[σα]ν ἐκεῖνο γίγνεται φέμιγη. τὰ μέντοι σώματα ὑπὸ τῆς πλαδαρότητος καὶ χαυνότητος εἰς περίσφιγξιν οὐ *(συνάγεται,* ἀλλὰ μικρὰ τινὶ [νήσον] ἀφορμῇ λύεται [καὶ τοῦ ἴδιου συνδέσμου κατ’ 10 ὀλίγον ἐκπίπτει]. εἰ δὲ τὸ γεῶδες πλεονάσειε, τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἀμβλεῖα [μὲν] τοῦ ζῷου ἡ ψυχὴ γίνεται, οὐκ ἔχουσα τὴν [σώματικὴν] *(ἴδιαν)* ἀραιότητα εὐλυτον, [οὐδὲ τοῦ δι’ οὐ] *(έκ)* πηδῆσαι *(δύναται,* πεπαχν² μένων τῶν αἰσθητικῶν μερῶν, ἀλλ’ ἔνδον μένει παρ’ ἑαυτῇ], *(ἄλλα)* ὑπὸ [βάρους καὶ] 15 *(τῆς)* πυκνότητος *(τοῦ . . .)* πεδηθεῖσα· τὸ δὲ σῶμα στερεὸν μέν, ἀλλὰ ἀργὸν καὶ βαρύ, καὶ μετὰ βίας ὑπὸ τῆς προαιρέ- 18 σεως μετακινούμενον. εἰ δὲ σύμμετρος γένοιτο ἡ πάντων *(σύ)* στασις, τότε τὸ ζῷον θερμὸν *(μὲν)* εἰς πρᾶξιν, κοῦφον δὲ εἰς κίνησιν, *(εὔ)* κρατον¹ δὲ εἰς ἁφήν¹, *(γενναῖον)* δὲ εἰς πῆξιν² 20 27 κατασκευάζεται. *([[αὐ]]τὸν μὲν γὰρ [τὸ] γεῶδες ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ σώματος πῆξις, τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν ἡ ἐν τούτῳ ἔστιν εἰς συμπαγίαν¹ περίχυσις, τὸ [γὰρ] *(δὲ)* ἀερῶδες ἔστι τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν κινητικόν,* καὶ τούτων πάντων διεγερτικὸν τὸ πῦρ.)

19 ὅσα οὖν [τῷδε τῷ λίγῳ] κεκοινώηκε πλείονος μὲν πυρὸς καὶ πνεύ- 25 ματος, *(λίγου δὲ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς,* ταῦτα ἀπωρέωται, καὶ ἄνω παρ’ 20 ἔκεινοις πολιτεύεται τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὅσα δὲ πλείονος μὲν πυρὸς, ὀλίγου δὲ πνεύματος, ὕδατος δὲ *(μετρίου)* καὶ γῆς ἵσης, ταῦτα

2 μὲν (*vel τῇ μὲν ψυχῇ*) secludendum? | εὖρουν Meineke: εὖρουν FP | καὶ (ante εὐφυες) P: τε καὶ F 3-4 ἐπιπεσεῖν καὶ secludendum? 5 καὶ κοινωνικὸν om. P 6 ἑαυτὸν²: ἑαυτὸν FP¹ 7 ὑπάρχειν P¹: καταδύν¹ scripsi: (*num καταδύθεν?* Wachsm.): καταδύσαν FP¹: καταδύσον P² 8 πλαδωρύτητος P¹ 9 οὐ συνάγεται scripsi: οὖν ἀγεται FP¹: *Iasos* οὐκ ἀγεται P² marg. 10 συνδέσ P¹ 10-11 καὶ τοῦ ἴδιου . . . ἐκπίπτει 13 τοῦ δὲ οὐ seclusi (an secludendum τὰ μέντοι σώματα . . . ἐκπίπτει?) 14 ἐκπήδησαι δύναται scripsi: πηδήσεται codd. | Post πηδήσεται add ♫ οὐκ ἔχουσα τὴν σώματικὴν ἀραιότητα ♫ P | πεπαχνυμένων Wachsm.: πεπαχνυμένων FP 15 μερῶν Usener: μελῶν FP: fortasse *(τοῦ σώματος)* μερῶν 16 Fortasse πυκνότητος *(τοῦ ἀτρωοῦ vel τοῦ φυράματος)* 18-18 τὸ δὲ σῶμα . . . μετακινούμενον secludendum? 19 σύστασις Meineke: στάσις FP 20 εὔκρατον δὲ εἰς ἀφήν codd.: fortasse εὐπερίχυτον (*vel εὔρυτον*) δὲ εἰς συναφήν | γενναῖον codd.: fortasse στερεὸν | δὲ εἰς πῆξιν P²: διαθῆξιν FP¹ 21-24 § 27 (τὸ μὲν

flighty and unsteady in soul and body alike. If there is an excess ¹⁶ of water, the result is that the creature's soul flows freely and diffuses itself readily, and is highly capable of flinging itself on things and cleaving to them, because water has the power of associating with things. For water unites with all things; and when there is much water, and it envelops a thing,¹ then it dissolves that thing into itself; but when there is only a little water, and it sinks into the thing,² then it is transmuted into that with which it is mingled. And such bodies,³ being flaccid and spongy, are not tightly knitted together; a little thing is enough to cause their dissolution. If there is an excess of the ¹⁷ earthy element, in that case the result is that the creature's soul is dull, because, though the soul itself is a thing of rare consistency, it cannot easily get free,⁴ but is hampered by the density of . . .;⁵ and the body is solid, but inert and heavy, and cannot be put in motion by the will without a strong effort. But if all ¹⁸ the four elements are combined together in fit proportions, then the creature is so made as to be ardent in action, light of movement, . . . in . . .,⁶ and solid in structure. For the earthy ²⁷ element is that which makes the body solid; the watery element is that in it which makes it diffuse itself so as to unite with things; the airy element is that in us which causes movement; and all these are roused to action by the fire in us.

All creatures then⁷ that have had assigned to them large portions of fire ¹⁹ and air, and small portions of water and earth, have become birds; and they live their lives on high, in the region of those elements of which they are chiefly made. All those that have had put into them much fire, a little air, ²⁰ and a moderate portion of water and of earth, have become men. And in

¹ For instance, when a lump of earth is thrown into a large tank of water.

² For instance, when a drop of water falls on a large mass of earth.

³ I. e. human or animal bodies in which there is an excess of water.

⁴ The Greek which I have here cut out is probably an appended note to this effect: 'the soul cannot leap forth from its seat within the body, because the bodily sense-organs (through which alone an embodied soul can go out to communicate with the external world) are thick and dense; (and so) it remains within and stays by itself.'

⁵ Perhaps, 'the density (of the body)', or 'the density (of the vapour exhaled from the mingled mass of the body)'.

⁶ Perhaps, 'apt to flow forth so as to unite with things'.

⁷ This paragraph (§§ 19-23) is inconsistent with what precedes, and must have been written by another person.

γάρ . . . τὸ πῦρ) *huc transposui* | τὸ μὲν γάρ scripsi: αὐτὸδ μὲν γάρ τὸ codd.
22 συμπαγίαν codd.: fortasse συναφήν 23 δὲ (ante δέρωδες) Meineke:
γάρ FP 24 διενεργητικὸν P 27 Fortasse (τὸ πλέον) ἐγένετο

- ἀπηγνθρώπισται· καὶ τῷ ζῷῳ τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ θερμοῦ εἰς σίνεσιν ἐτράπη.
δὸ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς θερμόν τι χρῆμά ἔστιν, ὃ καίειν μὲν οὐκ οἶδε, διαδύνει
 21 δὲ [κατὰ] ^(διὰ) πάντων [καὶ ἐπίσταται]. ὅστα δὲ πλείονος μὲν ὕδατος,
πλείονος δὲ γῆς, [μετρίου δὲ] ^(⟨⟨δὲλιγού δέ⟩⟩) πνεύματος καὶ ^([[δὲλιγού δὲ]])
πυρός, ταῦτα ^(ἀπὸ)τεθηρίωται· τῇ δὲ τοῦ θερμοῦ παρ[ι]ουσίᾳ ἀλκιμώτερα 5
 22 γέγονε τῶν ἀλλων. ὅστα δὲ γῆς ^(μὲν) καὶ ὕδατος ^([τὸν]) ^(πλείονος)
κεκοινώηκε, ^{(πνεύματος δὲ μετρίου, πυρὸς δὲ οὐδενός,} ταῦτα ἀφηρ-
π(έτ)ωται· καὶ τῇ ^(μὲν) τοῦ πυρὸς στερήσει ἄτολμα γέγονε καὶ ἀπαρρη-
σίστα, τῇ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ^([[κοινωνίᾳ]]) ^{(περιουσίᾳ) [ψ]} ὑγρὰ ἐγένετο, τῇ δὲ
τῆς γῆς βαρέα καὶ ιωθρά, τῇ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ^(⟨⟨κοινωνίᾳ⟩⟩) Γεύκινητα εἰ 10
 23 προαιρέσει τὸ κινεῖσθαι¹. ὅστα δὲ πλείονος μὲν ὑγροῦ, δλίγου δὲ ἔξηροῦ,
 πυρὸς δὲ καὶ πνεύματος οὐδενός, ταῦτα ἀπιχθώται· καὶ τῇ μὲν τοῦ
θερμοῦ καὶ ἀέρος στερήσει δειλά ἔστι καὶ ^{(κατ)αδυτ[ικ]ά,} τῇ δὲ τοῦ
ὑγροῦ περιουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ γεώδους παρ[ι]ουσίᾳ ἐν Γελευμένῃ γῇ καὶ
ὕδατι διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς κατοικεῖ. 15
- 24 ^{καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν τοῦ ἑκάστου στοιχείου μοῖραν καὶ τῆς}
μοίρας τὴν περιοχὴν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡλικιάζεται καὶ πρὸς τὴν
ὅλιγομετρίαν τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα μεμετροποίηται πρὸς ἐνέργειαν
τὴν ἑκάστῳ τῶν στοιχείων οὐσιομετρίας².
- 25 ^{καὶ ἔτι (τόδε), ὃ παῖ περιπόθητε, λέγω, ὅτι [ἐκ ταύτης τῆς}
οὖτω συστάσεως] ^{[ἢ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον γενομένη}
κρᾶσις καὶ δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ἀναθυμιώμενος ἀτμός] ἐφ' ἐσον ^{(μὲν}
τὸ φύραμα) τὴν ἴδιαν τηρεῖ ποιότητα, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ^[θερμὸν]
^(πῦρ) ἔτερον μὴ λαβεῖν θερμόν, ^[καὶ] ^(μηδὲ) τὸ ^([[ἀερῶδες]])
πνεύμα ^(ἔτερον ⟨⟨ἀερῶδες⟩⟩), μηδὲ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἔτέραν ὕγρασίαν, 25
μηδὲ τὸ γεώδες ἔτέραν πυκνότητα, τὸ τηνικάντα τὸ ζῷον
νηγιαίνει· ἐπάν [γὰρ] ^(δὲ) μὴ οὐτῶς μένη, ὃ τέκνον, ἐφ' οἷς
ἔσχει ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέτροις, ἀλλ' ἡτοι πλεονάση τούτων τι

3 διὰ Gaisford: κατὰ codd. 5 ταῦτ' ἀποτεθηρίωται Meineke: ταῦτα
τεθηρίωται FP³: ταῦτε θηρίωται P¹ | παρονίᾳ scripsi: περιουσίᾳ codd.
6 ὕδατος τὸν P 7-8 ἀφηρέτωται Wachsm. (ἀφηρπετώθη Meineke): ἐφειρ-
πώθη FP 9 ὑγρὰ scripsi: ψυχρὰ codd. 10-11 εἰ ^(ἐν) προαιρέσει
Meineke (αἱ εἱ ^(ποτε) προαιρέται κινεῖσθαι?) 13 καταδυτικά scripsi:
ἄδυτα FP: αὐτὰ Usener: ἄδυτα Meineke 14 παρονίᾳ (post
γεώδους) Wachsm.: περιουσίᾳ codd. 14-15 εἰν λελυμένῃ γῇ καὶ ὕδατι
codd.: fortasse ἐν ὕδατι διαλελυμένην ἔχοντι γῆν vel simile quid
16-19 Fortasse huiusmodi aliquid: καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν ^(τοῦ) ἑκάστου στοιχείου
μοῖραν καὶ τῆς μοίρας τὴν ^(ὑπερ[ι]οχήν ⟨αἴ τε ψυχαί⟩) καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡλικιά-
ζεται ^(ἡλιοίσται τοι) (τῶν ἀνθρώπων), καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅλιγομοιρίαν ^{(an hinc trans-}
ponenda verba καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅλιγομοιρίαν et post τῆς μοίρας τὴν ὑπεροχὴν
collocanda τοι) τὰ ^(δὲ) λοιπὰ ζῷα Γεμετροὶ (ἀσύμμετρα?) ποιεῖται πρὸς ^{([ἐνέργειαν]}
^(ἀναλογίαν τοι) τῆς ^(τοι) ἑκάστῳ (sc. ζῷων γένει) τῶν ^(ἀναφερῶν τοι) στοι-
χείων ὅλιγομοιρίας 19 οὐσιομετρία F: οὐσιομετρία P 20-21 For-

man, the excess of the hot element has been turned into intelligence. For the mind in us is a hot thing; it has no power to burn, but it penetrates all things. All creatures that have in their composition much water, much ²¹ earth, and a little air and fire, have become four-footed beasts; and the presence of the hot element in them¹ makes them more pugnacious than the other animals.² All those that have had put into them much earth and water, ²² a moderate portion of air, and no fire, have become reptiles. The absence of fire causes them to be lacking in boldness and openness; the excess of water makes them soft and supple;³ the excess of earth makes them heavy and sluggish; and the fact that they have some air in them makes them . . .⁴ All those that have in them much of the fluid element, a little of the dry ²³ element, no fire, and no air, have become fishes. The absence of fire and air makes them timid, and apt to dive into the depths;⁵ and the excess of the fluid element and the presence in them of some earth cause them to live in water that has some earth dissolved in it, by reason of their affinity to these two elements.

* * * * *

24

And this also I tell you, my well-beloved son, that as long as ²⁵ the mingled mass of the body keeps its own quality unchanged,—as long as the fire in it receives no access of heat, the air no access of anything of airy nature, the water no access of fluid, and the earthy element no access of density,—so long the creature is in health; but when it does not keep unchanged the original proportions of its several elements, but one of them is either increased or diminished,—I do not mean an increase

¹ I. e. the fact that they have in them some fire, though only a little.

² I. e. than those that still remain to be spoken of, viz. the reptiles and the fishes.

³ More literally, 'fluid' or 'yielding to pressure'. (The MSS. give 'cold'.)

⁴ Perhaps, 'makes them capable of moving easily (or quickly) if at any time they choose to move'.

⁵ They tend downward, because they have in their composition no portion of either of the two light and 'upward-tending' elements.

⁶ § 24: possibly, 'And the souls and bodies of men vary according to the apportionment of each element, and according as the portion assigned is in excess or is deficient; but the lower animals are so made that they are unevenly adjusted, and more or less so in proportion to the deficiency of the upward-tending elements (fire and air) in the composition of each kind of animal'. If this, or something like it, was the meaning, § 24 may have been intended to stand next after §§ 18 and 27.

tasse ἐκ [ταύτης] τῆς (τούτων) συστάσεως (an τῆς οὔτως γενομένης) συστάσεως! 21-23 ἡ κατὰ . . . διμόδιοι seclusi (vide § 28 init.) 23 τηρεῖ πούστητα scripsi: τηροῦσιν λόιστητα codd. 24 μηδὲ Meineke: καὶ FP πούστητα scripsi: ἔργασίαν FP¹ 27 δὲ P²: γὰρ FP¹ | οὔτως secludendum! 28 ἐσχεν om. F | τούτων τι ἡ ἀλλατθεῖ scripsi: ταύτα codd.

ἢ ἐλαττωθῆ>, οὐκ ἐνέργειᾳ [λ] λέγω τὴν περιοχήν¹, οὐδὲ τῇ κατ' αὐξησιν γινομένῃ μεταβολῇ [τοῦ γένους καὶ] τῶν σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῇ [ὡς πρόσφημεν] συστατικῇ τῶν στοιχείων κράσει, ὥστε τὸ μὲν θερμὸν ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῆναι ἢ [ἐπὶ πλέον] ἐλαττωθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὁμοίως, *(τὸ) τηνικαῦτα* 5 [οὗτως] νο_σεῖ τὸ ζῷον.

26 [ἐπὰν γὰρ οὕτως διατεθῆ τό τε θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ἀερῶδες, ἀ δὴ σύσκηνά ἔστι τῆς ψυχῆς, τότε ἐν ἁλληγορίαις² καὶ ἐκστάσεσι γίγνεται τὸ ζῷον.]

[πεπύκνωται γὰρ τὰ στοιχεῖα δι' ὧν διαφθείρεται τὰ ιο σώματα.]

27 [[αὐτὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ γεώδες ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ σώματος πῆξις, τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν ἡ ἐν τούτῳ ἔστιν εἰς συμπαγίαν περίχυσις, τὸ γὰρ ἀερῶδες ἔστι τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν κινητικόν, καὶ τούτων πάντων διεγερτικὸν τὸ πῦρ.]] 15

28 ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης συνόδου καὶ κράσεως τῶν στοιχείων γιγνόμενος ἀτμός [καὶ ὡσανεὶ ἔξαψις καὶ ἀναθυμίασις], ὅποιος [ε]ἄν ἦ, παραμιγεὶς τῇ ψυχῇ, ἄγει [ε]αὐτὴν εἰς ἑαυτόν, [ὡς ἀν ἔχῃ φύσεως, εἴτε σπουδαίως εἴτε μή], *(οὗτω*

29 *καὶ . . .).* τῇ *(μὲν)* γὰρ ἔξ ἀρχῆς < . . . > [πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκεῖον τητι καὶ συντροφίᾳ] ἐπιμένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν τάξιν διατηρεῖ. ὅταν δὲ ἐπιτροσγένηται ἡτοι τῷ ὅλῳ συγκράματι ἡ καὶ [μέρεσιν ἦ] μέρει *(τινὶ)* αὐτοῦ ἔξωθέν τις πλείων³ μοῖρα τοῦ προκαταβεβλημένου, *(τὸ)τε* <*μεταλλοιούμενος*> [[καὶ]] ὁ ἐντεῦθεν [[μεταλλοιούμενος]] <*γιγνόμενος*> ἀτμὸς μεταλλοιοῖ 25 <*καὶ*> [[ἡτοι] τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς διάθεσιν [*ἡ τὴν τοῦ σώματος*].

30 [τὸ *(μὲν)* γὰρ πῦρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἀνωφερῆ δύτα, ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ὅμοιόχωρον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσαν, ἀνατρέχει, τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν καὶ τὸ γεώδες, κατωφερῆ δύτα, τῷ σώματι, ὅμοέδρῳ δύτι, ἐφιξάνει]. 30

1 ἐνεργείᾳ λέγω Canter: ἐνεργεῖ ἀλλ' ἐγὼ FP¹: οἷμαι οὐ λέγω P² marg.
| Fortasse οὐ τῇ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἐνεργείᾳ λέγω 3 Fortasse ἀλλὰ τῇ []
συστάσει καὶ <*κράσει*> τῶν στοιχείων | προέφημεν FP: προέφαμεν
Patrit. 5 τὸ add. Meineke 8 οὗτος seclusit Meineke | νοεῖ
P²: νοεῖ FP¹ 10-11 Fortasse πεπύκνωται γὰρ < . . . > τὰ <*κατωφερῆ*>
στοιχεῖα < . . . νόσοι> δι' ὧν διαφθείρεται τὰ σώματα 12-15 § 27
(αὐτὸ . . . πῦρ) hinc transposui: vide post § 18 18 ἀν Heeren:
ἔαν FP | ὅποιος ἀν ἢ seclusit Wachsm. | αὐτὴν Meineke:

or diminution caused by the operation of the environment,¹ nor by that change in bodies which takes place in the course of growth,² but an increase or diminution that results from an alteration in the mixing of the elements of which the body is composed,—when, I say, the hot element, or one of the other elements, is increased or diminished, then the creature is diseased.

Now just as the vapour that is produced by the first coming **28** together and mixing of the elements in the body, whatever the quality of that vapour may be, mingles with the soul and assimilates it to itself, even so . . .³ As long as the soul continues **29** to be in its original condition, it maintains its good order unimpaired; but when either the mixed mass as a whole, or some one part of it,⁴ receives, by subsequent addition from without, a portion of one of the elements larger than that which was originally assigned to it, then there is an alteration in the vapour thence produced, and the altered vapour alters the condition of the soul.⁵

¹ E. g. such an increase in the heat of the body as takes place when a man warms himself before a fire.

² When the body grows, the *quantity* of each of the elements of which it is composed increases: but in healthy growth, the *proportions* of the several elements to one another remain unaltered.

³ Perhaps, ‘(even so every alteration in the quality of the vapour causes a corresponding alteration in the quality of the soul)’.

⁴ There may, for instance, be an increase of fire in some one limb or organ of the body; there would then be inflammation of that limb or organ.

⁵ § 30, which here follows in the MSS., appears to be an extract from another document; and it is possible that § 26 is another fragment of that same document. The two together might be translated thus:

§ 26: ‘For when the hot element and the airy element, which are lodged in the same habitation as the soul, are put into this condition, then the living being falls into (distraction?), and comes to be beside itself. . . .’ § 30: ‘For the fire and the air, being upward-tending elements, run up to the soul, the place of which is the same as (or ‘is similar to’) their place; but the fluid element and the earthy element, being downward-tending elements, settle down on the body, the abode of which is the same as (or ‘is similar to’) their abode’.

ἴαυτὴν FP 19 σπουδαῖος Usener: σπουδαῖος FP
ἀρχῆς (διαθέσει)
fortasse εὐταξίαν 20-21 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδύστητι F
τὰ FP 22 πλείων Patrik.: πλείω FP
ὄντι scripsi: δμοιόχωρον scripsi: δμοιόχωρον codd.

20 Fortasse έξ
21 τάξιν codd.:
24 τότε Meineke:
29-30 δμοιόδροφ

EXCERPTUM XXVII

Stobaeus 3. 13. 65, vol. iii, p. 467 Hense (13. 50 Meineke).

Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἱσιδος πρὸς Ὡρον.

ἔλεγχος γὰρ ἐπιγνωσθείσ, ὃ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, εἰς ἑπιθυμίαν φέρει τὸν ἔλεγχόθεντα ὃν πρότερον οὐκ ἦδει.

EXCERPTUM XXVIII

Stobaeus 1. 1. 29 a, vol. i, p. 34 Wachsmuth.

Θαλῆς, ἐρωτηθεὶς τί πρεσβύτατον τῶν δυτῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο·
Θεός, ἀγέννητον γάρ.

Σωκράτης, ἐρωτηθεὶς τί θεός, εἶπε· Τὸν ἀθάνατον καὶ
ἀίδιον.

Ἐρμῆς, ἐρωτηθεὶς τί θεός, εἶπεν· Ο τῶν δλῶν δημιουργός,
σοφώτατος νοῦς καὶ ἀίδιος.

EXCERPTUM XXIX

Stobaeus 1. 5. 14, vol. i, p. 77 Wachsmuth (*Ecl. I. 174 Heeren*).¹

[Περὶ εἰμαρμένης] [Ἐρμοῦ.]

ἐπτὰ πολυπλανέες κατ' Ὀλύμπιον ἀστέρες οὐδὸν
εἰλεῦνται, μετὰ τοῖσιν ἀεὶ περινί(σ)σεται αἰών.
νυκτιφανῆς Μήνη, στυγνὸς Κρόνος, Ἡλιος ἡδύς,
Γπαστοφόρος² Παφίη, θρασὺς Ἄρης, εὔπτερος Ἐρμῆς,

2 ἐπιγνωθεὶς A 2-3 ἐπιθυμίαν codd.: fortasse ἐπιστήμην
4-5 Cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5. 97 : ἐρωτηθεὶς γέ τοι δ Θάλης τί ἔστι τὸ θεῖον,
“Τὸ μῆτε ἀρχῆν” ἔφη “μῆτε τέλος ἔχον”.

¹ Iteratur hoc carmen sine nomine auctoris in Anthologia Graeca (Planud. p. 494) Append. nr. 40 Jacobs.
² Catal. codd. astrol. Graec. III (Mediolan.) 5. F 100, nullo auctoris nomine:
Eis τοὺς ἐπτὰ πλανῆτας καὶ τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεις καὶ τάθη· Ἐπτὰ πολυπλανέες...
κόσμος ἀπείρων. Quae iterantur ib. cod. 21. F 106 r., et cod. 24. F 19 v.
Empedocli adscribuntur versus eidem ib. cod. 28 F 57 (tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ
(sc. Ἐμπεδοκλέους) πλαναρμένων σφαῖρα ἐν ἥρωικοις μέτροις) et cod. 30. F 4.

EXCERPT XXVII

Written by Hermes: an extract from the Discourse of Isis to Horus.

For a refutation, great king, when it has been recognized, brings him who has been refuted into . . .¹ of things which he did not know before.

EXCERPT XXVIII

Hermes, when some one asked him what God is, said: 'The Maker of the universe, Mind most wise, and everlasting'.

EXCERPT XXIX

[*Written by Hermes.*]

There are seven wandering stars which circle at the threshold of Olympus, and among them ever revolves unending Time. The seven are these; night-shining Moon, and sullen Kronos,² and glad Sun, and the . . .³ Lady of Paphos,⁴ and bold Ares,⁵ and swift-winged Hermes,⁶ and Zeus,⁷ first author of all births,

¹ Perhaps, 'knowledge'.

² The planet Saturn.

⁴ The planet Venus.

⁶ The planet Mercury.

³ Perhaps, 'all-productive'.

⁵ The planet Mars.

⁷ The planet Jupiter.

10 περὶ εἰμαρμένης FP: del. Wachsm. 12 μετὰ τοῖσιν δὲ δ' ἐπινήσεται
FP: καὶ τοῖσιν δὲ κανονίσεται Anth.: μετὰ τοῖσι δὲ δὲ περινήσεται Jacobs
13 νυκτιφανεῖς P¹ | στυγνὸς κρόνος Anth., P² marg.: νυκτὸς FP¹
14 Φορτασσε παντοφόρος | εὐπτερος P², Anth.: εὐσπερος FP¹

καὶ Ζεὺς ἀρχιγένεθλος, ἀφ' οὐ φύσις ἐβλάστησεν.
 οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μερόπων ἔλαχον γένος, ἐστι δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν
 Μήνη, Ζεύς, Ἀρης, Παφίη, Κρόνος, Ἡλιος, Ἐρμῆς.
 τοῦνεκ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου μεμερίσμεθα πνεύματος ἔλκειν
 δάκρυ, γέλωτα, χόλον, γένεσιν, λόγον, ὕπνον, ὄρεξιν. 5
 δάκρυ μέν ἐστι Κρόνος, Ζεὺς δὲ γένεσις, λόγος Ἐρμῆς,
 θυμὸς Ἀρης, Μήνη δὲ ἀρέσκειν, Κυθέρεια δὲ ὄρεξις,
 Ἡλιος δὲ γέλως· τούτῳ γὰρ ἀπασα γδικαίως
 καὶ θνητὴ διάνοια γελᾷ καὶ κόσμος ἀπείρων.

1 ἀρχιγένεθλος P ² : ἀρχίγεθλος FP ¹	2 ἔλαχον FP: ἔλαουσι Anth.
3 Fortasse Ζεύς, Ἀρης, Παφίη, (Μήνη)	4 μεμορήμεθα Meineke
5 δράκρυ P χόλον F: χολὴν P, Anth.	6 δράκρυ I δὴ Anth.: ἡ FP: δὲ ἡ Jacobs Fortasse γένεσις δὲ Ζεὺς
κυθέραια P	7 κυθαιρεῖα F: δὲ Anth.: τε codd. Stch. Fortasse τούτου γὰρ ἀπασα
δὲ' αὐγᾶς	

from whom Nature has sprung. To those same stars is assigned the race of men ; and we have in us Moon, Zeus, Ares, the Lady of Paphos, Kronos, Sun, and Hermes. Wherefore it is our lot to draw in from the aetherial life-breath¹ tears, laughter, wrath, birth, speech, sleep, desire. Tears are Kronos ; birth is Zeus ; speech is Hermes ; anger is Ares ; the Moon is sleep ; Aphrodite is desire ; and the Sun is laughter, for by him . . .² laugh all mortal minds, and the boundless universe.

¹ I. e. from the aether, which is the life-breath of the universe.

² Perhaps, 'for by reason of his radiance'.

F R A G M E N T A

1. Tertullianus *De anima* 33.

(Mercurius Aegyptius dicit) animam digressam a corpore non refundi in animam universi, sed manere determinatam, ut rationem patri reddat eorum quae in corpore gesserit.

2. Cyprianus (?) *Quod idola dii non sint* 6.

Hermes quoque Trismegistus unum deum loquitur, eumque incomprehensibilem adque inaestimabilem confitetur.

3. Lactantius *Div. inst.* 1. 6. 4.

(Mercurius Trismegistus deum appellat) dominum et patrem... Ipsius haec verba sunt: ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἰς. ὁ δὲ εἰς ὄντος οὐ προσδέεται· ἔστι γὰρ ὁ ὄντος οὐνόνυμος¹.

4. Lact. *Div. inst.* 1. 7. 2.

(Mercurius Termaximus) non modo ἀμήτορα, . . . sed ἀπάτορα quoque appellat deum, quod origo illi non sit aliunde. Nec enim potest ab ullo esse generatus qui ipse universa generavit.

5. Lact. *Div. inst.* 1. 11. 61.

(Trismegistus), cum diceret admodum paucos extitisse in quibus esset perfecta doctrina, in his Uranum Saturnum Mercurium nominavit, cognatos suos.

Lact. *Epit.* 4. 4.

(Hermes deum) dominum et patrem nuncupat, eumque esse sine nomine, quod proprio vocabulo non indigeat, quia solus sit.¹

Div. inst. 4. 13. 2.

Ipse enim pater deus, quoniam parentibus caret, ἀπάτωρ atque ἀμήτορ a Trismegisto verissime nominatur, quod ex nullo sit procreatus.

Epit. 4. 4.

Nec habere (deum) ullos parentes, quia ex se et per se sit.

Epit. 14. 3.

Trismegistus, paucos admidum fuisse cum diceret perfectae doctrinae viros, in iis cognatos suos enumeravit Uranum Saturnum Mercurium.

¹ Fortasse ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἰς. ὁ δὲ εἰς (⟨ὁν ἀνώνυμος⟩) (ἔστιν) ὄντος (⟨γάρ⟩) οὐ προσδέεται, (ἐπει μόνος) ἔστι [[]].

Fragments¹

1. The soul, when it has quitted the body, does not flow back into² the soul of the universe, but remains separate,³ that it may be called to account by the Father for the deeds which it has done in the body.

2. There is one God ; he is beyond comprehension⁴ and beyond appraisement.

3. God is called Master and Father.—God is one. And he that is one is nameless ; for he does not need a name, since he is alone.

4. God is without father and without mother ; for he has been generated by none but himself.

5. There have been very few men that have had perfect knowledge.⁵ Among those few are my kinsmen Uranos, Kronos, and Hermes.⁶

¹ Notes on the Fragments will be found among the notes on *Testimonia* in vol. iv.

² I. e. is not reabsorbed into.

³ ἀπορισμένη.

⁴ ἀκατάληπτος !

⁵ γνῶσις ? Knowledge of *God* must be meant.

⁶ The Hermetic writer here makes Hermes Trismegistus the teacher speak of another Hermes, whom he perhaps assumes to have been the teacher's grandfather, as in *Ascl. Lat.* III. 37.

6. Lact. *Div. inst.* 2. 8. 48.

(Trismegistus praedicat) divina providentia effectum esse mundum.

7. Lact. *Div. inst.* 2. 8. 68.

Ut Hermes ait, mortale immortali, temporale perpetuo, corruptibile incorrupto propinquare non potest.¹

8. Lact. *Div. inst.* 2. 10. 14.

(Hermes) non tantum hominem ad imaginem dei factum esse dixit a deo, sed etiam illut explanare temptavit, quam subtili ratione singula quaeque in corpore hominis membra formaverit, cum eorum nihil sit quod non tantundem ad usus necessitatem quantum ad pulchritudinem valeat.²

9. Lact. *Div. inst.* 2. 14. 6.

(Diabolum) Trismegistus daemoniarchen vocat.³

10. Lact. *Div. inst.* 2. 15. 6.

ἡ γάρ εύσέβεια γνώσις ἔστιν τοῦ θεοῦ.

11. Lact. *Div. inst.* 4. 7. 3.

αἵτιον δὲ τούτου [τοῦ αἵτιον]
ἡ τοῦ [θε] ἀγενίτου [ἀγαθο]
βούλησις, οὐ τὸ ὄνομα οὐ
δύναται ἀνθρωπίνῳ στόματι
λαληθῆναι.

Epit. 37. 8.

Hermes ait non posse nomen eius (*sc.* dei filii) mortali ore proferri.

12. Lact. *Div. inst.* 4. 7. 3.

ἔστιν γάρ τις, ὁ τέκνου,
ἀπόρρητος λόγος, σοφίας ὅσιοΥ
(μ)εστός, περὶ τοῦ μόνου κυρίου
πάντων καὶ προεννοούμενου
θεοῦ, διν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπὸν
ἔστιν.

Ib. 4. 9. 3.

esse ineffabilem quandam
sanctumque sermonem, cuius
enarratio modum hominis
excedat.

13. Lact. *Div. inst.* 4. 8. 5.

(Hermes dicit deum) αὐτοπάτορα et αὐτομήτορα.

14. Lact. *Div. inst.* 7. 9. 11.

(Spectationem dei) Trismegistus θεοπ(τ)ίαν rectissime nominavit.

¹ Vide Herm. ap. Stob. *Exc.* I.

² Vide *Ascl. Lat.* III. 28.

³ Vide *Corp.* V. 6.

6. The world has been made by God's providence.
7. That which is mortal cannot draw near to that which is immortal, nor that which is for a time to that which is everlasting, nor that which is corruptible to that which is incorruptible.
8. Man has been made by God in the image of God. God has fashioned with consummate skill each member of man's body; every one of the members is perfectly adapted both for use and for beauty.
9. The ruler of the daemons.
10. For piety is knowledge of God.
11. And the cause of this is the will of Him who is without beginning, whose name cannot be spoken by human lips.
12. For there is, my son, a secret doctrine, full of holy wisdom, concerning Him who alone is lord of all and . . .,¹ whom to declare is beyond the power of man.
13. God is his own father and his own mother.
14. Seeing God.

¹ 'and preconceived (!) God'. Cf. *Fr.* 17.

15. Lact. *Div. inst.* 7. 13. 3.

Hermes naturam hominis describens, ut doceret quemadmodum esset a deo factus, haec intulit: 'καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑκατέρων φύσεων, τῆς τε ἀθανάτου καὶ τῆς θνητῆς, μίαν ἐποίει φύσιν τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸν αὐτὸν πὴ μὲν ἀθανάτον, πὴ δὲ θνητὸν ποιήσας. καὶ τούτον φέρων ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θείας καὶ ἀθανάτου φύσεως καὶ τῆς θνητῆς καὶ μεταβλητῆς ἔδρυσεν, ἵνα τὸ πάντα μὲν ὄρῶν τὸ πάντα θαυμάξῃ.'

16. Abammonis ad Porphyrium responsum² 8. 6 a.

τὸ δὲ πῶς ἔχει, δεῖ διὰ πλειόνων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐρμαϊκῶν σοι ⟨ὑπὸ⟩μνημάτων διερμηνεῦσαι. δύο γὰρ ἔχει ψυχάς, ὡς ταῦτα φησι τὰ γράμματα, ὁ ἀνθρωπός· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου νοητοῦ, μετέχουσα καὶ τῆς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ ἐνδιδομένη ἐκ τῆς τῶν οὐρανίων περιφορᾶς, εἰς ἣν ἐπεισέρπει ἡ θεοπτικὴ ψυχὴ.³

17. Ib. 10. 7.

'αὐτὸν δὲ τάγαθὸν τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἡγοῦνται⁴ τὸν προεννοούμενον θέον, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔνωσιν, ὅπερ Βίτυς ἐκ τῶν Ἐρμαϊκῶν βίβλων μεθηρμήνευσεν.

18. Iamblichus apud Proclum in Tim. 117 D (Diehl).

'Ιάμβλιχος ἴστρόρησεν ὅτι καὶ Ἐρμῆς ἐκ τῆς οὐσιότητος τὴν ὑλότητα παράγεσθαι βούλεται.⁵

19. Zosimus Panopolitanus i. 4.

τοὺς τοιούτους δὲ ἀνθρώπους ὁ Ἐρμῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ φύσεων ἔκάλει ἄνοιας, τῆς εἰμαρμένης μόνον ὄντας πομπάς, μηδὲν τῶν ἀσωμάτων φανταζομένους,⁶ μηδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰμαρμένην τὴν αὐτοὺς ἀγουσαν δικαίως ⟨ὑπολαμβάνοντας⟩, ἀλλὰ [τοὺς] δυσφημοῦντας αὐτῆς τὰ σωματικὰ παιδευτήρια, καὶ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αὐτῆς ἐκτὸς *(μηδὲν)* ἀλλο φανταζομένους.⁷

¹ Fortasse ἵνα [παν] τὰ μὲν οὐράνια [πάντα] θαυμάξῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐπίγεια θεραπεύῃ.

² I. e. 'Iamblichus De mysteriis'.

³ εἰς . . . ψυχὴ secludendum?

⁵ Vide Abammonis resp. 8. 3 g (*Testim.*).

⁶ Fortasse ἐννοοῦντας.

⁷ Vide Corp. IV. 4 et 7.

⁴ Sc. οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

15. . . Out of those two things, the immortal and the mortal, God made this one thing, man, making him in one respect mortal and in another respect immortal. And him God took and placed between that which is divine and immortal and that which is mortal and mutable, that he might behold the things of heaven with wondering reverence,¹ (and tend the things of earth).

16. Man has two souls. One of them comes from the first Intelligible,² and partakes of the power of the Demiurgus; the other soul is put into the man by the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and into this latter soul enters subsequently the soul which is able to see God.³

17. The divine Good is . . . God;⁴ the good of man is union with God.

18. Materiality is brought into existence out of substantiality.⁵

19. Those men who are devoid of mind are merely led along in the train of Destiny. They have no conception of anything incorporeal, and they do not rightly understand the meaning of Destiny, that very power by which they are led; they complain of the bodily discipline which she imposes, and they do not recognize any other kind of happiness than that which she confers.

¹ MSS., 'that, beholding all things, he might admire all things'.

² I. e. from the first or highest part of the incorporeal world.

³ I. e. the first-mentioned of the two souls.

⁴ MSS., 'the God who is preconceived (?). Cf. *Fr.* 12.

⁵ This probably means that matter is not an independent entity, but is derived from the immaterial world,—or in other words, issues from God.

20. Zosimus i. 5.

ο δὲ Ἐρμῆς καὶ ὁ Ζωροάστρης τὸ φιλοσόφων γένος ἀνώτερον τῆς εἰμαρμένης εἶπον,¹ τῷ μήτε τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ αὐτῆς χαίρειν—ἡδονῶν γὰρ κρατοῦσι—, μήτε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῆς Γβάλλεσθαι², πάντοτε ἐν ἀϋλίᾳ ἄγοντας.

21. Zosimus i. 7.

οἱ μέντοι Ἐρμῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀϋλίας διαβάλλει [καὶ] τὴν μαγείαν, λέγων δὲ οὐ δεῖ [τὸν πνευματικὸν ἀνθρωπον] τὸν ἐπιγνόντα ἑαυτὸν [οὔτε] διὰ μαγείας κατορθοῦν τι, ἐὰν καὶ κακὸν νομίζηται, μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὡς ἔχει φύσεως [καὶ κρίσεως] πορεύεσθαι. Γδὲ διὰ μόνου τοῦ ζῆτεῦ³ ἑαυτὸν καὶ θεὸν ἐπιγνόντα κρατεῖν (. . .)⁴ [τὴν ἀκατονόμαστον τριάδα], καὶ ἐᾶν τὴν εἰμαρμένην δὲ θέλει[ν] ποιεῖν τῷ ἑαυτῆς πηλῷ, τουτέστι τῷ σώματι. καὶ οὕτως, φησί, νοήσας καὶ πολιτευσάμενος (. . .).

22. Ephraim Syrus.

23. Didymus *De Trinitate* 757 B : Cyrillus c. Julianum 556 A.⁵
οὐ γὰρ ἐφικτόν ἔστιν τοῖς ἀμυντούσι τοιαῦτα μυστήρια
Γπαρέχεσθαι⁶. ἀλλὰ (. . .)⁷ τῷ νοῦ ἀκούσατε. ἐν μόνον ἦν
[φῶς νοερὸν] [πρὸ φωτὸς νοεροῦ] καὶ ἔστιν ἀεί, νοῦς τοῦ
φωτεινός⁸. καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἦν ἢ ἡ τούτου ἐνότης. (οὗτος), ἀεί
ἐν Ἑαυτῷ ὅν, ἀεὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ [νοὶ καὶ] φωτὶ καὶ πνεύματι πάντα
περιέχει. — — —⁹ ἐκτὸς τούτου οὐ θεός, οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐ

¹ Fortasse τὸ δὲ φιλοσόφων γένος δὲ Ἐρμῆς [καὶ ὁ Ζωροάστρης] ἀνώτερον τῆς εἰμαρμένης εἶπεν.

² Βλάπτεσθαι!

⁸ Fortasse δεῖⁱ δὲ μόνον [τοῦ] ζητεῖν.

⁴ Fortasse τῶν παθῶν) vel (τοῦ ἀλόρου).

⁵ αὐθίς τε ('Ἐρμῆς). . . ἀποφθέγγεται τοιάδε Didymus : λέγει . . . Ἐρμῆς ἐν λόγῳ τρίτῳ τῶν πρὸς Ασκληπιόν Cyril.

⁶ Fortasse οὐ γὰρ ἐ. ἐ. τοῖς ἀμυντοῖς τ. μ. παραδέχεσθαι.

⁷ Fortasse (ἐντεταμένῳ).

⁸ Fortasse νοῦς, νοερὸν φωτὸς (ἀρχή vel πηγή).

⁹ καὶ μεταξὺ ἀλλων ἐπάγει Didymus : καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησι Cyril.

20. Philosophers are above Destiny ; for they find no joy in the happiness she gives, since they hold pleasures in subjection ; and they are not harmed by the ills she inflicts, because they dwell at all times in the immaterial world.

21. He who has learnt to know himself ought not to set right by means of magic anything that is thought to be amiss, nor to use force to overcome necessity,¹ but rather to let necessity go its own way according to its nature. A man ought to seek to know himself and God and hold his passions in subjection, and to let Destiny deal as she wills with the clay which belongs to her, that is, with his body. And if a man thinks thus and behaves thus, . . .

22. Ephraim Syrus, *Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, edited and translated by C. W. Mitchell, A. A. Bevan, and F. C. Burkitt, vol. ii, p. xcix.

'Hermes taught that there was a Bowl, filled with whatever it was filled with, and that there are Souls excited by desire, and they come down beside it, and, when they have come close to it, in it and by reason of it they forget their own place. . . . Hermes teaches that the souls desired the Bowl.'

23. *From the third of the Discourses of Hermes to Asclepius.*

For it is not possible for the uninitiated to have such holy secrets told to them. But hearken ye with attentive mind. There was and ever is one thing alone, even Mind, the source of intellectual light ; and beside the unity of this one thing, there was nothing else in being. This Mind, ever existing in itself, ever encompasses all things with its own light and spirit. — — — There is no god, nor

¹ 'Necessity' is the working of Destiny or natural law ; and to employ magic is 'to use force to overcome necessity'.

δαίμων, οὐκ οὐσία τις ἄλλη· πάντων γάρ ἔστι κύριος καὶ πατήρ [καὶ θεὸς] Γκαὶ πηγὴ καὶ ζωὴ καὶ δύναμις καὶ φῶς καὶ νοῦς καὶ πνεῦμα¹, καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτόν ἔστι.

24. Didym. *ib.* 756 B; Cyril. *ib.* 556 B.²

εἰ μὴ πρόνοιά τις ἦν τοῦ πάντων κυρίου ὥστέ με τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀποκαλύψαι, οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς τοιούτος ἔρως κατεῖχεν (ἀν) ἵνα περὶ τούτου ζητήσῃτε. νῦν δὲ (. . .). (. . .) τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀκούετε. τούτου τοῦ πνεύματος, οὐ πολλάκις προεῖπον, πάντα χρῆσει· τὰ πάντα γὰρ Γβαστάζον κατ’ ἀξίαν τὰ πάντα³ ζωοποιεῖ καὶ τρέφει, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγίας πηγῆς ἐξήρτηται, Γἐπίκουρον πνεύμασι⁴ (. . .)⁵ καὶ ζωῆς ἀπασιν ἀεὶ ὑπάρχον, γόνιμον ἐν ᾧν.

25. Cyril. *ib.* 9

(καὶ ἔτεροθι (sc. φησὶν ‘Ερμῆς)) Εἴ τω οὖν ἀσώματος ὁθαλμός, ἐξερχέσθω τοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τοῦ καλοῦ, καὶ ἀναπτήτω καὶ αἰωρηθήτω, [καὶ] (μὴ) σχῆμα, μὴ χρῶμα [μὴ ἰδέας] ζητῶν θεάσασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον τὸ τούτων ποιητικόν, τὸ ἥσυχον καὶ γαληνόν, τὸ ἐδραῖον, τὸ ἀτρεπτον, τὸ αὐτὸν πάντα καὶ μόνον¹,³ τὸ ἐν,⁴ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον⁵ [δο μήτε ἀλλωφ ὅμοιόν ἔστι μήτε ἑαυτῷ ἀνόμοιον].

26. Cyril. *ib.* 549 C, D.

καὶ πάλιν δο αὐτὸς (sc. ‘Ερμῆς). Μηδὲν οὖν, περὶ ἐκείνου [πάποτε]⁶ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου ἀγαθοῦ ἐννοούμενος, ἀδύνατον εἴπης· ἡ πᾶσα γὰρ δύναμις αὐτῷ⁷ ἔστιν. μηδὲ ἐν τινι αὐτὸν διανοηθῆι εἶναι, μηδὲ πάλιν [κατ’] ἐκτός τινος· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπέραντος ὥν πάντων ἔστι πέρας, καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐμπειρεχόμενος πάντα ἐμπεριέχει. ¶. . .) ἐπεὶ τὶς διαφορά ἔστι τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς τὸ ἀσώματον, καὶ τῶν γενητῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον [καὶ τῶν ἀνάγκη ὑποκειμένων πρὸς τὸ αὐτεξούσιον] [ἢ τῶν

¹ Έρμοῦ Τρισμεγίστου ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ασκληπιὸν λόγων τριῶν· ἐρομένου τινὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸς δαίμονα¹ περὶ τοῦ τρισαρίου πνεύματος, ἔχρησεν οὕτως cod. Didym.: δο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῶν πρὸς Ασκληπιόν, ὡς ἐρομένου τινὸς περὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, φησὶν οὕτως Cyril.

² Fortasse *(αἴτιον φωτός)*.

³ τὸ αὐτὸν πάντα καὶ μόνον secludendum?

⁴ Fortasse τὸ ἐν *(πάντα ὅν)*.

⁵ Fortasse τὸ ἑαυτῷ *(μόνῳ)*. Fortasse τὸ ἑαυτῷ *(μόνῳ)* ὅμοιον.

⁶ Fortasse Μηδὲν οὖν *(μηδέποτε)*, περὶ ἐκείνου [] τοῦ ἐνὸς κ.τ.λ.

⁷ αὐτῷ scripsi: αὐτὸς Aub.

angel, nor daemon, nor any other being, that is outside of Him ; for He is Lord and Father of all . . .¹ and all things are in Him and subject to Him.

24. *From the third of the Discourses of Hermes to Asclepius.*

If it had not been ordained by the providence of Him who is Lord of all that I should reveal this doctrine, ye would not have been possessed by such passionate desire to seek the truth concerning this ; but as it is, < . . . >—Hearken ye to that which I have yet to tell. Of this spirit, concerning which I have many times spoken before, all things have need ; for . . . it gives life and sustenance to all things. It is dependent on² the holy source, . . . being ever <the cause of light(?)> and life to all things, inasmuch as it is the one thing that is fecund.

25. If any man then has an incorporeal eye, let him go forth from the body to behold the Beautiful, let him fly up and float aloft, not seeking to see shape or colour, but rather that by which these things³ are made, that which is quiet and calm, stable and changeless, . . . that which is one,⁴ that which issues from itself and is contained in itself, that which is like nothing but itself.

26. Say not then, in your thought concerning Him who alone is good, that anything is impossible ; for to Him belongs all power. And think not that He is in anything, nor again that He is outside of anything ; for He is limitless himself, and is the limit of all things ; He is encompassed by nothing, and encompasses all things. . . . For in what do bodies differ from that which is incorporeal, and things which have come into being from that which is without

¹ Perhaps, 'and source of life and light and spirit'.

² Perhaps, 'It flows forth from'.

³ Sc. shaped and coloured (i.e. bodily) things.

⁴ Perhaps, 'that which, being one, (is yet all things)'.

ἐπιγείων πρὸς τὰ ἐπουράνια, καὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν πρὸς τὰ ἀΐδια]; οὐχ ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐτεξούσιόν ἔστι, τὸ δὲ ἀνάγκη ὑποκείμενα;¹ (. . .) τὰ δὲ κάτω, ἀτελῆ δύντα, φθαρτά ἔστιν.²

27. Cyril. *ib.* 552 D.

δὲ τρισμέγιστος Ἐρμῆς οὕτω φθέγγεται περὶ θεοῦ· Ὁ γὰρ λόγος αὐτοῦ προελθών, παντέλειος ὁν καὶ γόνιμος καὶ δημιουργ(ικ)ός, ἐν γονίμῳ φύσει πεσών [ἐπὶ γονίμῳ ὕδατι], ἔγκυον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐποίησε.³

28. Cyril. *ib.* 552 D.

καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς (*sc.* Ἐρμῆς) αὐθις ‘Η οὖν ‘πυραμίς’, φησίν, ὁνποκείμενη τῇ φύσει καὶ τῷ νοερῷ κόσμῳ⁴. ἔχει γὰρ ἄρχοντα ἐπικείμενον (τὸν) δημιουργὸν λόγον τοῦ πάντων δεσπότου, διὸ μετ’ ἐκείνου πρώτη δύναμις, ἀγένητος, ἀπέραντος, ἐξ ἐκείνου προκύψασα, καὶ ἐπίκειται καὶ ἄρχει τῶν δι’ αὐτοῦ δημιουργηθέντων.

29. Cyril. *ib.* 553 A.

καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς (*sc.* Ἐρμῆς), ὡς ἐρομένου τινὸς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τεμενιτῶν, καὶ λέγοντος “διὰ τί δέ, ὁ μέγιστε Ἀγαθὸς Δαιμὼν,⁵ τούτῳ τῷ δύνματι ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντων κυρίου;”⁶ φησὶ “καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἶπον· σὺ δὲ οὐ συνῆκας; (<ὴ>) φύσις τοῦ νοεροῦ αὐτοῦ λόγον [φύσις] ἔστι γεννητική.” [τούτῳ ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ ἡ γέννησις ἡ φύσις ἡ ἔθος ἡ] (*sc.* τὸν δὲ) διθέλεις αὐτὸν⁷ καλεῖν κάλει, τοῦτο μόνον νοῶν, ὅτι τέλειός ἔστι[ν ἐν τελείῳ] καὶ ἀπὸ τελείου, (καὶ) τέλεια ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεται, καὶ δημιουργεῖ⁸ καὶ ἀποποιεῖ. ἐπειδὴ οὖν τοιαύτης ἔχεται φύσεως, καλῶς τοῦτο προσηγόρευται.”

¹ τὰ . . . ὑποκείμενα scripsi: τὸ . . . ὑποκείμενον Αὐθ.

² Fortasse (τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνω, τέλεια δύντα, δίδιά ἔστι, τὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

³ Fortasse ὁ γὰρ λόγος αὐτοῦ προελθών, . . . (καὶ) ἐν (vel ἐπὶ) γονίμῳ φύσει (*sc.* τὴν ὕδατος) πεσών [], ἔγκυον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐποίησε.

⁴ Fortasse τὸ [δημιουργὸν] τοῦ πάντων δεσπότου λόγον, δι κ.τ.λ.

⁵ Fortasse Ἀγαθοδαίμον.

⁶ Fortasse ἐκλήθη (<δ>) [ἀπὸ] τοῦ πάντων κυρίου (λόγος).

⁷ Fortasse ἡ φύσις τοῦ . . . λόγου [φύσις] ἔστιν (ἀγαθῶν) γεννητική.

⁸ Fortasse καὶ (πάντα) δημιουργεῖ.

beginning? Is not the difference this, that the one¹ is self-determining, and those other things² are subject to necessity? . . . , but³ the things below, being imperfect, are perishable.

27. For God's Word, who is all-accomplishing and fecund and creative, went forth, and flinging himself upon the water,⁴ which was a thing of fecund nature, made the water pregnant.

28. . . . ;⁵ for it⁶ has over it as ruler the creative Word of the Master of all. That Word is, next after Him, the supreme Power, a Power ungenerated, boundless, that has stooped forth from Him;⁷ and the Word presides over and governs the things that have been made through him.⁸

29. But tell me, great Agathodaimon, why was he⁹ called by this name¹⁰ by the Lord of all?¹¹—I have already told you; did you not understand? The nature of His intellectual Word is generative.¹² You may call him¹³ what you will, provided that you understand this, that he is perfect and issues from one that is perfect, and that he works perfect goods, and makes and vivifies all things. Since then he is of¹⁴ such a nature, he is rightly called by this name.

¹ *Sc.* that which is incorporeal and without beginning.

² *Sc.* bodies, things which have come into being.

³ Perhaps, '(For the things above, being perfect, are everlasting,) but'.

⁴ I.e. the primal chaos of water out of which the world was evolved.

⁵ The sense of this corrupt clause was probably something like 'The material world is subject to intelligent government'.

⁶ *Sc.* the material world.

⁷ I.e. has issued from the supreme God and looked down on things below.

⁸ I.e. the world which the supreme God has made by the agency of his Word.

⁹ *Sc.* God's Word.

¹⁰ The 'name' spoken of must have been a name which signified something like 'He who is perfect, and whose works are perfectly good'.

¹¹ Perhaps, 'why was the Word of the Lord of all called by this name?'

¹² Perhaps, 'generative (of goods)'.

¹³ *Sc.* God's Word.

¹⁴ Literally, 'holds on to' or 'pertains to'.

30. Cyril. *ib.* 553 A, B.

καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς (*sc.* Ἐρμῆς) ἐν λόγῳ πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς Τὰτ διεξοδικῶν οὕτω λέγει περὶ θεοῦ· Ὁ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ λόγος, ὁ τέκνου, ἀίδιος, αὐτοκίνητος, ἀναυξήσ, ἀμείωτος, ἀμετάβλητος, ἄφθαρτος, γόνος¹ ἀεὶ ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιός ἐστιν, ἵσος δὲ καὶ ὀμαλός,² εὐσταθής, εὔτακτος, εἰς ὃν [δέ] μετὰ τὸν προεγνωσμένον³ θεόν.

31. Cyril. *ib.* 588 A.

ἔφη γὰρ οὗτος (*sc.* Ἐρμῆς) ἐν Γτῷ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν·⁴ Καὶ εἶπε, φησίν, Ὅσιρις· “εἴτα, ὡς μέγιστε Ἀγαθὸς Δαιμῶν,⁵ πῶς ὅλη ἡ γῆ ἔφάνη;” καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἀγαθὸς Δαιμῶν· “κατὰ Γτάξιν⁶ καὶ ἀναξήρανσιν, ως εἶπον. καὶ (γὰρ) τῶν πολλῶν ὑδάτων κελευσθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ (. . .)⁶ εἰς ἑαυτὰ ἀναχωρῆσαι, ἔφάνη [ὅλη] ἡ γῆ, ἔμπηλος⁷ καὶ τρέμουσα· ἡλίου δὲ λοιπὸν ἀναλάμψαντος, καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως διακαίοντος καὶ ξηραίνοντος, ἡ γῆ ἐστηρίζετο ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν, ἐμπεριεχομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος.”
— — —⁸ 588 B. ἡλίου δὲ πέρι πάλιν ὥδε φησι· Καὶ εἶπεν Ὅσιρις “ὦ [τρὶς] μέγιστε Ἀγαθὸς Δαιμῶν,⁵ *(πόθεν ἔφάνη ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἡλίος;*” καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἀγαθὸς Δαιμῶν “ὦ [Ὅσιρις] ἡλίου γένιναν βούλει ἡμᾶς καταλέξαι [πόθεν ἔφάνη]; ἔφάνη προνοίᾳ τοῦ πάντων δεσπότου.”

32. Cyril. *ib.* 588 A.

καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐτέρῳθι (*sc.* ἔφη Ἐρμῆς)· Ὁ πάντων δημιουργὸς καὶ κύριος ἔφώνησεν οὕτως, “ἐστω γῆ [καὶ φανείτω στερέωμα]·” καὶ εὐθέως ἀρχὴ τῆς δημιουργίας γῆ ἐγένετο.

33. Cyril. *ib.* 588 B.

καὶ *(δ)* αὐτὸς (*sc.* Ἐρμῆς) ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Τὰτ διεξοδικῷ λόγῳ πρώτῳ φησίν· Ὁ δὲ πάντων κύριος εὐθέως ἔφώνησε τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγίῳ [καὶ νοητῷ] καὶ δημιουργικῷ λόγῳ “ἐστω ἡλίος”. καὶ ἄμα τῷ φάναι, τὸ πῦρ,⁹ [*τῆς*]¹⁰ φύσεως ἀνωφεροῦς ἐχόμενον,

¹ Fortasse μόνιμος.

² ἐστιν ἵσος δὲ καὶ ὀμαλός secludendum?

³ Cf. ὁ προεννοούμενος θεός, *Fr.* 12, 17, 36.

⁴ Fortasse ἐν τῷ *(τρίτῳ* *(τ)* τῶν) πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν.

⁵ Ἀγαθοδάιμον!

⁶ Fortasse *(πάντων κυρίου).*

⁷ Fortasse *(τὸ μὲν πρῶτον)* ἥματος.

⁸ Fragmentum 32 hic interponit Cyrilus.

⁹ Fortasse καὶ ἄμα τῷ *(εἰπεῖν)* ἔφάνη *(δ ἡλίος)* τὸ *(γάρ)* πῦρ κ.τ.λ.

¹⁰ Fortasse ἄτε.

30. *From the first of the Explanatory Discourses of Hermes to Tat.*

The Word of the Maker, my son, is everlasting, self-moved, without increase or diminution, immutable, incorruptible, . . .¹ he² is ever like to himself and equal to himself, equable, stable, well-ordered; after the supreme God³ he stands alone.

31. *From one of the Discourses of Hermes to Asclepius.⁴*

And Osiris said, 'Tell me next, most great Agathodaimon, how did all the land come forth?' And the great Agathodaimon said, 'It came forth by . . .⁵ and drying up, as I told you. For when the many waters were bidden by the (Lord of all) to go back into themselves, then the land came forth. At first it was muddy and quivering; but afterwards, when the sun shone forth, and scorched and dried it without cease, the land was firmly fixed amid the waters, being encompassed by the water.' — — — And Osiris said, 'Tell me, most great Agathodaimon, (whence did this great sun come forth?)' And the great Agathodaimon said, 'Osiris,⁶ do you wish me to describe the origin of the sun? The sun came forth by the providence of Him who is Master of all'.

32. The Maker and Lord of all spoke thus, 'Let earth be' [];⁷ and straightway earth came into being, and so began the making of the world.⁸33. *From the first of the Explanatory Discourses of Hermes to Tat.*

And straightway the Lord of all spoke with his own holy and creative speech,⁹ and said, 'Let the sun be'; and even as He spoke, 'Nature drew to herself with her own breath'¹⁰ the fire, which is of upward-tending nature,—that fire, I mean, which is unmixed and

¹ Perhaps, 'abiding'.

² St. God's Word.

³ MSS., 'the foreknown God'.

⁴ Cf. Fr. 23 and Fr. 24.

⁵ Perhaps, 'by separation' (*sc.* of earth from water).

⁶ 'Whence . . . Osiris': omitted in the Greek text, but preserved in Oecolampadius's Latin translation.

⁷ ['and let a firmament appear'].

⁸ Cyril does not say from what *libellus* he took this extract; but its verbal similarity to Fr. 33 makes it probable that it was taken from the same document as that, viz. *the first of the Explanatory Discourses of Hermes to Tat.*

⁹ Or 'spoke to his own holy and creative Word'!

λέγω δὴ τὸ ἄκρατον καὶ φωτεινότατον καὶ δραστικώτατον καὶ γονιμώτατον,¹ ἐπεσπάσατο Γῆ φύσις τῷ ἑαυτῆς πνεύματι², καὶ ἥγειρεν εἰς ὕψος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος.

34. Cyril. *ib.* 588 c.

εἰσκεκόμικε γὰρ (*Ερμῆς*) τὸν θεὸν λέγοντα τοῖς κτίσμασιν· Ἀνάγκην δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς ὅπ’ ἐμὲ περιθήσω ταύτην τὴν διὰ τοῦ λόγου μου ὑμῖν ἐντολὴν δεδομένην· τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδενὸν ἔχετε.³

35. Cyril. *ib.* 920 d.

ἔφη δέ που . . . Ἐρμῆς περὶ τοῦ πάντων ἀριστοτέχνου θεοῦ· Καὶ γὰρ ὡς τέλειος⁴ καὶ σοφὸς τάξιν [καὶ] ἀταξίᾳ ἐπέθηκε, (. . .) ἵνα τὰ μὲν νοερά, ὡς πρεσβύτερα καὶ κρείττονα, προεστήκη καὶ τὸν πρῶτον τόπον ἔχῃ,⁵ τὰ δὲ αἰσθητά, ὡς δεύτερα, [ἵνα] τούτοις ὑποστήκῃ. τὸ οὖν κατωφερὲς [τερ] δν [τοῦ νοεροῦ] καὶ βρῖθον λόγον ἐν ἑαυτῷ σοφὸν ἔχει [δημιουργικόν]. ὁ δὲ λόγος [αὐτοῦ] οὗτος δημιουργικῆς ἔχεται φύσεως, γόνιμος ὑπάρχων καὶ ζωοποιός.

36. Pseudo-Anthimus § 15.

οὗτος γὰρ (*sc.* ὁ Τρισμέγιστος) μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου λέγων οὕτως ἔφη· Εἰσόμεθα τόν *(τε)* προεννοούμενον θεὸν (καὶ τὸν δεύτερον), δις τὰ πάντα μὲν ἐκείνου ὅμοια Βουληθέντος ἔχει,⁶ δυσὶ δὲ λείπεται, τῷ εἶναι ἐν σώματι καὶ ὄρατὸν ὑπάρχειν.

37. Shahrastani.

¹ Fortasse φύσεως ἀναφεροῦς ἔχομενον [*λέγω δὴ τὸ ἄκρατον*] καὶ φωτεινότατον *(δν)* κ.τ.λ.

² Fortasse ἐπεσπάσατο [*ἡ φύσις*] (*sc.* δὲ πάντων κύριος) τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πνεύματι.

³ ἔφετε!⁴ Fortasse τεχνικός.

⁵ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον τόπον ἔχῃ secludendum?

⁶ Fortasse δις τὰ μὲν (*ἄλλα*) πάντα ἐκείνου Βουληθέντος ὅμοια ἔχει.

most luminous and most active and most fecund,—and raised it up¹ aloft from the water.

34. God said to the beings that He had made: 'And on you that are subject to me I will impose as an irresistible constraint this commandment that has been given you by my speech; this you shall have as your law.'

35. For God, as being 'perfect'² and wise, imposed order on disorder, . . .³ that so the things of mind, as being prior and mightier, might preside and hold the first place, and the things perceptible by sense, as being secondary, might be placed under them. And so that which is downward-tending and heavy has in it a wise Word; and this Word is of creative nature, being fecund and life-giving.

36. We shall know both the God who is preconceived (?),⁴ and the second God,⁵ who, by the will of the first God, is like him in all else, but fall short of him in two respects, namely, in that he is in a body, and in that he is visible.

37. Shahrestani (*Haarbrücker* ii, p. 81).

'Concerning 'Adsimūn' (Agathodaimon), the philosophers hand down the tradition that he said "that the first principles were five. namely, the Creator, Reason, Soul, Space, and 'Void'⁶ and that the composite things came into being thereafter".? But this is not reported of Hermes'.

¹ Perhaps, 'and even as He spoke, the sun appeared. For He (i.e. God) drew to himself with his own breath (or spirit) the fire, which is of upward-tending nature and is most luminous and most active and most fecund, and raised it up', &c.

² Perhaps, 'skilful'.

³ Perhaps, ('appointing his Word to govern the material world'), or something to that effect.

⁴ The meaning of this phrase is doubtful; but the God denoted by it is the first or supreme God. Cf. *Fr.* 12, 17, and 30.

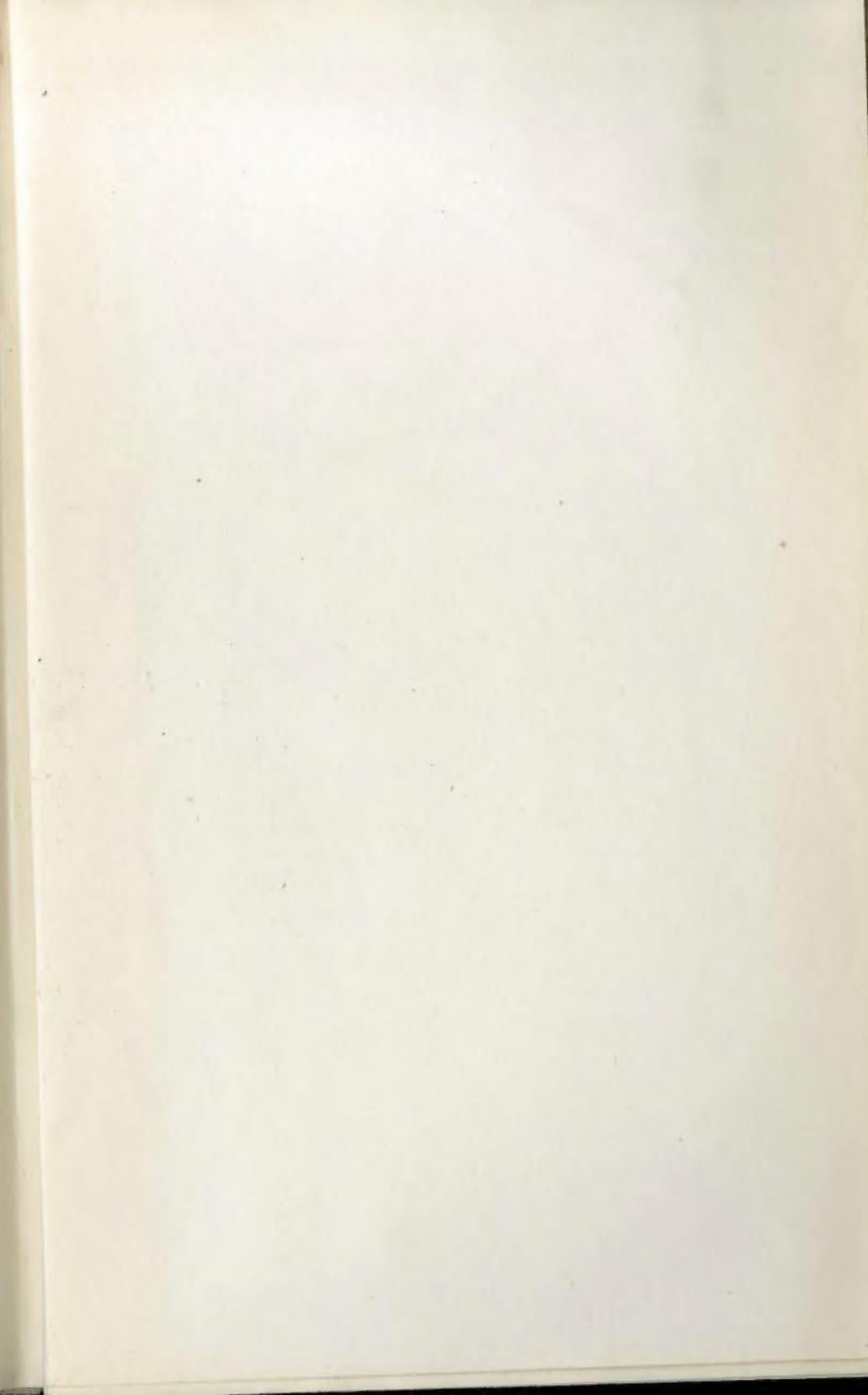
⁵ I. e. the Kosmos.

⁶ Perhaps rather, 'and Time'.

⁷ Probably taken from a Greek *Hermeticum* in which the teacher was Agathos Daimon.



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From the pavement of Siena Cathedral

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